

THE
WORKS

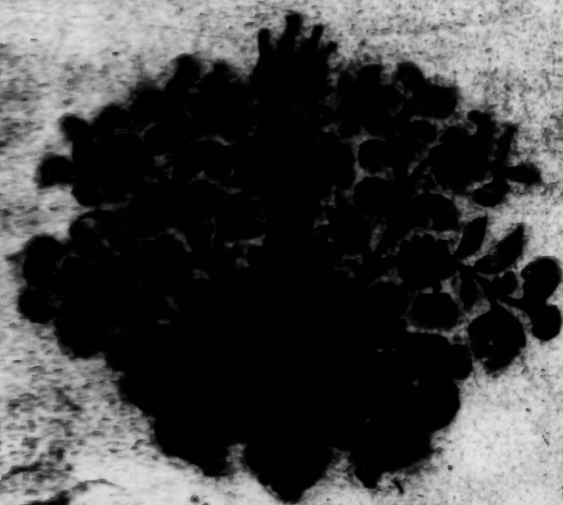
Of the Late Reverend

Mr. Samuel Johnson,

Sometime CHAPLAIN to

The Right Honourable

WILLIAM Lord RUSSEL.



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SOME
MEMORIALS

Of the Reverend
Mr. *SAMUEL JOHNSON*;

Communicated in a Letter to a Friend, by
one of his Intimate Acquaintance.

NR. *JOHNSON* was born in the Year 1649. in *Warwickshire*. He was sent to *London* during his Youth, and bred at *Paul's School*, where he made such an extraordinary Proficiency, that when he was fitted for the University, he was made Library-Keeper of that School; during which time he study'd the Oriental Languages with much Application, and acquir'd such a Perfection in them, as was afterwards of great use to him in his Study of Divinity.

He had his University-Education at *Cambridge*; and having after a regular Study taken Holy Orders, Mr. *Bidolph* a worthy Gentleman gave him the Living of *Curingham*, in the Hundreds of *Essex*, worth Eighty Pounds a Year; which was the only Church-Preferment he ever had. But the Air of that Place not agreeing with him, he was oblig'd to leave it for his Health; and plac'd a Curate there, to whom he gave Forty Pounds a year: but visited his Parishioners himself, as often as his Health wou'd allow.

His

His Patron observing Mr. Johnson's Inclination to the Study of Politicks, advis'd him to read *Bracton* and *Fortescue de Landibus Legum Anglie*, &c. that he might be acquainted with the old *English* Constitution, but by no means to make Politicks the Subject of his Sermons; because he had taken notice that many Clergymen had given their Hearers bad Impressions, and fill'd their Heads with false Notions of those things which they had a very imperfect knowledg of themselves; and that Matters of Faith and Practice were more suitable Entertainment from the Pulpit. Mr. Johnson religiously observ'd this Advice; and tho by applying himself to the Study of the Books above-mention'd, he became as well vers'd in the *English* Constitution as any man, he never meddled with Politicks in the Pulpit, but made a more proper use of 'em: for no man wrote with more Boldness and Zeal for the legal Polity of his Country, or suited his Writings better to the Circumstances of Times and Seasons.

His Probity and known Capacity soon procur'd him an establish'd Reputation, among all the Patriots of his Country; who in the Reign of King *Charles II.* struggl'd for *English* Libertys against Popery and Slavery. Upon this account, the Noble Lord *RUSSEL* chose Mr. Johnson for his Domestick Chaplain; which prov'd to their mutual Satisfaction.

When that Lord, and other zealous Protestants, carry'd on the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York, as the only Means left to secure the Nation from Popery and Slavery; Mr. Johnson, to promote that Design, wrote a Book entitl'd, *Julian the Apostate, with a short Account of his Life, and a Parallel betwixt Popery and Paganism.* This Book was receiv'd with universal Applause, by all who wish'd well to Religion and Liberty. Mr. Johnson therein expos'd the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, disarm'd its Advocates of the Arguments brought from the Antient Fathers, and discover'd their want of Sincerity, by their false Quotations, and their perverting the Meaning of the Antients in order to serve their present Purposes.

Being well vers'd in Ecclesiastical History, he demonstrated that there was a remarkable Difference betwixt the Case of the Primitive Christians, who had the Laws against them; and ours, who had Laws on our side. He prov'd also, that when Christianity came to be establish'd in the Empire,

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Empire, and Julian the Apostate's Defection suspected, the Christians in those Days did all they cou'd to hinder his Succession, and were so far from paying him a blind Submission when he came to the Throne, that they oppos'd his Proceedings to overturn their Religion, upbraided him with his Apostacy, and carry'd it towards him in such a manner, as discover'd they knew nothing of the modern Doctrine of Nonresistance.

Dr. Hicks, made afterwards Dean of Worcester, wrote a Book call'd *Jovian*, by way of Answer to *Julian the Apostate*; and Mr. Johnson reply'd to him in a Book, intitled, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity*, which was printed in 1683. and enter'd at Stationers-Hall; but before he publish'd it, his Noble Patron the Lord RUSSEL was imprison'd, in order to be sacrific'd to the Duke of York, for carrying up the Bill of Exclusion to the House of Lords. Upon this Mr. Johnson being told by some Friends that 'twou'd not be safe for him at that time to publish his Book, he comply'd with their Advice.

And here, for Mr. Johnson's Honour in being chosen by such a Patron, as well as to do Justice to the Memory of that Worthy Patriot, it may be proper to observe, not only that the Illegal Sentence against him was revers'd by Parliament, after the Revolution, but that in the Preamble to the Patent of their late Majestys, for creating his Father the late Earl of BEDFORD a Duke, among other Reasons for bestowing that Honour, it is set forth, * " That
" this is not the least, That he was Father to the Lord
" RUSSEL, the Ornament of his Age, whose great Merits
" twas not enough to transmit by History to Posterity, but
" they were willing to record them in their Royal Patent, to
remain

* The whole Preamble is as follows. *Rex & Regina, &c. Archiepiscopis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Vice-Comitibus, Episcopis, Baronibus, Militibus, Prepositis, Liberis Hominibus, ac omnibus Officiariis, Ministris, & Subditis nostris, quibuscunque ad quos Prasentes pervenerint, Salutem. Quum alii aliis tantum prestant, ut ipsos etiam Titulos illustrare possint, tantamque in honoris insignia refundant Dignitatem, quantam ab iis reliqui merentur, ut Regum Felicitas sit, talibus Subditis preesse, illorum etiam equitatis est, eosdem, quibus poterint, modis amplissimis ornare. Cumque ei, qui in lentissimis Fortibus constitutus sit, ac prope decursa vita studio, ad meritum, jam summo omnium applausu properat, nihil aliud referre possimus, prater Gloriam Commendam (cujus in generosis animis, tanto magis crescit fides, quanto plus ex ea hauritur &c.) Hinc, quatenus in per dilectum perquam fidelem Consanguineum & Consiliarium nostrum, Gulielmum Bedfordiam*

“ remain in the Family as a Monument consecrated to his
 “ consummate Virtue, whose Name cou’d never be forgot
 “ so long as Men preserv’d any Esteem for Sanctity of
 “ Manners, Greatness of Mind, and a Love to their
 “ Country, constant even to Death: Therefore to solace
 “ his excellent Father for so great a Loss, to celebrate the
 “ Memory of so noble a SON, and to excite his Worthy
 “ GRANDSON, the Heir of such mighty Hopes, more
 “ chearfully to emulate, and follow the Example of his Illus-
 “ trious FATHER, they intail’d this High Dignity up-
 “ on the Earl and his Posterity.

To return to Mr. Johnson; about two Months after the Lord RUSSEL was beheaded, he was summon’d to appear before the King and Council, where the Lord Keeper North examin’d him as follows.

1. Whether he was the Author of a Book, call’d, *Julian’s Arts and Methods to undermine and extirpate Christianity*? To which he answer’d in the Affirmative.

2. Why after that Book had been so long enter’d at Stationers-Hall, ’twas not publish’d? To which he reply’d, That the Nation was in too great a Ferment to have the Matter further debated at that time. Upon this he was commanded to produce one of those Books to the Council, and was told, that if they approv’d it, it shou’d be publish’d; but he answer’d, He had suppress’d them himself, so that they were now his own private Thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any Power on Earth. The Council dismiss’d him at that time, but sent for him twice afterwards, press’d the same thing upon him, and receiv’d the same Answers, for which they sent him Prisoner to the Gatehouse by the following Commitment.

Bedfordiæ Comitum, Middlesexienfis, Bedfordienfis & Cantabrigienfis Comitatum Locum tenentem nostrum, & ordinis nostri Periscelidis Equitem, ejusque posteros libentissime conferri volumus, qui (vetustissima Familia splendore per tot annos tanta cum laude sustentito) meritis suis, ac novum eidem decus inferret, ac ut ab eo fonte, alia & augustior Honoris era oriretur, de quo, cum multis predictanda sint, tunc hoc minime secundum est, Quod seculi hujus ornamentum, Gulielmus Dominus Russel, ex eo nascatur, cujus ingenua merita, non tantum Annalium fide posteritati tradantur, sed & Regis nostris literis (ut sacratum consummatissimum in ea Familia virtuti Monumentum) inscribi volumus; neque illius nomen aliquem delebitur, quandiu sanctissimis moribus, castissimo animo, & in patriam caritati usque ad mortem constanti, sunt referendibus bonis. Ideoque ad optimi patris orbem solendam, ad præclarissimi filii Britannicæ celebrandam, & ad dignissimi negotii ad tantam gloriam, emulationem excitandam (que alacrius maxime parentis virtutis infisteret) futurum etiam ei honores sustinendos mandamus. Sciatis igitur, &c.

Teste, &c. 8 May, 1694.

†

Sir

Sir *Leolin Jenkins* Knight, one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State.

WHEREAS Samuel Johnson, Clerk, hath (as appeareth by Information upon Oath) caus'd Three Thousand Copys of a certain Book, intitl'd, *Julian's Arts to Extirpate and Undermine Christianity, &c.* to be Printed, in order to the Publishing thereof: And the said Samuel Johnson confesseth that he was the Author thereof, and had the said Three Thousand Copys (or thereabouts) in his Custody, and hath deliver'd the same so printed to a Friend to be kept, until he shall see a fit time for the publishing thereof; and refuseth, upon his Examination, to produce any of the said printed Copys, or to discover where, or in whose Custody the same are. And whereas it is justly suspected that the said Book is a Treasonable Book, and intended to be publish'd at such time or times as it shall be of dangerous Consequence to the Publick Peace to do it; These are therefore, in His Majesty's Name, to Will and Require you to take the Body of the said Samuel Johnson into your Custody, in his Majesty's Prison of the Gatehouse, and him safely to keep there until he discover the said Copys; to the end, that if they be Treasonable, they may effectually be proceeded upon and suppress'd, or he the said Samuel Johnson be otherwise deliver'd by due Course of Law: And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal at Whitehall, the Third Day of August, 1683. in the Thirty Fifth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

L. JENKINS.

To *Anthony Church*, Keeper of His Majesty's Prison of the Gatehouse.

The Illegal nature of this Commitment is so obvious, that there needs no Comment upon it. Mr. Johnson was bail'd out of the Gatehouse by two of his Friends, and the Court us'd all possible Endeavours to discover and seize the Copys of his Book, which he had committed to the Care of a Friend: To this end they sent a Messenger to search the House, where they had Information they were, but miss'd them; the Providence of which was so much the more remarkable, because after they had search'd the first time, his Friends apprehending a further Enquiry, and not thinking

thinking them secure enough, remov'd them; and when the Messenger search'd again, he found the first Place, but miss'd the second; after which they were remov'd to a third Place in the same House, and upon a fresh search, the Messenger found the second Place, but miss'd the third.

The Court being disappointed by not finding the Books, had recourse to Promises; and a considerable Sum, besides the Favour of the Court, was offer'd for one of the Copys to the Person in whose Hands they were suppos'd to be; which was refus'd: So that neither Promises nor Threats prevailing, the Court was oblig'd to drop the Prosecution upon that Book, and lodg'd an Information against Mr. Johnson in the King's Bench, for writing *Julian the Apostate*.

This Prosecution was begun and carry'd on by the Interest of the Duke of York: the Papists about that Prince knowing, there was no such effectual way to ruin Protestants as to sow Divisions among them, resolv'd to split them with a Wedg of their own Timber. To this end they run down the old *Queen-Elizabeth-Protestants*, who began then to grow out of fashion, and those of the *Laudean* stamp were the only Men in vogue. One of that sort, who wore the Church's Livery, was pitch'd upon to cull those Passages out of Mr. Johnson's Book, upon which the Information against him was founded, and that Gentleman then made his Boasts of it. There was a strong Party at that time in the Church, who set up for what they call'd the Divine, Indefeasible and Hereditary Right of the Lineal Succession, in favour of the Duke; and visibly serv'd the Cause of Popery and Slavery, not only by persecuting Protestant Dissenters, but by running down all those, who tho they adher'd firmly to the Doctrine, Government and Worship of the Church of *England*, as well as to the Constitution of their Country, were for giving a legal Toleration to them.

The abovemention'd Divine was an Instance of this; for the first Citation he took out of Mr. Johnson's Book, was thus: "And therefore I much wonder at those Men, who trouble the Nation at this time of Day with the unseasonable Prescription of Prayers and Tears, and the Passive-Obedience of the Theban Legion, and such like last Remedys, which are proper only at such a time as the Laws of our Country are arm'd against our Religion." It may indeed seem strange, that so innocent an Expression as this shou'd have been set in the Front

From of his Accusation by the Church of England Divine; but since there's no doubt that the Popish Priests had a great hand in the Management of it, we are not to wonder that this Expression, how innocent soever in itself, was transform'd into an unpardonable Guilt: for nothing is more shocking to the Spirit and Interest of Popery, than that People should claim any Right to a Religion seal'd by the Laws of the Land, which is not allow'd by the Laws of the Pope; it being a fundamental Maxim of that See, that all Laws made to support a Religion or Interest contrary to that of Rome, are void in themselves.

When Mr. Johnson was brought to Trial upon this Information, he employ'd Mr. Wallop as his Council, who urg'd for his Client, That he had offended against no Law of the Land; That the Book taken together was innocent, but only Treatise might be made criminal, if dealt with as those who drew up the Information had dealt with this. But Arguments were all to no purpose; those very Laws which he pleaded in behalf of his Client, were the great Eye-sore of the Romish Party, as appear'd by the Duke's suspending them afterwards when he came to the Crown. The Faction was sensible that Mr. Johnson had hit upon an unlucky Parallel, and therefore he must be condemn'd at any rate. The Court however was kept in countenance for their Proceedings against him by the Current of the then Divines, who preach'd up Passive Obedience, and the Divine Right of Hereditary Succession, which of it self, had it been true, depriv'd the Parliament of all Power to alter the Succession. The Judges had their Orders how to proceed in the Cause, and the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies upbraided Mr. Johnson for meddling with what did not belong to him; and scoffingly told him, he wou'd give him a Text, which was, *Let every Man study to be quiet, and mind his own Business*: to which Mr. Johnson reply'd, That he did mind his Business as an *Englishman*, when he wrote that Book. This Reply was the more proper, in regard Mr. Johnson was always careful (as before observ'd) not to bring any such Matters into the Pulpit, or make them interfere with his Business as a Divine.

But neither Innocence nor Law cou'd protect him; so that the Court having the Command of Jurys as well as of Judges, they got him condemn'd in a Fine of Five Hundred Marks, and to be committed Prisoner to the Kings Bench.

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Bench till he should pay it, which they knew was the same with perpetual Imprisonment; since he was not able to raise that Sum. Thus he was condemn'd and committed to the great joy of the Papists, when in him they saw the Laws of England condemn'd by the Judges, who study'd more to oblige the Court than to do their Duty. When the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, all the Halls in London, as well as Jails in the Country, were fill'd with Persons whom the Court suspected to be averse to their Measures. This prov'd some Relief to Mr. Johnson, by affording him good Company; for in those days 'twas reckon'd criminal to visit or shew him any kindness: so that few had the courage to come near him, or give him any relief; by which means he was reduc'd very low. About this time his Mother, whom he had maintain'd for many Years, sent to him for Subsistence; and such was his filial Affection, that tho he knew not how to supply his own Wants, and those of his Wife and Children, and was told on this occasion that *Charity begins at home*, he sent her Forty Shillings, tho he had but Fifty in the world; saying, he wou'd do his Duty, and trust Providence for his own Supply. The Event shew'd that his Hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had Ten Pounds sent by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from the Reverend Dr. Fowler, now Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

Mr. Johnson during his Confinement publish'd several Pieces, which after the Revolution he collected into a Volume, and call'd, *A Second Five Year's Struggle against Popery and Tyranny*. The first of which was a Sermon against Popery, he had preach'd before the Lord Mayor of London, because, as he observ'd, 'twas then a great rarity to hear a Sermon upon that Subject. This he publish'd to stir up the Zeal of the Clergy against the Popish Religion, and therefore address'd it to them by a very respectful Dedication. Having likewise observ'd a Project on foot to reconcile the Church of England with that of Rome (in which Sir Roger L'Estrange was a principal Instrument) he compil'd a small Treatise, intitled, *The Church of England as by Law Establish'd, being the very Doctrine and express Words of the Homilys against Popery*.

Perceiving the Papists to grow very insolent upon the Defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, he publish'd *A Short Disswa-*

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*Diffusive from Popery, and from Countenancing and Encouraging Papists; wherein speaking of Transubstantiation, he has these remarkable Words: "The Cruelty is unexpressible, which
" has been us'd to make way for this monstrous, absurd,
" and barbarous Doctrine; witness the Ashes of our Mar-
" tyrs in Queen Mary's time, and the Deluge of Protestant
" Blood shed in the French and Irish Massacres: And when
" God shall make Inquisition for that Blood, 'tis much to be
" fear'd that a great part of the Vengeance which is due
" for it, will fall upon those Men who countenanc'd, encourag'd,
" and strengthen'd the hands of Papists, tho they were no Papists
" themselves."* Many Papers of this nature are to be read in his *Five Year's Struggle*, &c. which he distributed about Town and Country at his own charge. At the same time he wrote, but did not publish, his Opinion, *That Resistance may be us'd in case our Religion and Rights be invaded: for he reserv'd that against a time of absolute Necessity.*

Among other things he then wrote, one of the most remarkable was, *An Humble and Hearty Address to all the Protestants in King James's Army*, at that time incamp'd on *Hounslow-Heath*, to the great terror of the City, and of the whole Nation; wherein he exhorted the Protestant Officers and Soldiers, not to serve as Instruments to inflave their Country, and to ruin the Religion they profess'd. At this the Court was so much incens'd, that having discover'd him to be the Author, they try'd him for it at the *King's-Bench*, where he was condemn'd to stand three times in the Pillory, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*: which Sentence, tho barbarous in it self, was not pronounc'd without the Aggravation of some very sarcastical Expressions. But in order to load him with greater Ignominy, the Courtiers, on pretence of Respect to the Church, mov'd, that before Execution of the Sentence, he shou'd be degraded from the Order of Priesthood. This ought to have been done, according to the Canons, by his own Diocesan the Bishop of *London*; but that Prelate was then under a Suspension himself, because he wou'd not obey the King's Orders to suspend *Dr. Sharp*, now Archbishop of *York*, for preaching against Popery in his own Parish-Church of *St. Giles in the Fields*. *Dr. Crew* Bishop of *Durham*, *Dr. Sprat* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Dr. White* Bishop of *Peterborough*, being then Commissioners for the Diocels of *London*, in the place of the suspended Bishop, were appointed to degrade *Mr. Johnson*; which

which they perform'd in the Chapter-House of St. Paul's, where Dr. Sherlock and other Clergymen attended; but Dr. Stillingfleet, then Dean of Paul's, refus'd to have any hand in it.

Mr. Johnson's Behaviour on this occasion was observ'd to be so becoming, that very Character his Enemies wou'd have depriv'd him of, that it melted some of their Hearts, and forc'd them to acknowledg there was something very valuable in him. Among other things which he said to the Divines then present, he told them in the most pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that since all he had writ was design'd to keep their Gowns on their backs, they shou'd be made the unhappy Instruments to pull off his: And begg'd them to consider, whether they were not making Rods for themselves.* When they came to the Formality of putting a Bible in his hand, and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted with it with difficulty, kissing it, and saying, with tears, *That they could not however deprive him of the Use and Benefit of that Sacred Depositum.* It happen'd they were guilty of an Omission, in not stripping him of his Callock, which as slight a particular as it might seem, render'd his Degradation imperfect, and afterwards sav'd him his Benefice.

A Popish Priest made an Offer for two hundred pounds to get the Whipping part of the Sentence remitted: The Money was lodg'd by one of Mr. Johnson's Friends in a third hand for the Priest, if he perform'd what he undertook. The Man us'd his endeavours, but to no purpose; for the King was deaf to all Intreatys: The Answer was, *That since Mr. Johnson had the Spirit of Martyrdom, 'twas fit he shou'd suffer.*

On the first of December 1686. the Sentence was put in Execution, which Mr. Johnson endur'd with as firm a Courage and as Christian a Behaviour, as ever were discover'd on any such occasion. He observ'd afterwards to one of his most intimate Friends, that this Text of Scripture, which came suddenly into his mind, *He endur'd the Cross, and despis'd the Shame,* so much animated and supported him in his bitter Journey, that had he not thought it wou'd have look'd like Vain-glory, he cou'd have sung a Psalm while the Executioner was doing his Office, with as much Composure and Cheerfulness, as ever he had done in the Church; tho' at the same time he had a quick sense of every Stripe which was given him, with a Whip of nine Cords knotted, to the

Number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, because he had not the least Tincture of Enthusiasm. After the Execution of this Sentence, the King gave away his Living; and the Clerk, who had the Grant of it, made Application to the three Bishops abovemention'd for Institution; but they being sensible of the Omission in his Degradation, told him, He shou'd have it, if he cou'd get two Common Lawyers, and two Civilians to give it under their hands, that Mr. Johnson was legally degraded, and thereby depriv'd. The Clerk brought them the hand of one inconsiderable Common Lawyer, that the Degradation and Deprivation were both good; but the Civilian, to whom he apply'd, was more modest, and only sign'd a Paper with his Opinion, that if Mr. Johnson was legally degraded, he was *ipso facto* depriv'd. But this not proving satisfactory to the three Bishops, the Clerk was oblig'd to give them a Bond of Five Hundred Pounds to indemnify them, before they wou'd grant him Institution. Having receiv'd it, he went to Curingham for Induction; but Mr. Johnson's Parishioners oppos'd him; so that he cou'd never get Entrance, but was oblig'd to return *re infecta*.

This was very extraordinary in his Parishioners, at a time when the Court carry'd all by Violence, but it proceeded from their great Respect to him, and Experience of his Goodness; for no Minister was ever more obliging to his People than he, who was so far from exacting upon them, that he wou'd rather quit his own Right than be any ways grievous to them: of which there's one remarkable Instance, among many others. One of his Neighbours owing him Twenty Pounds upon Bond, and falling afterwards into low Circumstances, Mr. Johnson was advis'd to put the Bond in execution, while something was to be had; but he absolutely refus'd it, and chose rather to lose the Money, saying, *That no Man's Ruin shou'd lie at his door.*

Mr. Johnson continu'd in Prison till a quarter of a Year after the late happy Revolution; for tho' he might have been discharg'd upon King William's Arrival, he was so just to his Security, that he wou'd not go out till he cou'd get up a Bond of a Thousand Pounds, sign'd by two of his Friends for his true Imprisonment, upon his being allow'd the benefit of the Rules.

In the first Parliament after the Revolution, when the House of Commons was preparing an Act of Indemnity,

Mr. Johnson was advis'd by his Friends to get a Clause put into it, that he might have his Remedy at Law against such as had been his illegal Oppressors. They seem'd to be sensible that they were obnoxious, and could not justify what they had done. About that time, the Lord Bishop of Durham gave Mr. Johnson and his Lawyer a Meeting, and made his Peace with him, to their mutual Satisfaction.

Sir Francis Withens, who pronounc'd the Sentence against him, sent a Relation of Mrs. Johnson's to tell him a feign'd Story, that Sir Francis lay dangerously ill, and could not die in Peace, unless Mr. Johnson would forgive him. To which he reply'd, That he heartily forgave him what Injury he had done to him. Some few days after, the same Person brought Sir Francis to Mr. Johnson as he was walking in Westminster-Hall, where Sir Francis saluted him, and told him, That his Christian and kind Answer had prov'd a reviving Cordial to him. To which Mr. Johnson reply'd, that he heartily forgave the Injury done to himself; but as he had been an Enemy to his Country, he hop'd he would be made accountable for it; it being a common Saying with him, That he was oblig'd to forgive his own Enemies, but not the Enemies of his Country.

The Parliament taking Mr. Johnson's Case into Consideration, resolv'd, June 11. 1689. "That the Judgment against him in the King's Bench, upon an Information for a Misdemeanour, was cruel and illegal." A Committee was at the same time appointed to bring in a Bill for reversing that Judgment: and being also order'd to inquire how Mr. Johnson came to be degraded, and by what Authority 'twas done; Mr. Christy, the Chairman, some days after, reported his Case to this purpose. "That in Trinity-Term, 1686. an Information was exhibited against Mr. Johnson, in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer Attorney-General, for writing and publishing a scandalous and seditious Libel, intitul'd, *An humble and hearty Address, &c.* That the same Term they forc'd him to plead, get a Jury to find him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounc'd the following Sentence upon him: To pay Five Hundred Marks to the King, and to lie in Prison till 'twas paid: To stand thrice in the Pillory, in the Palace-Yard, at Charingcross, and at the Old Exchange: and To be whipt by the Common Hangmans from Newgate to Tyburn. That the Judges then in Court were the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens,

" *Watkins, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holloway.* That
 " apprehending 'twould be a Scandal to the Clergy to have
 " so infamous a Punishment inflicted on a Minister, they
 " desir'd Mr. Johnson might be first degraded: in order to
 " which, being a Prisoner in the King's Bench, in the Dio-
 " cels of the Bishop of Winchester, he was summon'd to ap-
 " pear the 20th of November in the Convocation-house of
 " St. Paul's, in the Diocels of London, his Living being
 " within that Diocels, and brought thither by *Habeas Cor-*
 " *pus*, where he found the Bishops of Durham, Rochester,
 " and Peterborough, Commissioners to exercise the Jurisdic-
 " tion of the Bishop of London during his Suspension, with
 " some Clergymen, and many Spectators: A Libel was ex-
 " hibited against him, charging him with great Misbeha-
 " viours, tho' none were specify'd nor prov'd. That Mr.
 " Johnson demanded a Copy of the Libel, and an Advocate;
 " both which the Bishops deny'd, and immediately pro-
 " ceeded to Sentence; That he shou'd be declar'd an Infamous
 " Person: That he shou'd be depriv'd of his Rectory: That he
 " shou'd be a mere Layman, and no Clerk; and be depriv'd of all
 " Right and Privilege of Priesthood: That he shou'd be degraded
 " thereof, and of all Vestments and Habits of Priesthood. Against
 " which Proceedings Mr. Johnson protested, as being against
 " Law, and the 132d Canon, not being done by his own
 " Diocesan: but his Protestation was refus'd, as was also his
 " Appeal to the King in Chancery. After which they pro-
 " ceeded to degrade him, by putting a Square Cap on his
 " Head, and then taking it off; by pulling off his Gown
 " and Girdle, which he demanded as his proper Goods
 " bought with his Mony: which they promis'd to send
 " him, but he cou'd not get 'em till he paid Twenty Shil-
 " lings. Then they put a Bible into his Hands, which he
 " not parting with readily, they took it from him by Force.
 " That on the 22d of November the Judgment in the King's
 " Bench began to be executed with great Rigour and Cru-
 " elty; that Mr. Rouse the Under-Sheriff tore off his Cas-
 " sock on the Pillory, and put a Frize Coat upon him.
 " That he was whip'd with a Whip of nine Cords knotted;
 " which was shew'd to the Committee. That Mrs. Johnson
 " had also an Information exhibited against her for the like
 " matter as that against her Husband. On all which the
 " Committee came to the following Resolutions, which, on
 " the Report were all agreed to by the House: That the
 " Judgment

“ Judgment against Mr. Johnson was Illegal and Cruel: That the
 “ Ecclesiastical Commission was Illegal, and consequently the Suspen-
 “ sion of the Bishop of London, and the Authority committed to
 “ the three Bishops null and illegal: That Mr. Johnson’s not being
 “ degraded by his own Diocesan, if he had deserv’d it, was illegal:
 “ That a Bill be brought in to reverse the Judgment, and to de-
 “ clare all the Proceedings before the three Bishops null and illegal:
 “ and That an Address be made to his Majesty to recommend
 “ Mr. Johnson to some Ecclesiastical Preferment, suitable to his
 “ Services and Sufferings.” The House likewise order’d, That
 in the said Bill the Proceedings upon the Ecclesiastical Com-
 mission shou’d be declar’d void.

The House presented two Addresses to the King in be-
 half of Mr. Johnson. But tho his Majesty was inclinable
 enough to have comply’d with their Request, Mr. Johnson
 cou’d never obtain any Church-Preferment. This may
 justly seem strange, when it is consider’d how well he de-
 serv’d it; but the late Mr. Hampden, who was his Fellow-
 Prisoner, and his great Friend, upon the account of their
 common Principles and Sufferings for the Liberty of their
 Country, may help to furnish us with some Reasons for it,
 in the account he gave of Mr. Johnson’s Book, about the
 Abrogation of King James, to the late Dutchess of Mazarine.

“ The Bishops, says he, and Clergy of the Church of
 “ England, having abandon’d King James, and own’d King
 “ William and Queen Mary, such of them as had formerly
 “ maintain’d the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience and Non-
 “ Resistance in an unlimited Sense, were upbraided with it,
 “ as having acted contrary to those Principles, which they
 “ had impos’d upon others to believe on pain of Dam-
 “ nation.

“ The matter of Fact being undeniable, several of them,
 “ rather than own their Mistake, had recourse to Subter-
 “ fuges to justify their Practice, and at the same time
 “ to maintain their Doctrine. To this end they pub-
 “ lish’d several Books; one of which advanc’d, that King
 “ William had conquer’d the Nation by his Army and Fleet,
 “ and therefore they were oblig’d to submit to him as a Con-
 “ queror, but not as to a King set up by Parliamentary Au-
 “ thority, it not being in the power of the Nation to
 “ change or dethrone their Kings.

“ Others not liking this way of arguing, had recourse to
 “ another Topick, viz. That God, for the fulfilling of Pro-
 “ phecys,

“ phycys, and of his own eternal Decrees, had, by an extraordinary Providence, and by virtue of his absolute Power to dispose of Princes and People as he pleas’d, set K. *William* upon the Throne by his own hand, therefore they were oblig’d to submit to his Will.

“ Some again liking neither of these Arguments, but still being willing to save their Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, said, That ’twas not the Nation, either by themselves or Representatives, who had dethron’d K. *James*, but that he depos’d himself, by deserting and abdicating the Kingdom; therefore they were oblig’d to set up another in his Place, lest the Nation shou’d fall into a Republick, which wou’d have been the greatest of all Calamitys.

“ Others again endeavour’d to justify themselves from the Authority of St. *Paul*, who commands all Christians to submit to the Powers that be; from whence they infer’d, that it did not belong to Subjects to enquire into the Rights of Princes, but to submit to those who are in possession, without troubling themselves to examine whether their Titles were good or not.”

These several Propositions being maintain’d by Divines of Note, it is the less to be wonder’d that Mr. *Johnson* who oppos’d those Principles, and particularly in his Book about the Abrogation of King *James*, cou’d get no Church-Preferment, since he had such numerous and powerful Enemys among the Clergy, who represented him as a Republican, for maintaining that King *James* was dethron’d for Male-Administration, and that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were set up in his stead by Authority of Parliament.

He dedicated this Book to the House of Commons, and confuted those Principles with a great deal of Learning and Judgment; but we refer the Reader to the Book it self, and to the Character given of it by Mr. *Hampden*, whom every body must own to have been as able a Judg of that Subject, as any Man in *England* before or since.

Mr. *Johnson* however, being a Man of such Merit, did not pass altogether without a Reward: for the King gave him Three Hundred Pounds a year out of the Post-Office for his and his Son’s Life, besides a Thousand Pounds in Mony; and likewise bestow’d a Place of about a Hundred Pounds a year on his Son.

One wou'd have thought that he shou'd have been secure from Attempts upon his Life after the Revolution, but the Malice of his Enemy was so great, because of the Influence his Writings had upon K. James's Standing Army, and on account of the Book last mention'd, that there was an Attempt to murder him on Sunday the 27th of Novemb. 1692. To this end seven Assassins broke into his House in Bondstreet, very early in the Morning, and five of 'em with a Lanthorn got into his Chamber, where he with his Wife and young Son were in bed. Mr. Johnson was fast asleep; but his Wife being awak'd by their opening the door, cry'd out *Thieves*, and endeavour'd to wake her Husband. The Villains in the mean time threw open the Curtains, three of 'em plac'd themselves on that side of the Bed where he lay, with drawn Swords and Clubs, and two stood at the Beds-feet with Pistols. Mr. Johnson started up, and endeavouring to defend himself from their Assaults, receiv'd a Blow on the Head, which made him fall backward. His Wife cry'd out with great earnestness, and begg'd them not to treat a sick Man with such Barbarity; upon which they paus'd a little, and one of the Miscreants call'd to Mr. Johnson to hold up his Face; which his Wife begg'd him to do, thinking they only design'd to gag him, and that they wou'd rifle the House and be gone. Upon this he sat upright; when one of the Rogues cry'd, *Pistol him for the Book he wrote*: which discover'd their Design, for 'twas just after the publishing of the Book above-mention'd concerning the Abrogation of K. James.

Whilst he sat upright in his Bed, one of them cut him with a Sword over the Eye-brow, and those at the Beds-feet presented their Pistols at him; but upon Mrs. Johnson's passionate Entreatys they went off, without doing him further mischief, or rifling the House.

A Surgeon was immediately sent for, who found two Wounds on his Head, and his Body much bruis'd. However, with due Care he recover'd; Providence being pleas'd to preserve this Useful Man against this Attempt to murder him by open Violence, as well as against that which was carry'd on before by Form of Law: so that he died afterwards in Peace, ending his Days, which had been full of Troubles, with the same pious Fortitude with which he had liv'd, and with an intire Resignation to the Divine Will.

I shall

I shall conclude these few Memorials with the Character given him by his great Friend, Fellow-Patriot and Sufferer, Mr. *Hampden*; who, in the Account of his Book to the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* before-mention'd, ſpeaks of him thus :
“ Being two Years with him in the ſame Priſon, I had the
“ Opportunity to know him perfectly well ; and to ſpeak
“ my thoughts of him in one word, I can aſſure your
“ Grace, that I never knew a Man of better Senſe, of a
“ more innocent Life, nor of greater Vertue, which was
“ proof againſt all Temptation, than Mr. *Johnson*. ”——
For the reſt, let his Works praiſe him, to which the Reader is refer'd, and in which many Particulars relating to his Life and Sufferings are mention'd by himſelf, and are the moſt laſting Memorial to his great Merit.

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OF MR. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

I shall conclude these few Memorials with the Character given him by his great Friend, Fellow-Patriot and Sufferer, Mr. Hancock; who, in the Account of his Book to the Trustees of Massachussetts before-mentioned, speaks of him thus: "Being two Years with him in the same Prison, I had the Opportunity to know him perfectly well; and to speak my thoughts of him in one word, I can assure you, Grace, that I never knew a Man of better Sense, of a more innocent Life, nor of greater Virtue, which was proof against all Temptation, than Mr. Johnson. For the rest, let his Works praise him, to which the Reader is referred, and in which many Particulars relating to his Life and Sufferings are mentioned by himself, and are the most lasting Memorial to his great Merit."

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Chalfont.

Mr. John Wheelock.

Mr. Bryan Wheelock.

Mr. Robert Whitledge.

Mr. Winton.

Mr. Caleb Wroe.

Mr. John Wildman.

Mr. John Wolfe.

Mr. John Wyat.

Y.
Artholomew Young, Esq; of

Bradfield-Hall in Suffolk.

JULIAN
THE
APOSTATE:
BEING

A Short ACCOUNT
OF HIS
L I F E,

The Sense of the *Primitive Christians*
about his Succession,

And their BEHAVIOUR towards him.

Together with

A Comparifon of POPERY and PAGANISM.

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The Preface to the Reader.

IN reading many of the late Addresses, I cou'd not forbear thinking of those Angels which Mahomet saw, whose Horns were half Fire, and half Snow: those Contrarietys which they were on the outside of their Heads, methought, many of our Addressers had got on the inside of theirs. For with a brave and warm Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and a Protestant Prince, they generously offer'd their Lives and Fortunes, and the last Drop of Blood, in defence of his Majesty, and the Religion now establish'd by Law; and by and by the same Lives and Fortunes, and last Drop of Blood, are promis'd over again to a Popish Successor. What is this but clapping cold Snow upon the Head of all their Protestant Zeal? For he that offers his Service to both of these together, lists himself under two the most adverse Partys in the World, and is Guelph and Gibeline at once. What benefit a Popish Successor can reap from Lives and Fortunes, spent in defence of the Protestant Religion, he may put in his Eye: And what the Protestant Religion gets by Lives and Fortunes spent in the Service of a Popish Successor, will be over the left Shoulder.

But this contradictory Zeal was nothing near so surprizing as that of our Friends of Rippon, who beseech his Majesty, and are very solicitous, lest he shou'd agree to a Bill of Exclusion (for plain English is as well understood on this side the Trent, as on the other) and seem to be very much afraid of losing the great Blessing of a Popish Successor. All the sober Men that I have met with, who remain unsatisfy'd as to a Bill of Exclusion, do nevertheless acknowleg, That a Popish Successor will be a heavy Judgment of God to this Nation; to which we must patiently submit, as we do to all other Calamityes. But did ever Men pray for a Judgment, and make it their humble Request, that they might be sure of it? Do they not, on the other hand, when it begins to threaten them, heartily deprecate the Evil, and are they not earnest with God to avert it? Nay, do they not moreover use all lawful human means to prevent it? There is no Judgment represented in Scripture, to be so immediately the Stroke of God, as the Plague. David, in his great strait, made choice of it under that Notion; when he desir'd rather to fall into the Hands of God, than into the Hands of Men: and yet Men do constantly make use of all lawful means to prevent it. For, besides their using Hippocrates's Receipt of Cito, longe, tarde, and running away from it; they make no scruple of antidoting and fortifying themselves against it. They strive with an infected Air; and with Fires, and Fumes of Pitch and Tar, &c. they endeavour to correct it. Nay, they imprison Men that

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are infected, and put them under a very close Confinement, when they have committed no Fault, nor done any thing to forfeit their Liberty, only that they may thereby preserve others. This, and many other things are done by Law, till such time as it pleases God to countermand that heavy Judgment. I was therefore perfectly pos'd with that Address, and cou'd not tell what to make of it. The least I cou'd think of them was this, That if they were Protestants, they were Men weary of their Religion, who were so anxious for a Prince, a great part of whose Religion it is, to persecute and extirpate theirs. And considering with my self what Precedents or Examples they might have of this strange Conduct, and being able to find none; instead thereof, I had an imperfect remembrance of the quite contrary Carriage of the Primitive Christians towards Julian. In which having thoroughly satisfy'd my self, I was willing to give the World this short Scheme of it. I can term it no otherwise: for whoever pleases to look into those Places which I have cited, will find, that I have not impoverish'd the Subject; but have left, untouch'd, sufficient Materials for whole Volumes, to any one that shall be dispos'd to write them.

Having told you the Occasion of writing this Discourse, I shall say somewhat of every part of it. I have been very brief in Julian's Life, because I wrote it, only to render the following Discourse concerning his Succession intelligible, and yet I am sure I have not omitted any of the main Strokes of it. The Christians Behaviour towards him was necessarily added, as a collateral Proof and Illustration of their Sense about his Succession. Indeed, if they had been worthy to have known Julian's Religion, before he came to be Emperor, we had not had that part to write; but they that report, and do not invent, must take things as they are. This Behaviour of theirs being so contrary to what is commonly reported of them, and to the Carriage of former Christians, I found it necessary to make some few Remarks upon it; and to shew that there was as wide a difference betwixt their Case, and that of the first Christians, as Laws for Men, and against Men, cou'd possibly make. And if other Men are for taking Laws and no Laws, and shaking them together in a Bag, and for making the Result of either of them to be Passive-Obedience, I cannot help that; no more than I can my own Belief of this as a first Principle, that the Laws of a Man's Country are the measures of all Civil Obedience; or my Belief, that any kind of Obedience, either Active or Passive, without a Law to require it, is like one of the marvellous Accidents in Transubstantiation, which makes a shift to subsist, when it has lost its Subject. But there it was that I met with the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience; which when it is taught without any regard to Laws, and is prescrib'd both without Law and against Law, is not Evangelical but Mahometan, and the very Turkish Doctrine of the Bow-string. In such a short Discourse, it was impossible for me to say the tenth part of what is to be said, to shew how intolerable that Doctrine is, and how contrary both to the Gospel and to the Law of the Land. Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or devesting us of those Rights and Privileges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come lawfully by them. Read 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. with Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase upon them. And St. Paul himself was not for Passive-Obedience by any means, even when the lawful Magistrate persecuted him, if it were in an unlawful way; but he stood upon his Birthright. For did he not in one place awe the Centurion and chief Captain, and make all the Soldiers vanish who were commanded to beat him, by telling them he was a Roman? And did not he, in another place, bring the Magistrates of Philippi, one of the chief Citys of Macedonia, upon their Knees, when they had illegally beaten him, without a fair Trial, by

Acts 22. 25,
26, &c.

Acts 16. 39.

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telling them he was a Roman? Altho' tis very plain, that he, and Silas, who suffer'd with him, had really offended as they were accus'd, and were guilty of breaking the Roman Laws; yet St. Paul insists upon this, that they were uncondemn'd. It were easy to produce many more Passages to the same purpose. And then as for the Laws of the Land, That Doctrine overthrows Magna Charta, Chap. 29. together with multitudes of Statutes and rul'd Cases; which, as I cannot stand here to name, so I need not, they are so well known: Only I will set down one Case, for the fulness of it, which comprises in it more than all I have said.

In the Circuit of Northampton, when the Lord Anderson and Glanville were Justices of Assize, a Pursuant was sent by the Commissioners to arrest the Body of a Man to appear before them; and in resistance of the Arrest, and striving amongst them, the Pursuant was kill'd: And if this was Murder or not, was doubted, and this depended upon the Validity of Power, and Authority of the Pursuant; for if his Authority was lawful, then the killing an Officer of Justice in the execution of his Office, is Murder: and advisement was taken till the next Assizes; and upon Conference, at the next Assizes, it was resolv'd, that the Arrest was Tortious, and by consequence that this was not Murder. The Pursuant was a proper Officer of the High Commission Court, he was sent by the Court to make this Arrest, it was one of the Powers of their Commission to send for any by Pursuant, &c. and yet because this Power had no foundation upon the Act 1 Eliz. upon which their Commission was grounded, it cou'd not justify the Arrest, and consequently the Pursuant's Blood was upon his own Head. For as every Subject ought to be, and therefore is suppos'd to be, consentant of the Law; much more ought they to be, who have any part in the execution of it. Now any Man may see, that my Discourse does not descend to any such petty Matters as false Arrests (tho a Man's Liberty is not to be despis'd neither) but I have honestly and legally pursu'd the end of our Saviour's coming into the World, which, as himself witnesses, was, not to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them. Of which the Laws of the Land are likewise very tender, and have taken a particular care of all those, who are put upon an inevitable necessity of defending themselves against the Assaults of violent or evil-dispos'd Persons. And to conclude, That Doctrine quite alters our Oath of Allegiance, and gives us new measures of Obedience; whereas the old ones are these, I shall be obedient to all the King's Majesty's Laws, Precepts, and Procefs proceeding from the same.

And then after all, that the Case of a Pagan Successor might not seem remote and foreign, and nothing of kin to Popery, I found it necessary to make a short Comparison of both those Religions; which tho an unfinish'd Piece, I will be bold to say, is very like, wherein Popery may see her self neither flatter'd nor disfigur'd.

The Church of England reserves her Faith intire for the Canonical Books of Scripture: her Reverence she divides betwixt the antient Fathers, and the first Reformers of this Church; who partly were Martyrs that dy'd for the Protestant Religion, and partly were Confessors that afterwards settled it, as it is now establish'd. How much the Fathers wou'd have been for a Bill of Exclusion, we have seen already; I shall, in a word or two, shew you the sense of the other. Every Body knows that King Edward the Sixth, to prevent his Popish Sister from succeeding, and not having time to call a Parliament, bequeath'd his Kingdom, by Will, to the Lady Jane Gray, which was confirm'd by the Privy Council: It signify'd nothing indeed, because it cou'd not make void an Act of Succession in Henry the Eighth's time; but by doing that Nothing, they shew'd what they wou'd have done if they cou'd. I

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Verse 21.

Verse 37.

Coke's Reports,
Part 12. p. 49.
Browder's
Reports,
Part 2. p. 15.

Luke 9. 55.

Wilkinson's
Treatise Co-
roner Court-
Leet, &c.
p. 140.

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Sir Simon
d'Ewes's Jour-
nal, p. 140.

need not say what Bishops were concern'd, nor how far they were concern'd in that Business. But to pass by that, the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time, to whom, under God and that Queen, we owe the Settlement of our Church, concur'd to the making of that Statute 13 Eliz. chap. 1. which makes it High Treason in her Reign, and Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels ever after, in any wise to hold or affirm, That an Act of Parliament is not of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof: And when you see their Names, you will find that very many of them were Confessors.

† That brave Man, who in Q. Mary's time was one of those poor fix, that in the whole Convocation-House oppos'd Popery: truly a very small Representative Body of our whole Church.

Canterbury, Matt. Parker.
London, Edwyn Sands.
Durham, James Pilkinton.
Winchester, Robert Horne.
Hereford, John Scory.
Worcester, Nicholas Bullingham.
Lincoln, Tho. Cooper.
Salisbury, John Jewel.
St. Davids, Richard Davies.

Bathurst, Edmond Guest.
Exeter, John Parkhurst.
Carlisle, John Best.
Chester, John Downham.
Gloucester, † Richard Cheyney.
Bangor, Nicholas Robinson.
Landaff, Hugh Jones.

Sir Simon
d'Ewes's Jour-
nal, p. 207.

And that these Bishops were active and zealous for such Acts as these, and were not concluded by a Majority of the other Lords, appears by what they did, according to some, this Parliament; but, as Sir Simon d'Ewes will have it, the next Year, in relation to the Queen of Scots. I am not satisfy'd with Sir Simon's Reason, which is, that there was nothing mov'd about the Queen of Scots in the 13th of Eliz. For Camden says, There was a Bill for making her liable to be try'd as the Wife of a Peer of England, if hereafter she offended against the Laws; which the Queen hindered from passing into an Act. I shou'd not have mention'd this, but by Sir Simon's Account we lose John Jewel, who died in the Interval betwixt this and the next Parliament. But still there are Worthys enough left, who were Excluders with a Witness; for they were for excluding Mary Queen of Scots, the next Heir to the Crown, not only from the Succession, but out of the World: As you may see by their Writing, intitled, Reasons to prove the Queen's Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with Severity in this Case of the late Queen of Scots. Some of which I will here set down, only to invite the Reader to peruse the whole Paper.

Every good Prince ought, by God's Commandment, to punish even with Death all such as do seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship unto Superstition and Idolatry: For that Offence God hath always most grievously punish'd, as committed against the First Table, Deut. 13. his words are these; If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter, &c.

Here you may perceive that God willeth his Magistrate not to spare either Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Wife or Friend, be he never so nigh, if he seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship, &c.

But the late Queen of Scots hath not only sought and wrought, by all means she can, to seduce the People of God in this Realm from true Religion; but is the only hope of all the Adversarys of God throughout all Europe, and the Instrument whereby they trust to overthrow the Gospel of Christ in all Countrys. And therefore if she have not that Punishment which God, in this place aforementioned, appointeth; it is of

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all Christian Hearts to be fear'd, that God's just Plague will light both upon the Magistrates and Subjects; but that by our slackness and remiss Justice we give occasion of the Overthrow of God's Glory, and Truth in his Church, mercifully restor'd unto us in these latter days.

Constantinus Magnus caus'd *Licinius* to be put to Death, being not his Subject, but his Fellow-Emperor, for that the said *Licinius* labour'd to subvert Christian Religion; and the same *Constantinus* is for the same, in all Historys, highly commended. Much more shall it be lawful for the Queen's Majesty to execute this Woman, who besides the subversion of Religion, &c.

*Eusebius's Life
of Const. lib. 2.*

A Prince ought in Conscience before God, by all the means he can, to see to the Quietness, Safety, and good Estate of that People, over which God hath appointed him Governor.

—Therefore as the Queen's Majesty indeed is merciful, so we most humbly desire her, that she will open her Mercy towards God's People and her good Subjects, in dispatching those Enemy's that seek the Confusion of God's Cause amongst us, and of this noble Realm.

Object. But haply it may be, that some do discredit these Reasons by the Persons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majesty's Mind, that we, in persuading her, respect our own danger and fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unseemly, and worthy sharp reproof in a Bishop, to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful Inclination.

Resp. As touching the first Branch, surely we see not any great continuance of Danger likely to come unto us, more than to all good Subjects while this State standeth; and the State cannot lightly alter, without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country. Now if our Danger be join'd with the Danger of our Gracious Sovereign, and Natural Country, we see not how we can be accounted Godly Bishops, or Faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we should not cry and give warning: Or, on the other side, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God, and towards their Prince and Country, that will mislike us for so doing, and seek thereby to discredit us.

As touching the second Branch: God forbid that we should be Instruments to incense a merciful Prince to Cruelty and Bloodiness; neither can we think well of them, or judge that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Minister of God and Officer, do term Justice and right Punishment by the name of Bloodiness and Cruelty. God, I trust, in time, shall open her Majesty's Eyes to see and espy their cruel Purposes under the Cloke of extolling Mercy, &c.

Here you see how urgent they are with the Queen, contrary to her Inclination, to put Queen Mary to Death, who did not suffer till thirteen Tears after; and how they make the dangerousness of her Religion, and the hopes which the Papists had conceiv'd of ruining the Protestant Religion by her means, not only sufficient, but necessary Reasons for so doing. A Bill of Exclusion is perfect Courtship to these Reasons. Let those therefore that run down three successive Houses of Commons for that Bill, turn their Fury and Reproaches with more Justice upon these old Excluders, and we have done. And let them likewise give us but one Reason to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be unlawful, which they will own to be a Reason a Week after, and not be ashamed of it; and I do solemnly promise to join with them in renouncing these Old Reformers, and will hereafter readily follow their new Guides and new Light.

In

Peril Idol.
p. 13.

In the mean time, because I see hearty Protestants abus'd to their Ruin, with shameful Sophistry, I think it the part of every honest Man to detect it, And the most popular Argument is this: You are pre-engag'd, and cannot consent to a Bill of Exclusion; for if you do, you are forsworn, because you have long since sworn Allegiance to the King, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors. Now tho the Lawyers tell them, a hundred times over, No Man can have an Heir while he is alive; yet this will not overcome that deceitful Prejudice which is occasion'd by our common Speech, where a Man and his Heirs are contemporary, and familiarly live at once in the same House, and eat and drink together every day: Where likewise Heir Apparent sounds as a greater addition to Heir, and Heir Presumptive sounds as somewhat a less addition, and few are capable of considering them as terms of Diminution. No more than, on the other hand, a Papist can be persuaded that Images are Idols, because their common Speech has made a distinction, where really there is none, as the Homily well observes: Whereas here it has confounded an Actual Heir with one that is only in possibility. What is to be done then? Shall we shew them, that the Duty of Excise, for instance, is granted to the King, his Heirs and Successors? in which it is plain that Heirs and Successors have not any title to a Penny while his Majesty lives, which God grant may be long, to keep them a great while from it. Why still it may be reply'd, that Heirs and Successors may have this Law-Sense in an Act of Parliament; but an Oath of Allegiance ought to be conceiv'd in plain words, and to be taken in the common Sense of those words, without any Jesuitical Equivocation. Well, if it be so, then let them be sure to keep it in that sense in which they have taken it, or shou'd have taken it by sixteen Tears of Age, in the Court-Leet, in these words: This hear you, the Steward and the Court, that I shall swear, That I will be true Liege-Man, and true Faith and Troth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and to his Highness's Heirs and lawful Successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm of England, and other his Dominions depending on the same, &c.

Whereas it is plain to every body, that no one certain or known Person in the World, has any Interest at present in the Oath of Allegiance, besides his Majesty that now is: for who shall be King or Queen of this Realm of England hereafter, none but God himself knows.

Another Argument I have heard, which is fetch'd from the Common-Prayer; That no Church-of-England Man can, with a good Conscience, be for a Bill of Exclusion; which they say is to the prejudice of his R. H. because we there pray, That God wou'd prosper him with all Happiness, both here and hereafter. There is no Man in the Communion of the Church of England that prays that Prayer more heartily than I do. But it wou'd be a Curse, either in the Mouth or in the Heart of any Protestant, under the Name of Happiness, to wish him the Opportunity, and which is more, the invincible Temptation, and a kind of Necessity, to extirpate the best Religion in the World. That, I am sure, wou'd be far from promoting his Happiness in the next World; and, I am apt to think, will contribute nothing at all to it in this. He that prays that Prayer with understanding, prays for his R. H's Return to the Protestant Religion: which wou'd both prove an unspeakable Blessing to himself, and restore these three Kingdoms to be the happiest upon Earth. It wou'd be some comfort, if we cou'd but hope for such a thing. But if the Duke is persuaded that he has made a better Choice, it were very desirable, but not unless it stand with his Highness's good liking, that he wou'd enjoy that Religion to the greatest advantage, and take his fill of it at the Fountain-Head, which a Crown'd Head at this instant does, who cou'd not enjoy it so happily at home. And the rather, because all Protestants are

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are sworn not to suffer Rome to come hither. For I am thorowly satisfy'd, and so may any Man else, by once looking upon them, that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy are Protestant Oaths, (as a great Assertor of Religion and Laws, now with God, thought fit to term them) and we shamefully and wickedly break them, unless to our power we keep out Popery. And the Oath of Supremacy, being often call'd in Statutes the Oath of Obedience, we are bound, by virtue of our Religion, of our Oath, and of our Obedience, which are strong Obligations, to oppose the Entrance of Popery into this Kingdom.

And I am afraid it is a vain Undertaking to go about, by Law, to twist a Popish Interest with these Oaths, when both our Religion and our sworn Obedience, engage us to oppose it. For in any Case that can be put, whether it be fit to obey Man, or God and Man too, judg ye. Julian endeavour'd to entangle the Christians, and to destroy Christianity that every way. There was a Law, and an antient Law of the Empire (and so great stress was laid upon it, that the Breach of it was look'd upon as an Offence against the Government and the Empire) that every one shou'd honour and worship the Emperor's Statues and Pictures, which were set up for that end in publick Places. Now he took advantage of that Law, to ensnare them unawares into Heathenish Worship; for he added the Figures of the Heathen Gods to his own Picture, and, as Gregory's words are, mingled Poison with their Meat, abusing their Loyalty to the Purposes of Idolatry. For this was his Project, as Sozomen tells us: He concluded that if he cou'd bring over the Christians to this, he might the more easily attempt any thing else that he had a mind to; but if he found them disobedient, then to punish them without Mercy, as innovating in the Roman Customs, and offending against the Government and the Empire. A few therefore, who were also punish'd, understood the Cheat, and wou'd not worship according to custom. Who they were, St. Gregory tells us, some of the wiser and more conscientious found out the Fraud, but they paid for their Sagacity. The pretence was, that they offended against the Honour of the Emperor; but the truth was, they came into danger for the sake of the true King, and for the sake of Religion. But the Multitude, as they use to do, from Ignorance, or an unthinking Mind, simply thought they obey'd an Old Law, and more simply approach'd these Images. But what says Gregory of this sort that obey'd the old Law? Who perhaps, says he, may obtain pardon for their Ignorance, as being hurry'd into Wickedness by a Wile. He makes a doubt of it; but he wou'd have readily pronounc'd concerning their Pardon, who wink hard and are wilful. Now if a Prince puts a Border of Popery (which some say is ten times worse than a Border of Paganism) about his Picture, which we fain wou'd honour and reverence, and once did, before we saw that unhappy Addition; what shall we say, or what can we do?

In these afflicting Thoughts, I had almost forgot a Matter of great consequence, and that is a Passage of St. Austin, which rises up against all that we have said concerning the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian, and is to this effect: That the Christian Soldiers serv'd under this Infidel Emperor, and where their Religion was not concern'd, made Conscience of obeying him; but where indeed it came to the Cause of Christ, there they made as much Conscience of disobeying him.

Now the Reader may please to take notice, that the whole Contest which I have describ'd betwixt these Christians and Julian, was purely upon the score of Religion, and not from any lawless or ungovernable Humour. And as for these Soldiers fighting under Julian against the Persians, or other common Enemy's of the Empire, (for as sure as they were Christians, they wou'd ne-

Inveſt. 1.

p. 83, 84.

Sozom. l. 5.

c. 16.

Ibid.

Sozom. ibid.

in yrdum dnt
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Aug. in Tr. 124.

Julianus extitit infidelis

Imperator, &c.

ver have drawn a Sword to destroy their Fellow-Christians, or the Interest of Christianity) and obeying the Word of Command, when they receiv'd his Pay; it is such a low part of Honesty, that any Man may pretend to it. If I had been there a Soldier of Fortune, I shou'd have done the same; and, which is more, wou'd have lost my own Life, rather than have serv'd him that slippery trick in Persia.

But the Christians obeying Julian in indifferent Matters, which did not concern their Religion, puts me in mind of a more famous Compliance amongst themselves. Every body knows how the Church was rent in sander by Arianism, and there might be too much Stiffness and Rigidity on the other hand about Words, for ought I know; but miserably rent it was: which gave Julian great advantage against the Christian Religion.

Now what did the Christians do? Did the Orthodox go and side with Julian, to revenge the Injurys which they had receiv'd from the Arians in Constantius's time; or make use of Julian's Favour, which he shew'd in restoring them, to crush their Brethren who differ'd from them? No, there was no seeking to him by either side; only the Donatists of Africk complimented him, and receiv'd some small Favours from him, but they were made infamous by it. Honorius the Emperor, as I take it, posted them for it all over the Empire very many years after, and St. Austin is often teasing them for it in the next Generation.

Sozom. lib. 5.
cap. 11.

For instead of that, a Synod held by Athanasius, and other Bishops at Alexandria, determin'd, That because the Question of *ὁμία* and *ἰσότης* troubled the Church, and because there were frequent Contentions and Disputes about them, these words shou'd not be us'd in any Dispute but against the Sabellians.

Lib. 6. c. 4.

The same Historian has a notable Passage to the same purpose in Jovian's Life, who succeeded Julian; and who, by the way, when he was chosen Emperor by the unanimous Consent of the whole Army, refus'd it, saying, he was a Christian, and wou'd not be the Emperor of Pagans. The Army, on the other hand, beg'd of him not to decline the Government of them, as a wicked Government, for they were all Christians too: upon which he accepted the Empire. As soon as he came to be Emperor, says the Historian, Questions and Disputes about Doctrines of Faith, were again mov'd by the Presidents of the Churches. For while Julian reign'd, the whole of Christianity lying at stake, they were quiet, and supplicated God with * one accord, that he wou'd be merciful to them. Upon which he makes this Remark: Thus Men use to do, when they are injur'd by Strangers (or a Common Enemy) to be united amongst themselves; but when they are freed from foreign Evils, then to fall into disorder, and disturb one another.

* *ἑνωμένως*.

O that we had but this piece of common Sense, which it seems all the rest of Mankind have! For nothing else, but being united amongst our selves, can prevent the foreign Evils which are coming like a Torrent upon us.

All that I shall say further in reference to this Book, is this, That I have been as careful in the Citations, as ever I was in telling Money; and therefore can only say, as they usually do in that case, I hope it is all right: and if it shou'd chance, in any one particular, to prove otherwise, I am ready to make it good.

JULIAN

...and they were maintained and served like Princes, in one of the Royal Palaces, as being the remaining Branches of his Family, relying for the future on the good progress in Learning, that they expected in him. They both made it their business to read the Scriptures to the People, thinking this no diminution of their rank.



JULIAN

THE APOSTATE.

CHAP. I.

A Short Account of Julian's Life.



Constantine the Great, famous for being the first Christian Emperor, divided the whole Empire, at his Death, among his three Sons, as a Father does his Estate amongst his Children. That part which came by his Ancestors, the West, he gave to the Eldest, the East to the Second; and that which lay betwixt these, to the Youngest. All which devolv'd at last upon his second Son *Constantius*, by the death of his two Brothers. In the mean time the Army us'd an extremity of Caution to secure them in the quiet possession of their respective Thrones; for being jealous lest their Uncles, and other Kindred, might usurp, they put them to the Sword. In these Outrages of the Soldiery, *Constantius*, and *Aniballianus*, and *Dalmatius Caesar* were slain; but *Gallus* and *Julian*, the Sons of this last-nam'd *Constantius*, were wonderfully deliver'd and sav'd, beyond all expectation. The Cause of their Deliverance is variously represented. *Gregory* every where attributes it to *Constantius* the Emperor; and so does *Julian* himself acknowledg it, in his Panegyrick of him. Others say, That *Gallus* the elder Brother was very sick; and the Soldiers concluded, that his Disease wou'd kill him, and save them the labour: and they did not think *Julian* dangerous, being but about five years of age. However that be, the Emperor *Constantius* afterward took great care of them,

*Euseb. vita
Const. l. 4. c. 51.*

*Τὸν μὲν τὸ
πρωτόγονον
ἀνέχον, τὸν μὲν
ἑσπέρου.*

*Greg. Naz. In-
vict. l. 1. p. 58.*

*Socrat. l. 3. c. 1.
Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.*

- Greg. Naz. In-
vect. 1. p. 58.
Ὡς ὁ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς
ἀνὴρ τῆς
ἐκείνου τῆς
ἐκείνου.
Ibid. p. 58, 59. them, and they were maintain'd and serv'd like Princes, in one of the Royal Palaces, as being the remaining Branches of his Family, reserv'd for the Empire. They both made so good progress in Learning, that they enter'd into Orders, so as to read the Scriptures to the People, thinking this no diminution to them, but that Piety was the greatest Ornament. The one of them was sincerely pious, tho' hot and fierce in his Nature; but the other redeeming the time, hid his wicked Temper under a Mask of Gentleness.
- Ibid. p. 60. Gallus after this was made *Cæsar*, and a great part of the World put into his hands; who being accus'd of Cruelty, and aspiring to the Empire, was rashly cut off by the Emperor. *Julian* at the same time fell under the Emperor's suspicion, but by the intercession of the Empress, he had leave to go to *Athens* to study Philosophy. How he spent his time there, *Theodoret* informs us. *Julian*, after the death of *Gallus*, grew presumptuous, and had a great mind to the Royal Scepter. For which cause he went up and down *Greece*, to find out Fortune-tellers and Conjurers, having a mind to know whether he shou'd obtain his Desire. And he met with a Man that promis'd to foretel him these things; who led him into an Idol Temple, and there initiated him: so that the Desire of a Kingdom strip'd this thrice wretched Person of his Piety.
- Greg. ib. p. 61. But according to *Gregory*, he had none to lose at that time. For before this, in his Brother's time, *Asia* was *Julian's* School of Impiety, for *Astronomy*, and *Nativities*, and the Vanity of Prognosticating, and that which follows these, *Magick*; and he wanted nothing but Power to add to his Wickedness.
- Ibid. And before that, *Gregory* concludes, that he was a conceal'd Pagan, when he disputed hard with his Brother in favour of the Heathens, and pretended that he only try'd how he cou'd hold the weaker side of a Question. Which agrees with what himself writes to the *Alexandrians*, when he was Emperor.
- Julian. Ep. 51. He advises them not to worship *Jesus*, as God the Word, whom neither they nor their Fathers ever saw; but the great Sun, which from Eternity all Mankind do see, and behold, and worship, which is the living, and animated, and understanding, and bountiful Image of the Intelligible Father; if they wou'd be rul'd by him, who had try'd both Religions, who had liv'd twenty Years in their Religion, and was now onwards of twelve in this. However the Fathers all agree, that the Occasion of his Revolt from Christianity, was from a Thirst of Empire, and from consulting his Heathen
- Sozom. l. 5. c. 2. *Gadbury's* about it; for *Sozomen* tells us, That no Christian was to meddle with the Arts of foretelling things to come. *St. Austin* has fully express'd the matter in few words: The same God, says he, that gave the Empire to a good Emperor, gave it likewise to *Julian* the Apostate, *cujus egregium indolens decepit amore dominandi sacrilegia & detestanda curiositas.*
- August. de
Civ. l. 5.
c. 21. The World knew nothing at all of this, nor the Emperor himself, who was now perfectly reconcil'd to him, and sent for him from *Athens*, and made him *Cæsar*; and as the greatest Pledg of his sincere Affection, gave him his Sister *Helena* to Wife, and gave him the Command of an Army, against some of the Northern Barbarous People who had invaded *France*. *Julian* indeed was jealous of this sudden Advancement, and look'd upon it as grinning Honour; and in *Homers* words, at that very time call'd it, *εὐφροσύνη*, a purple Death: and long after, in his large Letter to the Senate and People of *Athens*, he represents it as an Artifice to expose him to danger, and to destroy him. But as *Socrates* has well observ'd, it is plain that the Emperor had no such bad Intent, when he had given him his Sister; for that wou'd be to have Designs against himself. In *France* he was very successful, and routed the Enemy; and having got the Hearts of the common Soldiers, by giving them Money, they declar'd him Emperor. Thus *Julian* began to reign; and after he had chang'd the Magistrates in every Province, and traduc'd *Constantius* in every City where he came, and having increas'd his Numbers with those that revolted from *Constantius*, he openly laid aside his Hypocrisy of Christianizing, and marches with his Army for *Constantinople*. His pretence was, that he came to excuse his being made Emperor; but in truth it was, to wrest the whole Empire out of *Constantius's* hands: Who, on the other side, was going against the *Persians*; but hearing of *Julian's* March, advanc'd with his Army to meet him, but fell sick, and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not
- Socrat. l. 3. c. 1. him *Cæsar*; and as the greatest Pledg of his sincere Affection, gave him his Sister *Helena* to Wife, and gave him the Command of an Army, against some of the Northern Barbarous People who had invaded *France*. *Julian* indeed was jealous of this sudden Advancement, and look'd upon it as grinning Honour; and in *Homers* words, at that very time call'd it, *εὐφροσύνη*, a purple Death: and long after, in his large Letter to the Senate and People of *Athens*, he represents it as an Artifice to expose him to danger, and to destroy him. But as *Socrates* has well observ'd, it is plain that the Emperor had no such bad Intent, when he had given him his Sister; for that wou'd be to have Designs against himself. In *France* he was very successful, and routed the Enemy; and having got the Hearts of the common Soldiers, by giving them Money, they declar'd him Emperor. Thus *Julian* began to reign; and after he had chang'd the Magistrates in every Province, and traduc'd *Constantius* in every City where he came, and having increas'd his Numbers with those that revolted from *Constantius*, he openly laid aside his Hypocrisy of Christianizing, and marches with his Army for *Constantinople*. His pretence was, that he came to excuse his being made Emperor; but in truth it was, to wrest the whole Empire out of *Constantius's* hands: Who, on the other side, was going against the *Persians*; but hearing of *Julian's* March, advanc'd with his Army to meet him, but fell sick, and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not
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- Greg. Invect. 1. p. 67, 68. that he came to excuse his being made Emperor; but in truth it was, to wrest the whole Empire out of *Constantius's* hands: Who, on the other side, was going against the *Persians*; but hearing of *Julian's* March, advanc'd with his Army to meet him, but fell sick, and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not
- Ruffinus l. 1. c. 26. Army to meet him, but fell sick, and died in *Cilicia*. If this fatal Blow had not

not happen'd to the Christians. *Gregory* concludes, That *Julian* had now paid for his Folly, and not gone so far as *Perse* for his Punishment, as he did afterwards; but had met it now within the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And he gives a very good reason for his Opinion: for when *Julian* was now lawful Emperor, and the State of Affairs was quite alter'd; "yet he found much difficulty in conquering that Army."

The first thing he did, when he came to *Constantinople*, was to change his Court; "by putting to death some, and banishing others, not only for being loyal to the great King *Constantius*, but for being more loyal to a greater King, and therefore unserviceable to him upon both accounts." The next thing was, to gain the Soldiery; "which he presum'd would be an easy business, because some of them would be prevail'd upon by Honours, and some again would be drawn away by Simplicity, as knowing no other Law than the Will of their Prince: and as for the rotten and time-serving part, he could not fail of them." And in conclusion, he did draw over the greatest part of them. "Nevertheless, God still had a Remnant, more than seven Thousand, that did not bow the Knee to *Baal*; but repuls'd *Julian*, as a brave strong Wall does a sorry Engine that is play'd against it." He likewise call'd home the Orthodox Bishops whom *Constantius* banish'd, for one or both of these reasons, as *Sozomen* will have it; either that the Church might be embroil'd by a Civil War of Contention among themselves, or to lay an Odium on *Constantius*; which last is in effect what *Theodoret* says, He did it as a popular Act.

Having thus settled himself in his Throne, and made the Army sure to him, he began to discover his Malice against the Christians. "For before this he stood in fear of the Soldiers, who were Men principled in the true Religion. First of all, the famous *Constantine* having freed them from their former Errors, instructed them thorowly in the Doctrine of Truth; and after this, his Sons confirm'd them in it. For tho *Constantius*, at the instigation of others, rejected the word *ἐμμέτω*, yet he sincerely confess'd the meaning of it: For he call'd the genuine Son, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, *God the Word*. *Julian* knowing these things very well, did not discover the Wickedness of his Heart, nor as yet make any Laws against the Christians." Nay, he charg'd the People, That they shou'd injure none of the Christians, nor reproach them, nor draw them to sacrifice against their wills.

They suffer'd, notwithstanding, very much in this Interval, as well as afterwards, from the Insolency of the Heathens, and *Julian's* Connivance at it: of which *Theodoret* gives us abundance of Instances. The Heathens, says he, ran about the streets, and abus'd the Saints with Scurrility and Mockery, and omitted no sort of reproachful and abusive Language. The Christians not being able to bear the hard Speeches of these Men, reproach'd them again, and ran down that false Religion which they had in great veneration. The Heathens, on the other side, answer'd them with blows, and all manner of ill usage; which he there sets down. In some places they proceeded to the most barbarous Outrages: as at *Ascalon*, and at *Gaza*, where they rip'd up Christians, and then stuffing them with Barley, threw them to be devour'd by the Swine; as *Gregory* observes, the first Hogs-meat of that kind that ever was in the World, and fit only for *Julian's* Devils. At *Heliopolis* there was one *Cyril* a Deacon, who in the Reign of *Constantine*, burning with a Divine Zeal, broke many of the Images which were there worship'd: The execrable Heathens remembring this Act, not only kill'd him, but cutting open his Belly, they tasted his Liver. The Historian records it as a Judgment upon those that did it, that in a short time after their Teeth, and Tongues, and Eyes, drop'd out of their heads. But, of all the rest, I must not omit their Usage of *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa*: He, in the time of *Constantius*, throwing down an Idol Temple, built a Church instead of it. The People of *Arethusa* having understood *Julian's* Aim and Intention, soon discover'd their hatred against *Marcus*, who fled for it; but hearing that some of his Friends were like to suffer upon his account, he return'd and deliver'd up himself to that barbarous People: who (because he would neither rebuild their

their Idol-Temple, nor pay the Money which they demanded for it) strip'd him, and beat him, and drag'd him about the Streets by the Hair of his Head. They threw him into Sinks, and stinking Charnels; after that, they set on the Boys to stab and pink his Body all over with their writing Bodkins; they cut off his Ears with Thread, and otherwise tortur'd him; they anointed him over with Oil and Hony, and put him in a Net, and hoisted him up in the open Air, in the very heat of Summer, to expose him to Bees and Wasps, and such mischievous Insects: And at last, when they were weary of abusing and tormenting him, they wou'd have compounded with him for one piece of Gold. He said, No; it was the same Impiety to give one Half-penny, as to give the whole Sum.

It is observable, that this *Marcus* was one of those that sav'd *Julian*, and privately convey'd him away, at that time of danger, which we spoke of before. Whereupon *Gregory* has this sharp Saying; "For that one thing per-
Greg. Invect. 1. p. 90. haps it was that he justly suffer'd all this, and deserv'd to suffer a great deal more, because he sav'd, unawares, so great an Evil to the whole World."

Now all this was done, and much more, not only without, but against Law; whereby it appears how much an establish'd Religion is valu'd, when the Prince himself happens to be of another: for that alone authorizes the greatest Violence, and Oppression, and Outrages against them that differ from him. The Heathens, you see, did not stay for Laws and Edicts to warrant such Proceedings, which indeed they never had at all; but as soon as they knew how *Julian* stood affected, they took that for their Cue, to act these Tragedys upon the Christians. They knew it wou'd please the Emperor, and that was an unwritten Law: As *Gregory* wisely observes upon this
Invect. 1. p. 92. occasion; "The Will and Pleasure of the Emperor is an unwritten Law, back'd with Power, and much stronger than written ones, which are not supported by Authority." Upon which account he imputes all this Persecution to *Julian* himself, who being a Philosopher, avoided the name of a Persecutor; and compares those that injur'd the Christians, to several Implements of Mischief, but him to the first Mover who set them on work.

This underhand Persecution was follow'd with one more open and publick; and tho it were not so very severe in it self, yet it still encourag'd the former.
Theod. 1. 3. c. 7. As *Theodore's* words are in the next Chapter: "A thousand other Insolencies every where, both by Sea and Land, were then committed, by the Wicked against the Godly. For, from this time, the hated of God publicly made
Invect. 1. p. 81. Laws against Christianity." To begin with that which *Gregory* says was a Law, tho a childish and ridiculous one; whereby it was order'd, That Christians shou'd be call'd *Galileans*; as if Men were to be put out of conceit with their Religion, by a Nick-Name, especially when our blessed Saviour himself

suffer'd so much in that kind, as the same Father honestly observes. In the next place, he prohibited the Children of Christians to have any Poetry, Rhetorick, or Philosophical Learning: for, says he, according to the Proverb,
Theod. 1. 3. c. 7. *We are shot with our own Feathers*; or, as *Socrates* expresses it, He commanded, by a Law, that they shou'd have no Schooling or Education, lest by this Advantage they might be better able to oppose the Disputants of the Gentiles.

Some of the Fathers say, That he wou'd suffer no Christian Masters to teach, and make no mention at all of his forbidding the Youth to learn. Nay, *Julian* himself says, That it wou'd be an unjust thing to bar Children, who
Socrat. 1. 3. c. 12. knew not which way to turn themselves, from the right way; and says expressly, That their Children were not prohibited. Upon this *Baronius* wonders at the Ecclesiastical Writers, for saying, They were prohibited. Bishop *Montague* wonders more at him, for contradicting all Antiquity. These great Men cou'd not see a Consequence, which every poor *Hugonot* that comes over perfectly understands; for by removing the Christian Masters, he did effectually deny the Children of Christians any benefit of Learning: For who wou'd send their Children to Heathen Masters, where they shou'd be in apparent danger of being principled and train'd up in Heathenism? So that this Liberty, which he indulg'd them, was a thousand times better let alone; it was one of his Traps and deceitful Favours, wherein consisted the true Spirit

and

and Genius of *Julian's* Persecution. And this has been one of the modern ways of extirpating the pestilent Northern Heresy in *France*; where the Protestants have had the liberty, and almost a necessity, of sending their Children to Popish Schools, by being allow'd but one Protestant Schoolmaster, where five wou'd have been little enough. He made another Law, That *Thed. l. 3. c. 7.* those who wou'd not forsake *Christianity*, shou'd have no place in the Guards, *Socrat. l. 3. c. 13.* nor be Governors in the Provinces. Immediately, as *Socrates* adds, they who were true Christians, and who had only pass'd for such, were made as manifest to all Men, as if they had been set upon a Stage. They that were hearty sincere Christians, readily threw off their Military Girdles, chusing rather to endure any thing, than to deny Christ: Amongst whom were *Jovian*, and *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who were afterwards Emperors. Of the other sort, who prefer'd the Mony and Honour which is to be had here before true Happiness, was *Ecbolius*, who was always of the Emperor's Religion. Under *Constantius* he was a hot Christian, and under *Julian* a fierce Heathen, and after *Julian's* time wou'd fain have been admitted for a Christian again.

Gregory likewise makes mention of his Edicts against the Churches, to spoil *Inveft. l. p. 86.* them of their Endowments, Plate, and publick Stock; which was perform'd with Military Execution, and in some Places with much Cruelty: and the last *Socrat. l. 3.* was, to levy Mony upon those that wou'd not sacrifice, to defray the Charges *c. 15.* of his *Persian* Expedition.

These are all the Laws which I can find he made against Christians, tho he design'd far greater Severities against them, when he came home again from *Persia*. He intended, among lesser matters, as *Gregory* tells us, to lay them *Inveft. l. p. 93.* all under a kind of Civil Excommunication; for they shou'd have no benefit of 94- the Law, unless they wou'd sacrifice in the Presence of the Courts of Justice: so that whatever Injurys had been done to them, they were to have no Remedy. But, to the great Happiness of the Christians, that day never came, for he was kill'd in *Persia*; but by whom, and in what manner, we refer that to a more proper place.

CHAP. II.

The Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession.

JULIAN's coming to the Crown a Pagan, was a perfect Surprize to the World; so that we cannot expect to read of any Endeavours us'd to prevent his Succession, and to foreclose him upon the score of his Religion. There can be no Petitions to *Constantius* to exclude him, nor Addresses in favour of him; no Lives and Fortunes rashly stak'd down to maintain Impossibilities, to defend him and Christianity together. These things are not to be had, and therefore we must be content to be without them: And the rather, because the Fathers have told us as much of their Mind in this Point, as if they had actually either petition'd or address'd.

To proceed the more faithfully and clearly in this Matter, it will be necessary to consider how the Succession stood, and what Right and Title *Julian* had to succeed to the Empire: And then, whether the Christians wou'd have been willing to set aside this Title, and to have excluded him, purely for his Religion.

1. And in the first place, there is nothing more plain, than that the Empire was Hereditary: There are not words in the World to express it more plainly, than it is done in these following Testimonys. *Eusebius*, speaking of *Constantine the Great*, has these words*: "Thus the Throne of the Empire descended to him from his Father, and by the Law of Nature was reserv'd for his Sons, and for their Posterity, and was to descend for ever as another Paternal Inheritance does." To which we shall subjoin as plain a Testimony from a Heathen. *Eumenius*, in his Panegyrick to the same *Constantine*, besides a great deal more to the same pur-

* *Euseb. vita Const. l. 1. c. 9.* Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ θρόνος τῆς βασιλείας πατρὸς ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ὁμοιοῦτος φύσεως πατρὸς καὶ τοῖς τέτοις ἐκγόνοις ἐπαμυνέσθω εἰς ἀγῶνα τεχρόνιον οἰά τις πατρὸς ἐμπνέσει κληρονομία.

† Non formata hominum
consensio, non repentinus
aliquis favoris eventus te
Principem fecit: Imperium
nascenti meruisti. Quod
quidem mihi Deorum im-
mortalium munus & primum
videtur, & maximum in lu-
cem statim foelicem venire,
&c.

|| Julian. Orat. 3. p. 203.
Προς παῖδας γένειον, οἱ κλη-
ρονοῦντες τῆς τιμῆς, ὅτι
τῆς εὐσεβείας, πάντων ἀξίαν
ἔχοντες τῆς κοινότητος, γονῶς
ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς τὴν οὐκ ἐκείνης
ἀπάσης κύνει.

pose, tells him, "It † was not the casual consent of Men, it was
" not any sudden effect of their Favour which made you a
" Prince. You gain'd the Empire by being born into the World;
" which seems to me the first and greatest Gift of the Gods, for
" one to come into the World Great, and to have that at home
" ready for him, which others can hardly attain with all the Toil
" and Labour of their whole Lives." Now if *Constantine* the
Great was born to the Empire, so was *Julian*, having the same
Royal Blood flowing in his Veins; being the Grandson, as the
other was the Son, of *Constantius Chlorus*. After such full and
pregnant Proofs, it wou'd be time ill spent to heap up more;
such as that of *Julian* in his Panegyrick to the Empress *Eusebia*,
where he says; "That || *Constantine* marry'd her, to have Heirs
" for his Great Lordship of almost all the World." He having
none, *Julian* himself was the sole and undoubted Heir; for in
him the Family was afterwards extinct.

Only there are some who wou'd be glad (whether they understand what it
is or not) to see some Divine Right mix'd with a Title, for that wou'd make
it sacred and strong indeed. To please these Men if we can, let us again con-
sider that Clause of *Eusebius* in the place last mention'd, where he says, That
the Empire was entail'd, *δεσπὴ φύσεως*, by the Edict of Nature; which I think is
the most sure and divine Settlement that can be. But lest we shou'd

** Euseb. vita Con. lib. 1.
c. 21. Τὴν κληρονομίαν τῆς βασι-
λείας, νόμῳ φύσεως, πρὸ τῆν
ἐλευσίαν προεβόλητο τῷ παίδων
ἐνδοξῶς, διατετυσάλο.
†† Euseb. Hist. l. 8. c. 13.
Τὰς παῖδας Κωνσταντίνου
ἀνδρὸς ἀρχαίου, &c.

think this Expression fell from him by chance, in another place
he varies the Phrase, and calls it, *νόμῳ φύσεως*, the Law of Nature,
speaking of *Constantius Chlorus* **: "He pass'd over the Inheritance
" of the Empire, by the Law of Nature, to his eldest Son, and
" then dy'd." And in another place he has these words ††: "His
" Son *Constantine* immediately receiving the Government, was
" declar'd absolute Emperor and *Augustus* by the Army, and long
" before that, by the great King of all, God himself." If this

will not do, I know not what measure of Divine Right will serve their turn,
unless they wou'd have a Crown to drop from the Clouds. And *Julian* pretends
to no less than that, in his Epistle to the Jews, where he makes them large Pro-
mises of Quiet and Safety under his Government: "That, says he, enjoying
" this Security, you may enlarge your Prayers for my Reign, to God the Creator
" of the World, who has vouchsaf'd to crown me with his own unspotted
" right hand."

Julian. Ep. 25.
Τῷ ἀρχαίῳ
αὐτῷ δεξιᾷ.

2. And yet the Fathers had the Conscience to set aside such a Title as this,
and wou'd have done a hundred more such to secure their Religion. They
were not so happy indeed as to be beforehand with *Julian*, and to get him
excluded; because, as I said before, there was not the least suspicion that he
had chang'd his Religion: but they shew'd their good will sufficiently by what
they said and did afterward. If they had no occasion to make their Applica-
tion to *Constantine* about this Business while he was here, will it not do full as
well, if they call after him to Heaven, and expostulate the Matter with him
there? And this *Gregory* does in several places; in the very beginning of his
Invective, which he made presently upon *Julian's* Death. After he has sum-
mon'd all Nations to hear his Speech, all that dwell in the World, all People,
Tribes, and Languages, all Men that are or shall be; and that his preaching
might go the farther, all the Powers of Heaven, all the Angels, whose Work
it was to destroy the Tyrant, who had not kill'd a *Siban* King of the *Amurites*,
nor an *Og* the King of *Bashan*, but had kill'd the Dragon, the Apostate, the
great Designer, the Common Enemy and Adversary of all, &c. he applys
himself particularly to *Constantine*: "Hear, O thou Soul of *Constantine* the
" Great (if you can hear at all what we say) and the Souls of all Christian
" Kings before him; but his especially, for as much as having grown up with
" the Inheritance of Christ, and enlarg'd it to his Power, and establish'd it by
" a long continuance, so as to be upon this account the most renown'd of all
" the Kings that ever were (Oh the Mischief of it!) he committed a gross
" Mistake very unworthy of his own Piety: not being aware of it, he bred
" up for the Christians an Enemy of Christ. And he did amiss to be good-
" natur'd in this Instance only, in saving and making him a King, who was
" both

Invest. 1. p. 49.
50.

“both ill-sav’d, and made an ill King. And for this reason he is likely to be most delighted, as with the Destruction of Impiety, and the Restoration of Christianity, so likewise with this Speech.” Which in the next words he dedicates to God, as a Thanksgiving Oration, and a Sacrifice of Praise; so solemn it is. Now here is enough to shew that *Constantinus* wou’d never have made *Julian* Cesar, nor have set up an Enemy of Christ over the Christians, if he had known him to have been such.

But the same Father will give us better measure in another place, in these words: “*Julian* was presently Heir of his Brother’s Kingdom, but not of his Piety, and not long after of him likewise who made him King, who partly gave way to it, partly was forc’d by Death, and suffer’d such a defeat as was mischievous and pernicious to the whole World. What have you done, O Divinest Emperor, and greatest Love of Christ! (for I am fallen to reprehending you, as if you were present and in hearing; altho I know you to be much above my reproof, being plac’d with God, and inheriting the Glory which is there, and are only gone from hence to exchange your Kingdom.) What strange kind of Counsel is this which you have taken, who did far excel all other Kings in Wisdom and Understanding!” And after he has magnify’d him upon several accounts, he thus proceeds:

“You, who were led by the Hand of God into every Counsel and Enterprize, whose Wisdom was admir’d above your Power, and again your Power more than your Wisdom, but your Piety was valu’d above them both: How comes it to pass therefore, that in this matter you shou’d appear the only ignorant and inconsiderate Person! What hast was there of that cruel Kindness? Which of the Devils stole in along with you at that Consult? How have you thus, in a small and short Point of Time, brought and deliver’d up to a common Cut-Throat, your great Inheritance, and your Father’s Glory, I mean the Christians, that shining Nation which is in all Parts of the World; that Royal Priesthood, which has been increas’d with much Toil and much Sweat?”

Απαρθεῖτε
φιλονεικίας;
τίς συνεσθλάει
δαμόνων τῷ
σκύμματι.

To this Accusation of this good Emperor, he presently subjoins an Apology, and shews at last, that what he did was thro Ignorance: “For who cou’d be ignorant, even of those that knew him but indifferently, how that for the sake of Religion, and for the Love and good Will he bare to us, he not only wou’d have neglected him, or the Honour of his whole Family, or the Addition of an Empire; but also that he wou’d have made no difficulty of parting with his very Empire, and all things he had in the World, and his Life it self (than which no Man has any thing more precious) for our Security and Safety?” And after a great deal more to the same purpose, he says thus: “But Simplicity and Plain-heartedness are not watchful, and Weakness is join’d with good Nature; and who are freest from Wickedness, least suspect it. For this reason what wou’d come afterwards was not known, and the Mask was not discover’d.”

In this remarkable Passage we have all this for our present purpose.

1. That the making of *Julian* a Cesar, (by which means he had an easy Passage to the Crown, for it was the next step to it) was a rash, foolish, and inconsiderate Action; that it was cruel and inhuman, and fit only for some Devil to advise.

2. That the Fault and Mischief of this Action was not because he usurp’d afterwards upon *Constantinus*, or upon any other Consideration whatsoever, but purely because the Christian Religion suffer’d by it.

And, 3. That *Constantinus* can be no otherwise excus’d, than by his Ignorance of *Julian*’s Defection from Christianity.

And all this not nakedly set down, and coldly deliver’d, but with an Emphasis, and the greatest vehemency imaginable. He does not say *Constantinus* was to blame for this, but he calls him to account for it, he follows him with Interrogatorys, and bids him answer from Heaven what he has done. He does not barely say, That if *Constantinus* had known *Julian*’s Religion, he wou’d not have made him Cesar; but he says, that he wou’d have disinherited his whole Family first, he wou’d have parted with his Empire, he wou’d have strip’d himself of all, and lost his Life rather than have done it. And accordingly

Sozom. l. i. c. 3.
Κατὰ τὸ δευ-
τερον χῆμα
τῆς βασιλείας
τετιμνωθεῖς
Καίσαρ ὤν.
Somewhat like
our Prince of
Wales, or King
of the Romans.

cordingly we find, that as soon as *Constantius* understood his Error, he bitterly bewail'd it, which was just at his Death. He cou'd not know it much sooner; for after *Julian* was declar'd Emperor, and had set up for himself, as *Am-*

* *Am. Marcel. l. 21. ad*
int. Uique omnes nullo
impediente ad suum favo-
rem alliceret, inhaerere cul-
mi Christiano fingebat, a
quo jumpidum occulte de-
scriberat; progressus in co-
rum Ecclesiam solenniter
Numine orato discessit.

† *Invest. 1. p. with much earnestness,*
69. or his vig-
ram Expedition,
Ad r'm ignem
Orat. in laud.
Athanasii,
p. 389.

mius tells us *, "He still feign'd himself a Christian; and tho in private he perform'd his Heathenish Rites, trusting some few with the Secret, yet he publicly went to Church on Twelfth-day, and after he had been devout at the Service, he came away again." This was at *Vienna*, not quite ten Months before the Emperor's Death.

To return to what we were speaking of before, *Gregory* says †, That *Constantius* made his Excuse in many words both to God and Man, for his kindness to *Julian*; and shew'd the Christians, the Concernment he had for the true Religion. This he did at his last Gasp, when otherwise it was all one to him who had the Empire, for he had done with it. And in another place, and upon a different occasion, he has these words: "They || report *Constantius* repented him at his last Breath, when every Man is a just Judg of himself, because of the Tribunal which is in the other World; for these three things he acknowledg'd were evil and unworthy of his Reign, The Slaughter of his Kindred, and his Declaring of the Apostate, and his Innovating in Matters of Faith: And with these words in his Mouth he is said to have gone out of the World." This is ten times more than if *Constantius* had actually excluded *Julian*, for he might have done that, and been sorry for it at his Death; as Men generally are for all the Actions of their Life, in which they are not satisfy'd. But now he repents him upon his Death-Bed, where Mens Eyes are open, and they usually have their soberest Thoughts about them, that he had not done it, and reckons it in the number of those things which have blacken'd his Reign.

Invest. 2.
p. 132.

This was the old-fashion'd Doctrine of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who alone, except *St. John*, has had the Honour to be call'd the Divine. This was the sense of *Basil the Great*, for *Gregory* entitles him likewise to these Invectives; and this was the Conscience of a dying Emperor. If this Doctrine shall displease any of those Men, who deceiving, and being deceiv'd, say, That the Succession cannot be alter'd, which is punishable by the Laws of the Land; or that it ought not to be alter'd for the Safety and Security of the true Religion, which is contrary to what these Fathers assert with so much vehemency: In that case I have these two reasonable Requests to make to them.

1. That they wou'd please to confute this Doctrine which they dislike, and prove it false.

And then, 2. That they wou'd never hereafter fetch their Mountebank Receipts of Prayers and Tears, and such like Encouragements to Arbitrary Government, of which I shall say more anon, out of the Writings of these very Fathers; but let them pass from henceforth for dangerous and Antimonarchical Authors, whom we can the better spare at this time, because the whole Christian World was of the same mind. Which, by the way, *Julian* understood very well; for what else made him go to Church? Nay, the Christians had such an aversion to a Pagan Successor, that they cou'd not endure him, when he was become their lawful Emperor.

This Am. Marcel. expressly
acknowledges
in the Passage
just now cited.

How fond they were of him, and what welcome they gave him to the Crown, and in how great heaviness they were at his Death, shall appear at large in the following Chapters.

CHAP. III.

Their Behaviour towards him in Words.

AND here a Man may almost lose himself in the great variety of Instances which may be given of their Hatred and Contempt of *Julian* when he was Emperor: How they reproach'd him and his Religion to his very Beard,

Beard, beat his Priests before his Face, and had done him too, if he had not got out of the way; pray'd for his Confusion, and triumph'd at his Death, and loaded his Memory with the greatest Disgrace and Infamy. These things will better be seen in the History and Relation of the Matter of Fact; which I shall put into the best order I can, by giving an account of what was done in his Life-time, and then all that concerns his Death; and after that, how they us'd his Memory.

Their Behaviour in his Life-time will fall under these three Heads, of their Words, and Actions, and Devotions. I shall begin with the first of these, where Julian began with them. And they sufficiently requited him for calling them *Galileans*; for they nam'd him *Idolians* instead of *Julians*, and *Pisans* and *Adonians*, from his worshipping *Jupiter* and *Adonis*; and *Bull-burner*, from the great number of them which he sacrific'd. The *Antiochians* exceeded in this kind of despightful Usage, and chafed him into the revengeful Humour of writing a Book against them; which has preserv'd the memory of those Indignities which they put upon him. They derided the Shape of his Body, his Gate, his Goat's Beard, every thing that belong'd to him; as you may see in the beginning of that Book. And afterwards he tells them they were very happy Men, who had renounc'd all Service either of the Gods, or Laws, or him who was Keeper of the Laws; and that the Gods, as well as he, had suffer'd dishonour from that City. It was a Saying among them, that *Chi* and *Cappa* had never done any injury to their City; by which Letters they meant *Christ* and *Constantius*. Yes, says he, let me tell you freely, *Constantius* did you one single injury, that when he had made me *Cesar*, he did not kill me. Two or three times, in that little Book, he mentions their *Anapasts*, and lampooning his poor sorry Beard. He complains, that whereas the *French* lov'd him for the Likeness of his Humour, and took up Arms for him, and gave him Money and applauded him; the *Antiochians* did the quite contrary: They said that he turn'd the World upside down, and that his Beard was fit to make Ropes of; and that he made war against *Chi*, and they wish'd for *Cappa* again. And after *Julian* had written this Book, they were smart upon him again; and tho he was inwardly enrag'd, he was forc'd to dissemble it at the present.

Inveſt. i. p. 82.

Julian. Miſo-pogon. p. 88.

ib. p. 89.

P. 94, 95.

P. 95, & 112.

** Amm. Marcell. lib. 22.*

Post quæ multa in ſe facere dicta comperiens, coactus diſſimulare pro tempore, Ira ſuſſabatur interna.

These things indeed were not said to his face; but they were the common Talk of the Christians just under his nose, while he lay with his Army about seven months in that City, to be in a readiness for the following Campaign. And he was so † enrag'd at them, that at his departure, when some wish'd him a happy Expedition, and a glorious Return, he very roughly said, That he wou'd never see them more, their Nicknames and Reproaches stuck so in his stomach. But who commends them for this? Even no less a Man than *Theodoret*, who liv'd under two of the four first General Councils, and was himself present, and a great part of the last of them. He puts it all upon the score of their Zeal and Love for their Religion. His words are these: "That the *Antiochians*, who had receiv'd their Christianity from the greatest Pair of Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, and had a warm affection for the Lord and Saviour of all; did always abominate *Julian*, who ought never to be remember'd, you have his own word for it. For, for this reason he writ a Book against them, and call'd them the *Beard-baters*."

† Lib. 23. Nondum iram ex compellationibus & probris conceperat emollitâ, loquebatur asperius se eos asserens postea non viſurum.

Vide 8. Aſt. Concil. Chalcedonenſis.

Theod. l. 3. c. 22.

2. They did not only thus scoff at him, and deride him behind his back; but they took the freedom to reproach him and his Religion to his face: of which I shall give these two Instances. The first of a Nobleman of *Berea*; the Story is very remarkable upon several accounts, which *Theodoret* gives us in this manner: "Julian before his Expedition against the *Persians*, sent to consult the Oracles, who promis'd him certain Victory. And after his Victory he design'd the Ruin of the Christians, and threaten'd to set up the Idol of *Venus* in the Christian Churches. Marching on with these Threatnings, he was overcome by one single Man in *Berea*. This Man was indeed in other respects an eminent Person, for he was Governour there; but his Zeal made him more eminent. For seeing his Son warping

Theod. l. 3. c. 18.

" towards

“ towards the false Religion, which then prevail'd, he turn'd him out of
 “ doors, and publickly disinherited him. But he coming to the Emperor,
 “ who was but one Stage from the City, declar'd to him both his own Per-
 “ suasion, and how his Father had disinherited him. *Julian* bid the young
 “ Man set his Heart at rest, promising that he won'd reconcile his Father to
 “ him. So when he came to *Berta*, he invited the Magistrates and chief Men
 “ to a Feast, and amongst these was this young Man's Father; and him,
 “ with his Son, he order'd to sit next himself. And about the middle of
 “ Dinner, *Julian* says to the Father, In my mind it is not just to force a
 “ Man's Judgment which is otherwise inclin'd, and to reduce it against his
 “ will to the other side. Therefore do not you force your Son, against his
 “ mind, to follow your Opinion. For neither do I force you to follow mine,
 “ altho I can very easily compel you. But the Father, sharpening his Dis-
 “ course with a Divine Faith, answer'd, O King, do you speak of this Vil-
 “ lain, who is hated by God, and has prefer'd a Lye before the True Reli-
 “ gion? But says *Julian*, putting on again a vizard of Meekness; Friend,
 “ leave Railing: and turning his face to the Young Man, he said, I will take
 “ care of you my self, since I have not prevail'd with your Father to do it.
 “ I have not told this Story in vain (says *Theodoret*) but was willing to
 “ shew, not only the admirable Freedom of this Divine Person, but also that
 “ there were very many who despis'd *Julian's* Power and Authority.” And
 “ that did *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, with a witness long before. “ Being led
 “ by the hand, for he was blind, and in years, he came to Court to the Em-
 “ peror, when he was publickly sacrificing to *Fortune*, and reproach'd him
 “ much, calling him Impious, Apostate, and Atheist. And he reproach'd
 “ him again with his Blindness, saying, Your *Galilean* God will not cure you.
 “ But *Maris* reply'd to the Emperor, with more boldness than before: says
 “ he, I thank God for striking me with Blindness, that I may not see thy
 “ Face, who art thus fallen into Impiety. The Emperor said nothing to this,
 “ but he persecuted him grievously afterwards.” And the aged Bishop, I
 “ suppose, had more wit than to expect any other.

Socr. l. 3. c. 10. “ It wou'd be endless to reckon up the Sayings of *Juveninus* and *Maximus*,
Sozom. l. 5. c. 4. “ whose Anniversary Sermon *St. Chrysostom* in his time preach'd at *Antioch*; of
 “ those Soldiers that were trepan'd into sacrificing, by one of *Julian's* Strata-
 “ gems; and of many others, who did not spare him in the least: And there-
 “ fore in these matters, the Reader must be satisfy'd with a taste only.

Theod. l. 3. c. 14.
Chrysost. Hom. 40.
Theod. l. 3. c. 16.

C H A P. IV.

Their Actions.

HAVING shew'd you, the manner at least, how they treated him in
 “ Words, I proceed now to some of their Actions; which make manifest
 “ their hatred to him, and how they held him in the very lowest degree of Con-
 “ tempt. I shall give but two Instances, and the first is the Story of *Valentinian*,
 “ which *Theodoret* ushers in with this Preface: “ And others that were in Places
 “ of Dignity and Authority, using the like Boldness (as *Juveninus* and *Maxi-
 “ mus* did) enjoy'd equal Crowns. For *Valentinian* himself, who was after-
 “ wards Emperor, but was then a Colonel of the Household Guards, did not
 “ hide the Zeal which he had for the true Religion. For when that Thunder-
 “ struck Madman went in Procession to the Temple of *Fortune*, the Chap-
 “ lains stood on both sides the Doors, cleansing, as they counted it, with
 “ Sprinklings, or Holy Water, those that enter'd in. But when *Valentinian*,
 “ who gain'd both Kingdoms, of Earth and Heaven, for what he now did,
 “ walking before the Emperor, saw this Holy Water coming near his
 “ Clothes; he struck the Chaplain with his Fist, saying, that it wou'd not
 “ cleanse, but defile him. *Julian* seeing what pass'd, sent him away to a
 “ Garison lying by a Desert, and gave order that there he shou'd spend his
 “ days.

Theod. l. 3. c. 15.

"days. But in a Year and a few Months time, he was made Emperor, in reward of his Confession. For the Righteous Judge not only rewards those that are concern'd for Religion in the Life to come, but sometimes he presently gives them the Recompence of their pious Labours, by these previous Gifts now, confirming the Belief of those which Christians hope for hereafter."

You see how *Theodoret* magnifies this Action; and tho' it was so high a Breach of the Peace, as might have cost him his Right Hand, if not his Head, in many Courts, yet he makes him no less than a Confessor for it.

And so *St. Austin* calls him: "*Valentinian* was a Confessor of the Christian Faith under *Julian*, and lost his place in the Guards for it."

August. de Civit. l. 18. c. 52.

Our next Instance is a Passage of as great a Man in his way, and that is old *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum*, Father to *Gregory Nazianzen*. We have it in the Funeral Speech or Sermon of the Divine upon his Father's Death; and after he has said a great deal in his praise, he has these words: "But I suppose that some of them who knew his Life very well, have wonder'd a good while, that I shou'd be so taken up in these things aforesaid, as if I had nothing else in commendation of him; and that I shou'd make no mention of the difficulty of the Times, against which he seem'd to have been set in battel-array. Come on then, and let me add these things to what has been said. Our Age bore such an Evil as no Age did before, and I suppose none will hereafter; an Emperor that was an Apostate both from God and from Reason, who thought it a small business to conquer the *Persians*, but a great Work to reduce the Christians. And the Devils that drove him, persuading him to it, he omitted no manner of Impiety, by Persuasions, by Threatnings, by Sophistry, drawing over to him not only those that he gain'd by Artifices, but those also which he forc'd by Violence. Now who is there to be found, that more despis'd this Emperor, or had a greater hand in destroying him than my Father? Of his Contempt of him, amongst many other, both those Archers and their Commander are a proof; whom he brought against our Church, as either to take possession of it, or to destroy it: For having assaulted many others, he came hither likewise with the same intent, and imperiously demanded the Temple. He so far fail'd of accomplishing any thing of what he desir'd, that if he had not presently got out of my Father's way (being aware of it, either of himself, or by somebody's advice) he might have gone away kick'd; the Bishop boiling with Anger against him, and with Zeal for the Temple."

Greg. Naz. Orat. 19. p. 307.

I have had more trouble with this Passage, than with all the rest in the Book. For I have often try'd to make this Beating intended for the Captain of the Archers, and have been ready to make Solœcisms in the *Greek*, to avoid the greater Solœcism, of an Emperor of the World, aw'd and terrify'd with the fear of a kicking. But it will not do; it is too late for me to consult *Julian's* Honour, or to alter *Gregory's* Words.

And that you may be satisfy'd this is the Sense of them, I have here set down the Comment of a Metropolitan of *Crete*, who was a better *Grecian* than I ever expect to be.

Ac contemptiois, præter multa alia, documento quoque sunt sagittarii illi, & Elia Cretensis dux eorum, quos impius ille adversus Ecclesias concitabat, tanquam scilicet eas aut assumpturas & subacturas, aut eversuras ac deleturas. Cum quibus scilicet omnibus nihil eorum, quæ cupiebat, perfecit, in tale Ecclesia propugnaculum incidens, quin potius, nisi quam primum ipsi cessisset (nimirum vel ipse per se intelligens vel alium quendam consultorem audiens) etiam pedibus contusus abiisset, eo nimirum vehementiore quodam adversus eum Divino Zelo commoto. Ergo contemptiois quidem luculentum hoc Argumentum est.

Comment. in locum.

Here you have the Description of one of the Lachrymists of old, who at Four-score and Ten, and after he had been thirty five years a Bishop, was an Over-match for a Pagan Emperor; and having vanquish'd him, and won the field, kept it as long as he liv'd, which was about nine years after *Julian's* Death. And which is more than that, the Garlands and Trophys of this Victory are hung up in the Church by the hands of another Bishop, to satisfy the

the expectation of a number of good Christian People, *Basil the Great* assisting at the Ceremony. And now I know no more than the Pope of *Rome*, what to make of all this, what they meant by it, or upon what Principles these Men proceeded. Whether the Laws of their Country allow'd them (which I am sure the Laws of our Country do not allow a Man to imagine) to offer Violence to their lawful Emperor, or whether old *Gregory* distinguish'd, and did not resist *Julian*, but only the Devil, which his Son so often tells us was in him; or how it was, I will never stand guessing. Only this we may be assur'd of, that none of these Bishops had ever been in *Scotland*, nor had learn'd to fawn upon an Apostate, and a mortal Enemy to their Religion.

CHAP. V.

Their Devotions: And first of their Psalms.

THESE Passages which we have hitherto related, were in common Conversation, in the Streets and Market-place, in the Court, and abroad in the World; where the Christians might chance not to have their Religion about them, and so shew themselves Men of like Passions with other Men: but when they go to Church, and enter upon Holy Ground, or whenever they make their Addresses to God in Prayers and Praises, there one may expect to see the flights of their self-denying and suffering Religion. There one may justly expect they shou'd lay aside all their Animosity against *Julian*, tho he were their Enemy, and for that reason pray the harder for him. Yes, so they do, the wrong way: they cannot sing a Psalm, but they make his Confusion the Burden of it. And as they order the matter, their Prayers and Tears are the Arms of the Church indeed; for they are Darts, and Arrows, and Fire-brands, and Death. If moving all the Power, and solliciting all the Vengeance of Heaven against a Man; if calling for the Sword, and the Plagues of *Egypt*, be praying for their Pagan Emperor, they gave him enough of that, as you shall see anon in their own words.

I shall begin with their Psalms, which I shall set down so, as not to omit the Circumstances I find with them.

*Theod. lib. 3.
cap. 9, & 10.*

"*Julian* order'd the Christians to remove the Bones of *Babylas*, and of the young Men who were martyr'd with him, from *Daphne*, where *Apollo's* Temple stood: Who gladly went and fetch'd the Coffin; and all the People went dancing before it, and singing *David's* Psalms, repeating after every Verse, *Confounded be all they that worship graven Images!* *Julian* not bearing the Disgrace which was hereby put upon him, the next day commanded the Leaders of this Dance to be apprehended. *Salustius* the Governor, who was himself a Heathen, dissuaded the Emperor from it; but when he saw that *Julian* cou'd not contain his Passion, he went and seiz'd the first that came to hand, which was *Theodorus*, a young Man adorn'd with Divine Zeal, walking in the Market-place: him he tortur'd from Morning to Night, with so much Cruelty, and so many fresh Executions, as no Age has mention'd the like. And when he was upon the Rack, and a Torturer plying him on either side, he did nothing but sing over again that Psalm, which the Congregation sung the day before, with an unconcern'd and chearful Countenance." This made *Ruffinus*, who

*Ruffinus lib. 1.
cap. 36.*

likewise tells this Story, afterwards ask him whether he felt any Pain? Who said, that he felt a little; but there stood by him a certain Youth, who all the while wip'd off his Sweat with a very white Linen Cloth, and often pour'd cold Water upon him, which so delighted him, that he was sorry when he was taken off the Rack. For when *Salustius* saw that he had spent all that Cruelty upon him to no purpose, he put Fetters upon him, and kept him in Prison. But he was soon releas'd, and no body else punish'd upon that account." *Julian* it seems did not care to have that Psalm any oftner repeated; which he might very reasonably expect, when so much Cruelty cou'd not make a Youth to alter his note.

To this I shall only add, what *Theodoret* calls it, a memorable Story of an incomparable Woman: "For even the Women (says he) despis'd this Man's *Theod. 1.3.c.17.*
 "Madness, being arm'd with Divine Zeal. Her Name was *Publia*, and she
 "was Mother to *John*, who was often chosen to be Bishop of *Antioch*, but as
 "often refus'd it. This Woman being a Widow, had a Quire of Virgins,
 "which promis'd Virginitie for Life, and was alway singing Praises to God
 "her Creator and Redeemer. And when the Emperor pass'd by, they sung
 "their Psalms the louder, accounting him fit to be despis'd and derided.
 "Now they sung, for the most part, those Psalms which expose the Weak-
 "ness of Idols; and they said with *David*, *The Idols of the Heathen are Silver*
 "*and Gold, the Work of Mens hands.* And after they had shew'd the Sensless-
 "ness of them, they added, *Let them that make them be like unto them, and all*
 "*those that put their trust in them!* He hearing these things, was grievously
 "vex'd, and commanded them to be silent at such time as he pass'd by. But
 "she, little regarding his Laws, put more courage into her Quire; and when
 "he pass'd by again, she bid them sing this Psalm, *Let God arise, and let his*
 "*Enemies be scatter'd.* *Julian* in great indignation commanded the Mistress
 "of the Quire to be brought to him; and when he saw her venerable Age,
 "he neither had any compassion for her Years, nor honour'd her Vertue,
 "but commanded one of the Soldiers to strike her on the face, till he made
 "it all bloody with his hands. She receiving this Disgrace as the highest
 "Honour, went back to her House; but she still shot him with her Spiritual
 "Songs as she was wont."

Now here indeed is a Suffering Religion, because the old Woman does not beat the Soldier; but I cannot possibly find out any profound primitive Obedience in this Passage. Where is the Reverence due to Majesty, or Eternity, as Emperors were then stil'd, in counting him fit to be made a Laughing-stock? What Dutifulness was there shewn, in refusing to comply with so reasonable a Command, as to forbear their Psalms only when he went by? But it was *Julian*, and they did not owe him so much service. They say, Rage turns every thing into Weapons; and there seems to be some quantity of that Passion here, when their very Devotions are so plainly aim'd and level'd at *Julian's* Head.

CHAP. VI.

Their Prayers and Tears.

I Come now to their *Prayers and Tears*, of which *Gregory* gives us a large account. He says they follow'd *Hezekiah's* Example, who apply'd himself to God against *Senacherib* with good success. And he insinuates, that they had more reason to do it, because they had no other way to help themselves.
 "This did *Hezekiah*, who had great Forces about him, who was King of the *great City Jerusalem*, who perhaps might have beat off that numerous
 "Enemy by himself. But we who had no other Weapon, nor Wall, nor any
 "other Defence left us but our Hope in God, as being altogether depriv'd and
 "cut short of all human Aid; whom else cou'd we have, either to hear our
 "Prayers, or to prevent what was threaten'd, but God, who swears against
 "the Pride of *Jacob*?" And presently after he gives us an account of those
 "Crys which they sent up to God, "in some of them invoking him as a
 "Lord and Master; in others complaining as to a kind Father; in others
 "again, as if they upbraided and expostulated with him, as Men in trouble
 "use to do. O God, why hast thou rejected us for ever? Why is thy Wrath so
 "hot against the Sheep of thy Pasture? Lift up thy hands against their Pride, &c.
 "We challeng'd the Sword, and the Plagues of Egypt; and we besought him to
 "judg his own Cause; and we urg'd him, that he wou'd at length rise up against
 "the Wicked. How long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly boast! And
 "withal we us'd those sorrowful and more proper Expressions; Thou hast
 "made

"made us a By-word and Reproach unto our Neighbours. We mention'd the Vine out of Egypt, destroy'd by the wild Boar that wicked one, who made Wickedness his own, and was all over polluted with the Mire of it." Hitherto Gregory speaks in the plural Number, as if others had join'd in these Prayers with him: Nevertheless, because he says afterwards, *These were my former Thoughts and Crys to God*, it is possible they were his own private Devotions. However, it is very evident, that their publick Devotions ran in the same strain.

In the foremention'd Oration, at his Father's Funeral, you may remember that Gregory praises him for his Contempt of *Julian*, of which we gave you an account before; and for contributing to his Destruction. Concerning which, he has these following Words:

Orat. 19.
p. 307, 308.

"And as for his Destruction, how can any one appear to have done more towards it than my Father? either in publick striking the Villain with the joint Prayers and Supplication of all the People together, and not at all fearing the Times; or in private, drawing forth his nightly Squadron against him: I mean, his lying upon the ground, where he wore out his old Flesh, and water'd the Floor with his Tears, for almost a whole Year together."

In this place he does not specify what those publick Prayers were which they had for *Julian*, but he sufficiently describes them.

First, They were such as tended to his Destruction, and were a means of it.

Secondly, They darted these Prayers at him. It is express'd by a Word, which might more properly be employ'd to describe the throwing of that Javelin, which afterwards stuck in his Liver.

Thirdly, The nightly Squadron mention'd after, confirms us, that with these they fought him by day.

And, Fourthly, They were such Prayers as expos'd old Gregory to a great deal of danger; but he did not fear the Times a crumb.

If ever the Christians were in cold blood, sure they were at old Gregory's Funeral, for it was several years after *Julian's* death: and yet you see, that even then his Opposition to *Julian* serves to embalm his Memory. It was thought to be so much for his honour, to help to pray *Julian* to death, that a great part of the Congregation had been disappointed, if no mention had been made of it; as appears plainly from the Preface to this Passage before cited. So that in that Age, the best Prayers and Tears were those, which did best execution upon an Apostate Emperor, and contributed most to his Destruction; which now follows to be spoken of in the next Chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Julian's Death.

Amm. Marc.
l. 25. ad init.

AFTER *Julian* had reign'd about nineteen Months, which the Christians thought very much too long, he met with an untimely Death, and they with the Answer of their Prayers. For when he had been some time in *Persia*, his Army being suddenly attack'd by the *Persians*, he made so much haste from place to place to relieve those Troops which were most hotly engag'd, that he forgot his Armour; and while he thus expos'd himself, he was struck with a Horseman's Spear, which pierc'd his Side, and stuck in the bottom of his Liver: of which Wound, about midnight, he died.

And that the Christians might have this good News the sooner, as Historians tell us, it was convey'd to some of them by Miracle. "A Christian Schoolmaster at *Antioch*, who was ask'd in derision by *Libanius*, *Julian's* great Master, what the Carpenter's Son was doing? being fill'd with Divine Grace, foretold what wou'd shortly come to pass. For, says he, the Creator of the World, whom you in derision have call'd the Carpenter's Son, is making a Coffin. And in a few days after, came the news of that wicked Wretch's Death."

+

Which

Which was likewise reveal'd in as extraordinary a manner to St. Julian
Saba: "Who having understood the Threatnings of that Wicked one against *Theod. l. 3. c. 19.*
 " the Christians, did more diligently offer up his Prayers to the God of
 " the whole World. And on that day the Emperor was kill'd, this Person
 " being at Prayers, knew of it; altho he was more than twenty days Jour-
 " ney off. For, they say, as he was supplicating the merciful and compas-
 " sionate Lord, on a sudden he stop'd the Current of his Tears, and was fill'd
 " with Joy; which discover'd it self in the Chearfulness of his Countenance.
 " They that convers'd with him, seeing this change in him, desir'd to know
 " the occasion of it: and he told them, that the wild Boar, the Enemy of
 " the Lord's Vineyard, has suffer'd the Punishment of his Faults, and lay
 " dead, having done designing. When they heard these things, they all fell
 " a dancing, and offer'd up to God a Hymn of Thanksgiving. And they
 " understood by those that brought advice of his Death, that it was the same
 " Day, and the same Hour, in which this Divine Old Man, both knew the
 " Wretch to be slain, and spoke of it before-hand."

And thus the News, as fast as it arriv'd, was every where entertain'd with
 all the Demonstrations of Joy and Gladness. " His old Friends, the *Antio-* *Theod. ib. c. 22.*
 " *chians*, as soon as they heard of his Death, kept Feasts, and publick joyful
 " Meetings; and they not only had Dances in their Churches and Chappels
 " of the Martyrs, but likewise in their Theatre they proclaim'd the Victory
 " of the Cross, crying aloud with one Voice, *God and his Christ have gotten*
 " *the Victory.*" In a word, the whole Church sung Songs of Triumph, as
 St. *Jerom* tells us in his Comment upon the third of *Habakkuk*.

Because it was not known who threw that Spear which kill'd him, it gave
 occasion to variety of Reports. " Some say he was kill'd by a *Persian*; but
 " the more general and prevailing Report is, That he was kill'd by one of
 " his own Soldiers; as *Socrates's* words are. But *Callistus*, who was then in *Socrat. l. 3.*
 " *Julian's* Service, and has given us the History of that War in Heroick *cap. 21.*
 " Verse, says it was a Dæmon that did it: which it may be he feign'd as a
 " Poet, and it may be was the truth of the matter; for the Furys have pu-
 " nish'd very many." And so *Theodoret* after him: " Who it was that struck *Theod. l. 3. c. 20.*
 " that just Stroke, no body knows to this day. But whether it was Man
 " or Angel that thrust the Weapon, it is plain that he who did it was the
 " Minister of the Divine Appointment and Direction."

But *Libanius* the Sophist, whom *Julian*, in his Letters to him, calls his
Dearest Brother, is resolv'd to find out the Man that kill'd his good Friend;
 and thus he traces him. " Does any one desire to know the Man that kill'd *Sozom. l. 6. c. 1.*
 " him? I know not his Name; but that he was none of the Enemy, this is a
 " clear proof, that no body among the *Persians* was rewarded for that Blow.
 " Altho the King of *Persia* made proclamation of rewarding him that kill'd
 " him, yet no body was tempted by the Reward to brag that he did it. And
 " we are beholden to our Enemys, that they wou'd not assume the Glory
 " of those things which they did not do, but have allow'd us to seek for the
 " Murderer amongst our selves. Now his Life was not for their profit, who
 " did not live according to his Laws, and had long plotted against him; and
 " having then an opportunity, put it in execution. And *Libanius* writing *Ibid. c. 2.*
 " after this fashion, insinuates, that he who kill'd *Julian* was a Christian;
 " which it may be (says the Historian) was true." This is a strange Concession;
 but you will more wonder that he shou'd justify such a traitorous Assassination,
 and yet he does in the following words: " For it is not improbable, that
 " some one of the Soldiers might take into consideration, how the Heathens,
 " and all Men to this day, do still praise those who long since have kill'd Ty-
 " rants, as Men that were willing to die for the common Liberty, and defended
 " in that manner their Countrymen, Kinsmen, and Friends. And you can *Σχολ. π. α.*
 " hardly blame him, who shews himself so courageous for God, and for that *π. α. α. α.*
 " Religion which he approves." And it is another wonder to me, that this *μ. α. α. α.*
 strange Doctrine shou'd be dedicated to *Theodosius* the younger, an Emperor; *Sozom. dedic.*
 who in less than fifty years after sat upon the very same Throne that *Jul-* *Eccl. Hist.*
lian did.

And now we have brought *Julian* to his Grave, it may reasonably be expected, that there the Christians shou'd let him rest in quiet, and let fall their Quarrel when their Enemy was gone. Which whether they did or no, shall be shewn in the next Chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

How they us'd his Memory.

TO make amends for their dry Eyes at *Julian's* Funeral, the Christians spar'd neither pains nor cost to erect Pillars and Monuments to his Memory. *Gregory* gives us the Description of that stately one, which he rear'd for him, speaking to *Julian*: "This Pillar we erect for you, which is higher
" and more conspicuous than *Hercules's* Pillars. For they are fix'd in one
" place, and are only to be seen by those that come thither; but this being a
" movable one, cannot chuse but be known every where, and by all Men:
" which I am sure will last to future Ages, branding thee and thy Actions,
" and warning all others not to attempt any such Rebellion against God, lest
" doing the like things, they fare alike." And I think he has made an example of him.

Inveſt. 2.
p. 134.

Inveſt. l. p. 76.

Page 94.

Inveſt. 2.
p. 132.

Chryſoſt. Hom.
de S. Hiero-
martyre Ba-
byla, l. 723.
* In the Pref.
to his Cata-
logue of Ecclef.
Writers.

For let any one read the Inscription of this Monument, and he will bless himself to see what Titles of Honour are bestow'd upon him. "Thou Persecutor next to *Herod*, thou Traitor next to *Judas* (only thou hast not testify'd thy Repentance by hanging thy self, as he did) and Killer of Christ after *Pilate*; and next to the *Jews*, thou Hater of God!" He calls him Murderer, Enemy, and Avenger, &c. And all the Ecclesiastical Historians do the like.

But I am weary of ripping up the reproachful and ignominious Titles, which the Christians Tongues being unfetter'd, as *Gregory's* Expression is, and the great Facility of compounding *Greek* words, have lavishly bestow'd upon him. And after all, they lodg him in Hell, and there they leave him. Says *St. Chrysostom*, "Where is the Emperor that threaten'd these things? He is
" lost and destroy'd, and now he is in Hell, undergoing endless Punishment."

What Protestants ever treated their worst Persecutors at this rate? Who ever call'd Queen *Mary*, *Mad Bitch*, as * *St. Jerom* does *Julian*, *Mad Dog*? No, the Courtesy of *England* has been shewn, even to that treacherous and bloody Woman, who deserv'd as ill of the Christian Religion, as ever *Julian* did, which I hope to make very plain by and by.

In the mean time it will be necessary to make some Reflections upon this strange and unexpected Behaviour of the Primitive Christians.

C H A P. IX.

Reflections on the Behaviour of these Christians.

JULIAN's Persecution was but a Flea-biting to what the Christians had formerly felt: it was but a short and weak Assault of the Devil, as *Gregory* calls it; and for that reason, he very much bewails the Sin of all those that wither'd away, when there was no greater Heat of Temptation. "If
" Men fell away from Christianity, they were ridiculously overcome (as
" *St. Chrysostom* expresses it;) and if they persever'd, it was no such great
" matter to quit a Trade or a Profession for their Religion." Which was the Case of the discarded Schoolmasters, and Physicians, and Soldiers, and was the greatest Severity of all *Julian's* Edicts. He was, if we will speak properly, rather a Tempter than a Persecutor: "For some he seduc'd with
" Money,

Inveſt. l. p. 53.

Chryſoſt. Hom.
40. de SS. Juv.
& Max. mon.
ab init.

Greg. Oraz. 10.
in Caſa p. 167.

"Many, others with Places of Trust, others with Promises, others with Honours of all sorts; which he expos'd in all Mens sight, not like a King, but in a very servile manner: and others again he won by the Witchcraft of his Words, and by his own Example." He wrought upon Mens Covetousness and Ambition, more than upon their Fear; and that with so good success, that St. *Asterius* says, "It verifies the saying of *Paul*, a Preacher of Truth, that *Covetousness is Idolatry*." And as for what he design'd against the Christians, it was far short of what other Emperors had executed. And yet how do the Christians treat this Emperor! One would take them to be the Apostates; one while reproaching him, ruffling with him, and vexing every Vein in his Royal Heart; another while saying all their Prayers backwards, and calling down Vengeance upon his Head; after that, dancing and leaping for joy at his Death, and insulting over his Memory. But for the name of Christians, he had better have fallen among Barbarians. And yet he often put them in mind of their Christianity too: He told them, when they complain'd of any Oppression; "It is your part, when you are ill us'd, to bear it, for this is the Commandment of your God. But they flurt at him for this, and say, He makes a very wise Speech, and this he remembers since he was Reader; and he shou'd have read on, and not skip'd over that Passage, The wicked Man shall be miserably destroy'd, such an one as denies God, and which is more, vexes those that persevere in the Confession of him. They ask how or where that Right is, that they shou'd suffer and bear it? and that the Heathens shou'd not spare those, who, when time was, spar'd them." They call him by the bloodiest Names of the Devil, for taking advantage of the Christian Doctrine in this particular, which says, "We must not avenge our selves, nor go to Law, &c. nor render Evil for Evil; but pray for, and wish well to those who injure and persecute us." And in conclusion, they come with their Distinctions, and tell him, "That he must not think to drive all Men up to the top and pinnacle of Vertue. For there are several Commands in the Gospel (which are no more than Counsels of Perfection) which bring Honour and Reward to them that keep them; but to those that do not keep them, no manner of danger at all." Is not this the right course to interpret and gloss away all their Duty? In a word, they seem to have broke all the Measures by which all the antient and suffering Christians have gone in all former Persecutions.

Homil. 3. corr.
Avaritiam.
Biblioth. Pa-
trum Colon.
p. 704.

Socrat. l. 3.

c. 14.

Greg. Inveſt. 1.

p. 94, 95.

The plain truth of the matter is this: Their Case differ'd very much, and they were in quite other Circumstances than the first Christians were. When *Julian* came to the Crown, he found them in full and quiet possession of their Religion; which they had enjoy'd without interruption for almost fifty years, and which was so inestimable a Blessing, that they had plainly undervalu'd it, if they had not done their utmost to keep it. And then to have this Treasure wrested out of their hands, by one that had been bred up in the Bosom of the Church, who profess'd himself a Christian, and never pull'd off his Mask, till it was too late for them to help themselves; this was enough to raise, not only all their Zeal, but all their Indignation too. Whereas the poor primitive Christians of all, were born to Persecution; they neither knew better, nor expected it. They profess'd their new Religion, as in some places they propounded new Laws, with a Halter about their Necks. The Laws of the Empire were always in force against them, tho not always put in execution; and the Edge of the Ax stood always towards them, tho it were not at all times stain'd with their Blood.

In a word, they perpetually lay at the mercy of their Enemys; their Religion at the best was in the world but upon sufferance, as *Abraham* was in the Land of *Canaan*, where he had no Inheritance, no not so much as to set his foot on. But as his afflicted Posterity were afterwards Lords of that Country, so after another *Egyptian* Bondage, Christianity was advanc'd to be the Establish'd Religion of the Empire. It is worth the while to read *Eusebius*, only to see in what a Transport of Joy the Christians were, upon that happy Revolution. The Christian World at that time was the very Picture of Heaven. Such Joy there will be again amongst good Men, when they have cross'd the tempestuous Sea of this World, and are safely landed in the Regions of Light and Immortality.

Invect. l. p. 64. tality. For what *Gregory* says of *Constantius*, was true of many others :
 " Never any Man in this World set his Heart so much upon any other thing,
 " as he did to see the Christians flourish, and to have all the Advantages of
 " Glory and Power. And neither conquer'd Nations, nor a well-govern'd
 " Empire, nor great Treasures, nor Excess of Glory, nor being King of
 " Kings, nor being stil'd so, nor all other things, which make up other Mens
 " Notion of Happiness, did delight him so much, as to have the Honour of
 " bringing Honour to the Christians, and of leaving them establish'd for e-
 " ver in the possession of Power and Authority." And Men that valu'd the
 Establishment of their Religion at this rate, wou'd not easily part with it.
 Now for *Julian*, who, by his Baptism first, and by entring into Orders after,
 and by his going to Church after that, sufficiently engag'd himself to maintain
 Christianity, to endeavour on the other hand to dispossess them of their Free-
 hold, was an insupportable Injury.

Is there no difference, I appeal to all the World, between being turn'd out
 as Sheep among Wolves, which was the deplorable but unavoidable Case of
 the first Christians, and being worry'd by one of their own Flock? Has a Man
 no more Right nor Privilege after he is naturaliz'd, than when he was a
 Stranger, or Alien, or accounted an Enemy? Do not the same Laws, which
 forbid Men to invade other Mens Rights, enable them notwithstanding to
 maintain and defend their own? These are the plain and palpable Differences
 between the State of the first Christians, and of those under *Julian*.

To sum up all in one word : The first Christians suffer'd according to the
 Laws of their Country, whereas these under *Julian* were persecuted contrary
 to Law : for it is manifest that *Julian* oppress'd them in a very illegal way.
 He did not fairly enact sanguinary Laws against them for their Religion ; but
 he put them to Death upon Shams, and pretended Crimes of Treason and Sa-
 crilege. He dress'd up an Accusation of Treason against *Juventinus* and
Maximus ; and tho they dy'd for their generous Zeal, and hearty Concern-
 ment for Christianity, he gave out, and commanded it to be nois'd abroad,
 that they were punish'd for treasonable words.

*Theod. l. 3.
c. 14.*

*Rom. de SS. Ju-
vent. & Max.
mox ab init.*

*Fragment. Ju-
lian. p. 540.*

The other Sham of Sacrilege St. *Chrysostom* acquaints us with in these words :
 " If any one, in former times, when Godly Kings had the Government, had
 " either broken their Altars, thrown down their Temples, taken away their
 " Oblations, or done any such thing, he was presently hurry'd away to the
 " Tribunal ; and sometimes the Innocent were executed, when they were
 " only accus'd." The Truth of which *Julian* himself confirms in his own
 Writings, when he says, " Let no Man distrust the Gods, when he hears how
 " some have done despite to Images and Temples : For have not many slain
 " good Men, such as *Socrates*, and *Dion*, and the great *Empedotimus*, who
 " I am well assur'd were much more the Care of the Gods than their Images
 " are? But they have afterward punish'd their Murderers ; and this likewise
 " has manifestly happen'd in our time, to those that were Robbers of Tem-
 " ples." And besides all this, by his Connivance and Encouragement, he let
 loose the Rage and Fury of the Heathens upon them, as I shew'd before. And
 therefore *Gregory*, all over his *Invectives*, charges him with Tyranny, and of-
 ten calls him Tyrant. So that the same Men, who wou'd quietly have sub-
 mitted to the Laws under a *Nero* or *Dioclesian*, do nevertheless pursue *Julian*,
 as if he were a Midnight Thief, or a Highway Robber.

* *Braden. l. 1. c. 2.* Le-
 ges cum sacris approbata
 consensu iurum & Sa-
 cramentorum confirmata,
 mutari non possunt nec de-
 strui sine communi consensu
 & consilio eorum omnium
 quorum consilio & consensu
 fuerunt promulgatae.

As * for us, who, blessed be God, have our Religion settled
 by such Laws as cannot be alter'd without our own Consent, we
 cannot better express our Thankfulness for so great a Blessing,
 than by living up to this Holy Religion, and resolving to keep
 it. For surely it is not of the Essence of the Gospel to be a
 suffering Religion, that is an evil Circumstance which attends it
 only in bad times ; it is a reigning Religion amongst us, and I
 hope will never be otherwise while the World stands. And
 therefore I much wonder at those Men, who trouble the Nation

at this time of day, with the unseasonable Prescriptions of Prayers and
 Tears, and the Passive-Obedience of the *Theban* Legion, and such-like last Re-
 medys, which are proper only at such a time as the Laws of our Country
 are

are arm'd against our Religion. What have we to do with the *Theban* Legion? Blessed be God who has made the difference; but I ask again, What have we to do with their Example? Are we to sacrifice or go to Mass to morrow, or else to have our Throats cut? Are we under the Sentence of Death, according to the Laws of our Country, if we do not presently renounce our Religion? Poor Men they were! and tho they dy'd as glorious Martyrs in respect of their Religion, yet they dy'd as Criminals and Malefactors in the Eye of the Law. I hope many good Protestants wou'd make a shift to die for their Religion, tho it may be not with the Gallantry that these Soldiers did, if they were in the like sad Circumstances, and had the Laws against them; but till then they throw away their Lives, and are certainly weary of them, if they practise any such Passive-Obedience. And the Truth of it is, we justly deserve to be so us'd, as the *Theban* Legion was, and moreover to be loaded with the Curses of all Posterity, if we suffer our selves to be brought into that Condition. For that can never happen, but by our own Treachery to our Religion, in parting with those good Laws which protect it, and in agreeing to such as shall destroy it.

When a Man is condemn'd by God and his Country, in a due course of Law, it is time for him to die, and he ought willingly to submit to the Laws of the Land (for every Man enjoys the Benefit and Protection of them upon those terms; and *Job* lays down a great Rule of Equity, when he asks, *Shall we receive Good Things at the Hand of God, and not likewise Evil?*) But if a Man be illegally assaulted, in the way of Violence and Assassination, he may use all lawful Remedys to defend himself.

It is a current Notion among the Fathers, that we ought to spare our Persecutors, and not suffer them to be guilty of Murder. *Gregory* gives that as a very good reason of *Marcus's* Flight from *Arethusa*. And *St. Chrysostom* introduces *David*, speaking after this manner, when he fled from *Saul*; and, as the Scripture tells us, had *Goliath's* great Sword with him, and put himself to a Posture of Defence: *It is better for me to be miserable, and to suffer more hardship, than that Saul shou'd be condemn'd by God for the Murder of an innocent Person.* And that he meant no more than only to prevent the Effusion of innocent Blood, appears by the several Opportunitys he had to have cut off *Saul*, but the sense of his Duty made him abhor the least thought of it. He only sought his own Safety and Preservation, which he cou'd not abandon, without being accessary to *Saul's* murdering of him. There is no question, but it is every Man's Duty to prevent the Murder of any innocent Person, and especially of himself, by all the ways and means which the Laws of God and of his Country do allow; and if he do not, he is a kind of *felo de se*, and guilty of his own Murder. We are to suffer Persecution (*et Noviss*) if need be, as *St. Peter's* words are, and not else. Now I humbly conceive, seeing the *Writ de Heretico Comburendo* is taken away in time, and the Laws protect us in our Religion, that it will be a very needless thing to go to *Smithfield*, and there be burnt for an Heretick.

And so far it is fit to inform the Popish Crew (for we have no apprehensions of Persecution from any other Quarter) lest they shou'd be mistaken in the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, as *Coleman* calls it in his Declaration. No doubt they wou'd bestow more good words upon us, if we wou'd be all Passive-Protestants; for then the fewer active Papists wou'd serve to dispatch us. But most Men are satisfy'd, that Archbishop *Abbot's* Doctrine was much more the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, than *Dr. Sibthorp's*; and that *Dr. Manwaring* was Orthodox when he recanted, but by no means when he preach'd his *Pulpit-Law*: For that Name the great and loyal Lord *Falkland*, long before the War broke out, was pleas'd to bestow upon such mischievous Flattery; which he then complain'd had almost ruin'd the Nation, and it can never be good for any thing else in any Age. And yet the arbitrary Doctrine of those times did not bring any great Terror along with it: it was then but a Rake, and serv'd only to scrape up a little paltry passive Mony from the Subject; but now it is become a murdering Piece, loaden with no body knows how many Bullets. And that the Patrons of it may not complain

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plain that it is an *Exploded Doctrine*, as if Men only hooted at it, but cou'd not answer it, I shall stay to speak a little more to it.

'Tis true, this Doctrine cannot discover its Malignity under his Majesty's gracious Reign, which God prolong and prosper; who has been pleas'd to give the Nation the Security of his Coronation-Oath, which we know all Protestant Princes value and look upon as sacred, and likewise of many gracious Promises that he will govern according to Law. But in case we shou'd be so sharply punish'd for our Sins, as to fall under a Popish Successor, then this bloody Doctrine will have the Opportunity to shew it self in its own Colours, and we may then see, and it may be feel the Sting of it.

For, 1st. I suppose these Men will allow a Popish Successor; when he is in possession, to be a lawful Magistrate; because, according to them, it is not lawful, no not for the King and Parliament, to exclude him.

2^{dly}. I suppose that this lawful Magistrate will persecute Protestants; for by so doing, he does God and the Church good Service, he merits Heaven, he cannot better testify the Truth and Reality of his Conversion. Nay, if he does not persecute Hereticks with Fire and Sword, he lies at the Pope's Mercy to have his Kingdom taken from him; and farther, he is in danger to be so serv'd, as the two *Henrys* of *France* were. However, because some Persons are so happy as to believe that he will not persecute! no, he will protect the Church of *England* as it is now establish'd by Law, and be a mighty Defender of the Faith; I shall be contented with what every body must grant, that he may persecute, that the thing is possible.

3^{dly}. In this case all Protestants cannot fly, they will not be all in a travelling Case; and if they were, the Ports may be stopt, the *Writ ne exeat Regnum* may be serv'd upon them: and besides, many may be persuaded that they ought not to fly, and leave their native Country naked and defenceless, and expose it to a Conquest; they may likewise believe it a thing of very ill Consequence *perdere Patriam*, which no Man in *England* is bound to do.

Pag. 8.

4^{thly}. Now we are taught in this Case, That if Men do not over-run their Country, there is nothing but Death or Damnation at home; or, as it is in their own words, "Neither doth the Gospel prescribe any Remedy but Flight, against the Persecutions of the lawful Magistrate; allowing of no other means, when we cannot escape, betwixt denying and dying for the Faith."

What the Gospel prescribes is one thing, what it allows is another: there are ten thousand things allow'd by the Gospel, not one of which is prescrib'd by it, Inditements, Appeals, suing for Tithes; in a word, all human Constitutions, which are not morally Evil. But it seems the Gospel does not so much as allow any mean, when we cannot escape by Flight, betwixt denying and dying for the Faith. As for denying the Faith, that is downright Destruction both of Body and Soul, and therefore is not to be thought of, as being the far greater Extremity of the two. And so welcome Death! But by what Law must we die? Not by the Law of God, surely, for being of that Religion which he approves, and wou'd have all the World to embrace, and to hold fast to the end. Nor by the Laws of our Country, where Protestantism is so far from being criminal, that it is Death to desert it, and to turn Papist. By what Law then? By none that I know of; but Parasites, Sycophants, and Murderers may. For it is plain, that every Protestant, who is persecuted to Death in these Circumstances, is barbarously murder'd. If they can tell us therefore who it is, in that Case, that shall have Authority to commit open, bare-fac'd, and downright Murders, they will then direct us where to pay our Passive-Obedience. It wou'd be the horridst Slander in the World, to say, that any such Power is lodg'd in the Prerogative, as to destroy Men contrary to Law. The Prerogative is no such boundless bottomless Pit of arbitrary Power and Self-will; but it is limited, stated, and certain, and as well known as other parts of the Law: and it is fit it shou'd be so, that the Subject may not offend against it. It is the Glory of the Crown, and is intended to be for the Benefit, Quiet and Safety of the People, to save innocent Lives, and not to destroy them. There is no Authority upon Earth above the Law, much less against it; and that this Doctor might have seen, if he had pleas'd

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to

to have read on in that very Chapter of *Bracton*, which he makes use of without citing the Place. What he says concerning the King, is very true, and readily acknowledg'd by every *Englishman*: *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo.* *Bracton* does not barely assert it, but he shews the reason of it in these words: *Parem autem non habet in Regno suo, quia sic amitteret Preceptum, cum pax in parem non habet Imperium. Item nec multo fortius superiorem, nec potentio-rem, habere debet.* So in another place, *Rex parem non habet, nec vicinum, nec superiorem.* He likewise often uses these Expressions, *Rex est Vicarius Dei; Dei Minister & Vicarius.* But *Bracton* is so far from setting God's Vicegerent above the Law, that, among other Reasons, he enforces his being under the Law, from that very Title, which is the greatest upon Earth. In the foremention'd Chap. 8. he has these words: *Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub Homine, sed sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem. Attribuat ergo Rex legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet dominationem & potestatem. Non est enim Rex, ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex. Et quod sub Lege esse debeat, cum sit Dei Vicarius, evidenter apparet ad exemplum Jesu Christi, cujus vices gerit in terra, &c. qui noluit uti viribus, sed ratione & judicio.* Nay, he will not allow him to be God's Vicegerent any longer than he acts according to Law; speaking of the King, he says, *Potestas sua juris est, non injuria. Exercere igitur debet Rex potestatem juris, sicut Dei Vicarius & Minister in terra; quia illa Potestas solius Dei est, Potestas autem injuria Diaboli, & non Dei: & cujus horum opera fecerit Rex, ejus Minister erit cujus opera fecerit. Igitur dum facit Justitiam, Vicarius est Regis aeterni; Minister autem Diaboli, dum declinet ad Injuriam.* So that this Popish Successor we are speaking of, can have no Authority to exercise any illegal Cruelty upon Protestants: and how far an inauthoritative Act, which carries no Obligation at all, can oblige Men to Obedience, I desire the Doctor to resolve. For it is an undeniable Maxim, *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression.* I freely and readily acknowledg, that according to the known Laws of *England*, this Popish Prince, when he is lawfully possess'd of the Crown, will be inviolable, and unaccountable as to his own Person, and ought by no means to have any Violence offer'd to him; for *who can do that*, as *David* says of an Anointed King, *and be guiltless?* So that if a Man be reduc'd to those Straits, as either to lose his Life, or contract Guilt by keeping it, he ought to die, and his time is come. But this must needs be a rare Case, which can seldom happen; for bad Princes are hardly ever known to stoop so low, as to be the Executioners of their own Cruelty, they generally reserve themselves for a better Office. And how far Men may endeavour notwithstanding to save themselves, without breach of their Allegiance, and of that true Faith and Loyalty which they ought to bear of Life and Limb, and terrene Honour, if they have a mind to know they may ask Advice.

But tho we are out of our Pain as to this first difficulty, yet still there is nothing but Despair left behind: for *him that escapeth the Sword of Hazeel, shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the Sword of Jehu, shall Elisha slay.* For we are told that the Gospel, by its own Confession, "is a suffering Doctrine," and so far from being prejudicial to *Cesar's* Authority, that it makes him "the Minister of God; and commands all its Professors to give him, and all that are put in Authority under him, their Dues, and rather die than resist them by force." At this rate, under a Popish Successor, the Lives of all Protestants shall lie at the mercy of every Justice of Peace, Constable, or Tithing-man, who shall have Catholick Zeal enough to destroy them. Every Commission Officer, and Janizary, shall kill and slay without resistance. I never knew this before, that our Throats were the Dues and Perquisites of their Places, and that another Man is bound to stand still and suffer himself to be murder'd, while they only give him a cast of their Office. We readily acknowledg that no inferior Magistrate is to be resisted in the Exercise of his Office, so far as he is warranted by Law; but illegal Force may be repel'd by Force, if you will believe *Bracton*, who has these words, *Ei qui vult viribus uti, erit viriliter resistendum.* Who likewise tells us, *Armorum quedam sunt tuitionis;* which he after calls, *Arma pacis & justitiae,* in the hands of private Men for their own Defence; and adds, *Quod quis ob tutelam sui corporis fecerit, vel sui juris juste fecisse videtur.* This is in the Case of a violent Disseyzin; and

and I hope a Man's Life is his most valuable Freehold, of which if he be dis-
seiz'd, he shall hardly be restor'd by any legal Remedy afterward.

All the World knows that it is a Misfortune for a Man, in his own lawful
Defence, to kill another, but it is neither Murder nor Felony; whereas it is
Murder even in a Magistrate to kill any Man, if it be not done in due Course
of Law. And thro the help of God, tho we cannot hinder the Papists from
being Idolaters, we will endeavour to keep them from being Murderers, they
shall not have that to answer for too.

Is the Doctor serious, and in earnest, when he teaches and preaches up Pas-
sive-Obedience for Evangelical in this Case? Wou'd he really have Men prosti-
tute their Lives to Malice and Violence, when all the Laws of God, and of
the Kingdom, protect them? Surely this is too light for the Pulpit, and is
just such another piece of Drollery, as that which was dedicated to *Oliver
Cromwel*, in the Book call'd, *Killing no Murder*: where the ingenious Author
offers *Oliver* many convincing and satisfying Reasons why he shou'd kill him-
self, and very fairly gives him his choice of Hanging, Drowning, or Pistol-
ing himself; shews him the absolute necessity of it, the Honour he wou'd
gain by it; and, in a word, uses such Arguments as might have prevail'd
upon any body but a harden'd Rebel. Bating that Dedication, I never met
with any thing like this Passive-Doctrine, for wheedling a Man out of his Life.

Orat. 10 p. 166 Gregory says, "That *Julian* stole a Persecution upon the Christians, under a
"shew of gentleness, for he always disclaim'd his being a Persecutor." And
we, for ought I know, may be expos'd to the bloodiest Persecution that ever
was, under the meek Pretences of Passive-Obedience. For as a worthy Per-
son has lately observ'd, *One single Arm, unresisted, may go a great way in mas-
sacring a Nation*. But how many irresistible Arms will there be lifted up a-
gainst us under a Popish Successor, when every petty Popish Officer, according
to this Doctrine, shall be an absolute Emperor, and have the power of Life
and Death? It is a Doctrine fit to turn a Nation into a Shambles, and enough
to tempt and invite Tyranny and Cruelty into the World: For let a Prince
be either a Papist, or an Atheist, and his Subjects well fetter'd and manacled
with this slavish Principle; and then what hinders, but the one of them may
destroy Millions for their Estates and Heresy together, and the other as ma-
ny, to see what ugly Faces and Grimaces they will make? The Lives of the
best Men in the World shall be expos'd to the fiery and ambitious Zeal of a
Papist, or the extravagant and unaccountable Humours of a Wretch, and
hang at their Girdle, as Souls do at the Pope's.

If the Doctor looks upon these as excepted Cases, why did he not except
them? Why did he not particularly except the Case of a Popish Successor, the
Mischiefs of which it has been the care of several Parliaments to prevent, and
of which we have such a dismal Prospect, that it makes every honest Man's
Heart to ake? But I am afraid this Doctrine is calculated and fitted on pur-
pose for the use of a Popish Successor, and to make us an easier Prey to the
bloody Papists. For why else is there all that Wrath against every little Pam-
phlet which opposes that Interest?

Pag. 29.

How comes the *History of the Succession* to be an impious and treasonable
Book, and the *Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil* another? Why the first is an
impious and treasonable Book, because it shews how the Succession has been
alterable in all Ages. And this is so far from being an impious or treasonable
Assertion, that it was impious High Treason, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, to
say the contrary; and is still Impiety, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels at
this day. Which is far from making the Monarchy Elective, as the Doctor
might easily have understood, if he had read the antient Historians of *England*,
instead of Dissenters Sayings. He wou'd likewise have found it possible to
write a History of the Succession, without borrowing from *Doleman*, and im-
possible to write it, without having a great many Passages, which *Doleman*
has got into his Book.

And the other is a treasonable and impious Book, for saying, *That Parlia-
ments shou'd sit till they have done that for which they are call'd and sit, and were
originally intended*. But these Men are not for a Popish Successor, and so they
and their Books, and whatever they have said, is to be blasted with the names
of

|| For that is the
true meaning of
sitting, till all
Grievances are
redress'd, and
Petitions an-
swer'd.

of impious and treasonable. He talks as if he were already arriv'd at that Age in which these Books will be sure to be call'd Treason, and the Authors us'd accordingly, unless they make hast and die out of the way, as my Lord *Hollis* has done, who is another of his impious and treasonable Authors.

However, let the Design of preaching up Passive-Obedience, and the Example of the *Theban* Legion, at this time especially, be what it will; if the Papists, taking us to be all Passive, and a fine, glib and easy Morsel, shall try to swallow up innocent Men quick, it is my hearty desire that they may find themselves chok'd. For where is it said in the Word of the Lord, which these Men cannot go beyond, that the World was made only for *Banditti*, or that we are to yield up our selves to Cut-Throats and Assassins, which the *Papists* have ever been to poor *Protestants*? And how many hundred thousands they have massacred, I know not; but this I know, that they never did, nor ever will massacre more or less than just as many as they can.

To leave a matter of this Importance as clear as may be, in such an occasional and accidental Discourse, I shall reduce the strength and force of what hath been said into these following Propositions.

1. Christianity destroys no Man's Natural or Civil Rights, but confirms them.

2. All Men have both a Natural and Civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.

3. When the Laws of God and of our Country interfere, and it is made Death by the Law of the Land to be a good Christian, then we are to lay down our Lives for Christ's sake. This is the only Case wherein the Gospel requires Passive-Obedience, namely, when the Laws are against a Man; and this was the Case of the first Christians.

4. That the killing of a Man, contrary to Law, is Murder.

5. That every Man is bound to prevent Murder, as far as the Law allows, and ought not to submit to be murder'd, if he can help it.

And now I shall desire those Men, who of late have thundred in all publick Places with the *Theban* Legion, to keep that compleat and admirable Example (for which, Thanks be to God, we have no occasion) till they have gotten another *Maximian*, and till that *Maximian* has gotten Authority to cut such an unconscionable number of Throats, as 6666 at one time.

I have many more Exceptions against their Artillery of Prayers and Tears, than I can now stay to insist upon.

First, There are only Tears mention'd, where they quote Prayers too.

Greg. Inveſt. 1.

Secondly, The Passage has nothing at all of that sense which they put upon it, speaking of the grievous things *Julian* design'd against the Christians; but says *Gregory*, he was hindred by the Goodness of God, and the Tears of Christians, which were shed in great plenty by many, who had this only Remedy against the Persecutor. They had no other way to help themselves; What then? Does not *Gregory* complain in another place, that they were strip'd of all human Aid; they had no other Wall, nor Weapon, nor Defence left them, but their hope in God? For besides that *Julian* had gotten all the Strength of the Empire into his hands, there seems to have been a general Revolt from Christianity, almost like that in Queen *Mary's* time; which makes *St. Asterius* say, *Quantus ab Ecclesia ad altaria factus est concursus? Quam multi per horum escam & illecebras una cum ipso transgressionis hamum devorarunt?* What then wou'd they have a few defenceless Christians do, when they had lost all their Strength, and so many of their Numbers? Have they never heard a West-Country-Man say, *Chad eat Cheese an Chad it.*

P. 57. Eton.

Inveſt. 2.

P. 100. Eton.

Homil. contra Avaritiam.

Thirdly, It is very odd they shou'd quote this scrap out of *Gregory's Invectives*. Believe me, they must look out very sharp, who cou'd find out such a *Daisy* as this in a whole Field of *Nettles*. For never were two such Thunderbolts in this World sent after a Persecutor, as those two Speeches are.

Fourthly, Whether they did not make use of some few other Ingredients, besides Tears and Prayers too, in their Composition against a Persecutor; I refer my self to the matter of Fact related in the former part of this Book.

And, Lastly, I do earnestly desire them to take heed how they recommend *Gregory's* Prayers and Tears to the World; for I declare, they are no better

than Treason by our Law: They were such as did imagine and compass *Julian's* Death. If they wou'd have these Prayers and Tears believ'd to be in favour of *Julian*, they deceive the World; and if they recommend them, such as they are, to People's Use, I do again as a Friend give them fair warning.

The Protestants, in Queen *Mary's* Days, found their short disjunctive Prayer made High Treason *ex post facto*, tho they pray'd in the first place, That God wou'd turn her Heart from Idolatry; and in case that were not done, then to take her out of the way. Whereas I do not find that there is one single wish among the Antients for *Julian's* Conversion, but all for his downright Destruction.

The Preamble of that Act in Queen *Mary's* time has some remarkable Passages in it, which for the Reader's ease I shall here set down, and so conclude this whole Matter.

PHILIP and MARY.

Ann. 1, & 2
Philip & Mary,
cap. 9.

FOrasmuch as now of late divers naughty, seditious, malicious and heretical Persons, not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, but in a devilish sort, contrary to the Duty of their Allegiance, have congregated themselves together in Conventicles in divers and sundry profane Places within this City of London, esteeming themselves to be in the true Faith, where indeed they are in Errors and Heresys, and out of the true Trade of Christ's Catholick Religion; and in the same places, at several times, using their phantastical and schismatical Services lately taken away and abolish'd by Authority of Parliament, have, of their most malicious and canker'd Stomachs, pray'd against the Queen's Majesty, That God wou'd turn her Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else to shorten her days, or take her quickly out of the way: Which Prayer was never heard or read to have been us'd by any good Christian Man against any Prince, tho he were a Pagan and an Infidel; and much less against any Christian Prince, and especially so vertuous a Princess as our Sovereign Lady that now is, is known to be, whose Faith is, and always hath been, most true, and Catholick, and consonant and agreeing with Christ's Catholick Church throughout the World dispers'd.

Be it enacted, That every such Person and Persons, which since the beginning of this Parliament, have pray'd, requir'd, or desir'd, as aforesaid, shall be adjudg'd High Traitors, &c. as also their Procurors and Abettors therein.

I shall only observe from hence, that these blind Papists were as much out, in thinking these Prayers unprecedented, and of the first Impression, as they afterwards found they were in Queen *Mary's* Reckoning. And from the rest, the Reader may please to make his own Observations.

A Comparison of Popery and Paganism.

The INTRODUCTION.

WE I. L., what is all this to us? may some Men say. Here is a great deal of ado about a Pagan Successor; but Papists are Christians, and a true Church of Christ, only corrupt. O that Bishop *Ridley* were alive to hear them! if it be lawful to wish a good Man out of Heaven, to come and do good upon a degenerate Age, he wou'd tell them what Christians the Papists are: "Wolves, Thieves, Church-Robbers, Enemies of Christ, the Brood of Antichrist;" such Christians with him they are. And it is a Church; "The Babylonical Beast and Whore, a devilish Drab, a stinking Strumpet, spiritually

In Fox, Vol. 3.
p. 515. and all
over the Bp's
Writings.

"spiritually *Egypt* and *Sodom*, the Seat of Satan;" such a Church it is. And these he tells the Lords of Parliament are not angry and railing Expressions of a Man desperate and in anguish, but the words of a dying Man, and the very truth of the matter. And therefore who can doubt, but revolting from the Protestant, which, as Dr. *Hicks* tells us, *is but another Name for the Primitive Christian Religion*; and herding with these Enemies of Christianity, does entitle a Man to the Name of an Apostate, as well as it did *Julian*? That brave Bishop and Martyr we spoke of was clearly of that mind, as you may see by this Passage in his Letter to Mr. *West*, sometime his Chaplain, which I wish every body wou'd lay to heart: "I like very well your plain-speaking, where-
"in you say that I must agree or die. I say unto you, in the word of the
"Lord, That if you do not confess and maintain, to your power and know-
"ledg, that which is grounded upon God's Word; but will, either for fear
"of gain of the World, shrink and play the *Apostata*, indeed you shall die the
"Death; you know what I mean." And his Apostacy agreed so ill with him, that this Martyr, who lay under the Sentence of Death, outliv'd him.

But we may very well let him, and all the other glorious Martyrs, rest in Peace; for we have store of living Authorities. The whole Clergy of *Eng-land*, who have subscrib'd, with Hand and Heart, to the Homilys, *as contain-
ing a godly, wholesom, and necessary Doctrine for these times*; and by name, to those against the Peril of Idolatry, have consequently declar'd it as their Judg-
ment, which I hope they are still ready to maintain: *That the Church of Rome,
as it is presently, and hath been for the space of nine hundred Tears and odd, is so
far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more. That it
is an idolatrous Church, not only an Harlot (as the Scripture calls her) but also a
foul, filthy, old, wither'd Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredom, guilty of the
same Idolatry and worse than was among Ethnicks and Gentiles: and abundant-
ly more to the same purpose, which I shall hereafter have occasion to quote.*
And to name no more, we have the honourable Testimony of my Lord Chief
Justice *Pemberton*, that Popery is a Religion ten times worse than all the Heathenish
Superstitions. Which is so great a Truth, and so seasonable, and coming from
so great a Man, that it deserves to be written in Letters of Gold.

And if Popery be ten times worse than all the Heathenish Superstitions, then I am sure we do no worse than the Primitive Christians, if we have ten times a greater aversion for a Popish Successor, than they had for their *Julian*. And yet if it be but equal, I think it will serve the turn: and therefore it will be sufficient to prove Popery as bad as Paganism; tho if in so doing I prove it much worse, I cannot help that.

It wou'd be endless to run thro all the Particulars of both these Religions, and to compare them together: I shall chuse therefore to insist upon those things wherein they mainly agree, and wherein they are remov'd at the greatest distance from Christianity; and they are *Polytheism, Idolatry, and Cruelty*, which I shall treat of in order.

CHAP. X.

Their Polytheism.

WHENEVER Paganism is nam'd, the most obvious thing in it, and that which comes first to our thoughts, is the multitude of Gods which they worship'd. And that the Papists have herein equal'd and outdone the old Pagans,

I shall, First, shew is the publick and profess'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

And, Secondly, I shall demonstrate the Truth of it.

First, That the Papists are gross Polytheists, and worship a vast number of false Gods, is the publick and profess'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*: and he that doubts of this never read the Homilies, which I shall take this oc-
F 2 cation

casion to recommend to every body's reading, as one of the best Books that I know in the World next the Bible; and in the mean time shall set down several Passages at large, which plainly shew what is the Doctrine of the Church in this point. In the third part of the Sermon against the Peril of Idolatry, you have these words:

Hon. Tom. 2.
p. 46.

And for that Idolatry standeth chiefly in the Mind, it shall in this part first be prov'd, that our Image-Maintainers have had, and have the same Opinions and Judgments of Saints, whose Images they have made and worship'd, as the Gentiles Idolaters had of their Gods. And afterwards shall be declar'd, that our Image-Maintainers and Worshipers have us'd, and use the same outward Rites of honouring and worshipping their Images, as the Gentiles did use before their Idols; and that therefore they commit Idolatry, as well inwardly and outwardly, as did the wicked Gentiles Idolaters.

And concerning the first part of the Idolatrous Opinions of our Image-Maintainers: What I pray you be such Saints with us, to whom we attribute the Defence of certain Countreys, spoiling God of his due Honour herein, but Dii Tutelares of the Gentiles Idolaters? such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, Vulcan to the Lemnians, and to such other.

What be such Saints to whom the Safeguard of certain Citys are appointed, but Dii Praefides with the Gentiles Idolaters? such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such Saints to whom, contrary to the use of the Primitive Church, Temples and Churches be builded, and Altars erected, but Dii Patroni of the Gentiles Idolaters? Such as were in the Capitol Jupiter, in Paphus Temple Venus, in Ephesus Temple Diana, and such like. Alas! we seem in thus thinking and doing to have learned our Religion, not out of God's Word, but out of the Pagan Poets, who say, Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relictis, Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c. That is to say, all the Gods, by whose Defence this Empire stood, are gone out of the Temples, and have forsaken their Altars. And when one Saint hath Images in divers Places, the same Saint hath divers Names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Wallingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilford, and such other: What is it but an imitation of the Gentiles Idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Ephesia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia. Whereby is evidently meant that the Saint, for the Image-sake, shou'd in those Places, yea in the Images themselves, have a Dwelling, which is the ground of their Idolatry. For where no Images be, they have no such names. Terentius Varro sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time; there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ; we had no fewer Christophers, Ladys, and Mary Magdalene's, and other Saints. Oenomaus and Hesiodus shew, that in their time there were thirty thousand Gods. I think we had no fewer Saints, to whom we gave the Honour due to God: and they have not only spoil'd the true living God of his due Honour, in Temples, Citys, Countreys and Lands, by such Devices and Inventions as the Gentiles Idolaters have done before them; but the Sea and Waters have as well special Saints with them, as they had Gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other: In whose Places be come St. Christopher, St. Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom Shipmen sing Ave Maris Stella. Neither hath the Fire escap'd the idolatrous Inventions: For instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles Gods of the Fire, our Men have plac'd St. Agatha, and make Letters on her day for to quench Fire with. Every Artificer and Profession hath his special Saint, as a peculiar God: As for example, Scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory, Painters St. Luke; neither lack Soldiers their Mars, nor Lovers their Venus, amongst Christians.

All Diseases have their special Saints, as Gods, the Curers of them. The Pox, St. Roche; the Falling-Evil, St. Cornelis; the Toothach, St. Apollin, &c. Neither do Beasts and Cattel lack their Gods with us; for St. Loy is the Horse-Leach, and St. Anthony the Swineberd, &c. Where is God's Providence and due Honour in the mean season? who saith, The Heavens be mine, and the Earth is mine, &c. But we have left him neither Heaven, nor Earth, nor Water, nor Country, nor City, Peace, nor War to rule and govern; neither Men, nor Beasts, nor their Diseases to cure, that a godly Man might justly for zealous Indignation

cry

cry out, O Heaven, O Earth, and Sea, what Madness and Wickedness against God are Men fallen into? What Dishonour do the Creatures to their Creator and Maker? And if we remember God sometimes, yet because we doubt of his Ability or Will to help, we join to him another Helper, as if he were a Noun Adjective, using these Sayings: such as Learn, God and St. Nicholas be my Speed; such as Neese, God help and St. John; to the Horse, God and St. Loy save thee. Thus are we become like Horses and Mules, which have no Understanding: For is there not one God only, who by his Power and Wisdom made all things, and by his Providence governeth the same? and by his Goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all things of him, by him, and thro him? Why dost thou turn from the Creator to the Creatures? This is the manner of the Gentiles Idolaters: but thou art a Christian, and therefore by Christ alone hast access to God the Father, and help of him only. These things are not written to any Reproach of the Saints themselves, who were the true Servants of God, and did give all Honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed Souls with God; but against our Foolishness and Wickedness, making of the true Servants of God, false Gods, by attributing to them the Power and Honour which is God's, and due to him only.

And after more to the same purpose there are these words.

If answer be made, That they make Saints but Intercessors to God, and means for such things as they wou'd obtain of God; that is, even after the Gentiles idolatrous Usage, to make them of Saints Gods, call'd Dii Medioximi, to be mean Intercessors and Helpers to God, &c. Pag. 48.

There cannot be a fuller Charge of Polytheism than this is, which is here drawn up against the Papists, for making Gods of the Saints; nay, for making as very Devils of them, as ever any of the Heathen Gods were. From which they cannot clear themselves, with their leud Distinction, as the Homily calls it, of *Latria & Dulia*; for it is evident that the Saints of God cannot abide, that as much as any outward worshipping be done or exhibited to them: Ibid. p. 50.

And to attribute such desire of Divine Honour to Saints, is to blot them with a most odious and devilish Ignominy and Villany; and indeed of Saints, to make them Satans and very Devils, whose Property is to challenge to themselves the Honour which is due to God only. A little after, p. 50.

So far the Papists are even with the Gentiles Idolaters, and as deep in Polytheism as they: But in many Points they have far exceeded them in all Wickedness, Foolishness, and Madness. Particularly in this they pass the Folly and Wickedness of the Gentiles, that they honour and worship the Relicks and Bones of our Saints, which prove that they be mortal Men and dead, and therefore no Gods to be worship'd, which the Gentiles wou'd never confess of their Gods for very shame. And after a great many ridiculous Practices of theirs, in reference to these Relicks, are reckon'd up, the Homily concludes that they are not only more wicked than the Gentiles Idolaters, but also no wiser than Asses, Horses, and Mules, which have no Understanding. Pag. 54.

I have been the more copious in these Citations, to shew that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of England, to which all Orders of the Clergy have all along subscrib'd; and is not one Doctor's Opinion, or the Conceit of any private Man. But because the Judgment of our Heretical Church signifies nothing to Papists; who will likewise be sure to treat us as such when time serves, tho now they have the treacherous Impudence to pretend a mighty Zeal for us, when at the same time we are satisfy'd they are making their approaches to our Lives: I have another sort of proof for them, made up out of their own Oracles and Infallibility, with the help of a little common sense.

Socrates taxes Libanius for making Porphyry a God, only because he once us'd these words; "Let the Tyrian be merciful to me for preferring the Emperor Julian's Works before his." What wou'd he have said, if he had known any thing of the Popish Devotions, where they invoke their Saints every day, and beg a thousand times more at their hands than this comes to? And it is from that Practice I mean to demonstrate their gross Polytheism. Socr. l. 3. c. 23.

First, Their bare Invocation of the Saints makes them Gods; because thereby they bestow Divine Attributes upon them. ἡ αὐτὴν ἀποδεδωκέναι τῷ πορφυρίου ἱεροῦ ἱεροῦ γὰρ, φησιν, ὁ τῷ εἰν, προκρίνοντι αὐτῷ τὰ τῷ βασιλέως βιβλία.

Secondly, The Matter of their Prayers bestows several others.

First,

C. Perrone
Replique au
Roy Jaques.

First, The bare Invocation of their Saints, and praying to them, is making them Gods, and bestowing Divine Attributes upon them. And I am willing, in the first place, to take their Invocation at the very lowest: because tho in their publick Prayers and Liturgys they often pray to their Saints to demand and command, and make them Partners with God, and give them a divided Empire with him; yet in their Apologys, not being able to justify such abominable Sacrilege, they are content to lower their Saints, and to place them in the rank of Suppliants, and then their Invocation is no more than *prier pour prier*. Well, be it so for the present, for this gives them the Attributes of Omnipresence and Omniscience, which belong to God alone.

1st. Of Omnipresence. It is notorious that the Papists, In all parts of the World, familiarly make their Addresses to the Virgin *Mary*; whereby they suppose her present, both here, and in the *Indies*, and in all Countrys between; that she gives Audience in this and the lower Hemisphere at once, and in millions of distant Places in both, besides her Presence-Chambers, such as *Loretto, Hall, &c.* and innumerable Altars, where she does especially reside; and is notwithstanding in Heaven all the while. Now what can an Infinite Being do more? What other Ubiquity do we ascribe to God? That the very Act of directing their Prayers to Saints, implys this Ubiquity, is very plain; for they immediately apply themselves to the Saints, that they may obtain their Mediation to God. So that their Prayers are not intended to be convey'd by God to the Saints, but to come directly to them, and by them to be recommended to God. And for that reason, in the *Trent Catechism*, they are call'd *Intermediarii & Patroni, Interpretes & Deprecatores ad Deum*. For to make God their Messenger to the Saints (as he must be, if these Prayers do not come directly to them) and to have him convey *Ora pro nobis's*, is no good Court-fashion, from whence we are told they take their Pattern; and wou'd very ill comply with that profound reverence towards God, and keeping of due distance, and avoiding abrupt approaches to him, which is the great pretence for flying to the mediation of Saints and Angels.

2ly. The bare Invocation of their Saints supposes their Omniscience. For (to say nothing of the Council of *Trent's* decreeing mental Prayer to be us'd to them) it is not to be thought that the Saints will prefer Hypocritical Prayers to God, and such as are an Abomination to him; and therefore it is necessary for them to know Mens Hearts. Now not only the Scripture attributes this as proper and peculiar to God; so *Solomon* says, *Thou only knowest the Hearts of the Children of Men*; and God appropriates it to himself, *The Heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins*: But likewise the Heathens themselves attributed it to their Gods, as that which was the ground of worshipping them, and of attesting them in all their Oaths and solemn Compacts. Not only to know what is in Man, but to know what is in all Men, and at all Times, is the perfection of infinite Knowledg: which it is therefore impossible for Saints or Angels to have, because it is a contradiction, for a Creature to have so much as one single infinite perfection.

It wou'd be a great presumption in us to go about to fix the Bounds and Limits of their enlarg'd Understandings, and to tell just how wise an Angel of God is. They may, for ought I know, have an intuitive Knowledg, without the trouble and hazard of reasoning, and see the remotest Conclusions by as clear a light, as we do first Principles: They may, in many other respects, have their Understandings elevated and enlighten'd, beyond what we can imagine. Yet it is no presumption to say, that they have not any such knowledg in any kind, as may equal them with God: But on the other hand it is Blasphemy to ascribe that to them, than which we cannot ascribe any thing greater to him. And this knowledg of understanding and searching Mens Hearts, the Papists not only imply in their praying to Saints and Angels, and decree in their Councils, but they openly avow it likewise in their Writings, and will prove it by Scripture it self. Cardinal *Perrone* for one, amongst many others, proves that the Saints know Mens Hearts, because they are equal to the Angels: and the Angels assuredly know them, because they rejoice at the Conversion of a Sinner; which is the inward change of a Man's Mind, and lies

Synod. Trid.
Sess. ult. Eos
qui asserunt
stultum esse in
Cælo regnan-
tibus voce vel
mente suppli-
care, impie
sentire.
2 Chron. 6. 30.
Jer. 17. 9, 10:

lies very deep, even at the bottom of the Heart. But far less Charity than the Angels burn withal, and a much smaller degree of Knowledge than they really are endu'd with, will solve this *Phænomenon*. For cannot such silly Wretches as we be glad of the Conversion of a Sinner, who was given for lost, tho we never saw him in our lives; if we be assur'd of it by a very good Friend, who likewise was himself the happy Author of this Conversion, and invites us to congratulate the good Success of his care and pains in it? And that this is the very case of the Angels Joy, I will venture to refer it to any Man that will but once read over the first ten Verses of the fifteenth Chapter of St. Luke. They likewise argue from *Elisha's* Heart going with *Gehazi*, and from his discovering the King of *Syria's* Counsels. But, 1st, these were Actions and Words, which are nothing near so private as Thoughts. And then, 2^{dly}, there is no Consequence, from the extraordinary Performances of Saints and Prophets enabled and inspir'd by God, to infer an ordinary and constant Power and Faculty of doing such things at all times. Have the Saints and Angels *Prescience*, because Prophets have been sometimes enabled to foretel things to come? Have they the power of raising the Dead, and of doing such Miracles as are plainly the Finger of God, because God has been pleas'd at some times to make Men his Instruments in the performance of these mighty Works? One wou'd be assur'd of such Reasonings, and yet they have still worse. For some of them take it ill, that in denying Invocation of Saints and Angels, we will not allow them so much knowledge as the Devil has. Well, for ought I know, they may hereafter have a new Set of Gods; and from worshipping those, which, as the *Homily* says, they transform into Devils, by setting them up as the Rivals of God, they may fall to courting those which have made themselves so; who it seems have one qualification towards Invocation. For who knows where Apostacy from God will end?

Triple Cord,
p. 345. dedi-
cated to the
Nobility of
England.

Secondly, The Matter of their Prayers to Saints and Angels makes them Gods, by giving them still more Divine Attributes.

1. They attribute to Saints and Angels the Disposal of Grace, Pardon of Sins, Deliverance from Hell, and Eternal Life; which are as peculiarly the Gifts of God, as the Creation of the World was his Work: as you may see by these following Prayers.

Angelorum Concio sacra, & Archangelorum Turma inclita, nostra diluant jam Peccata, prestando supera Celi gaudia.

Missal. Sar. in
Festo omnium
Sanctorum.

Here they pray the Angels to blot out their Sins, and bestow upon them the Joys of Heaven.

O Virgo, sola Mater casta, nostra Crimina
Solvens, da Regna, qui beata regnant agmina.

In Nativitat.
B. M.

Here they pray the Virgin to pardon their Sins, and to give them the Kingdom of Heaven.

Ab inferni horribili Cruciamine, libera nos Domina.

Litania Sancti
Bonavent.
Tom. 6. p. 492.
Ibid.

"From the horrible Torment of Hell, Good Lady deliver us.

Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem aeternam donare digneris, te rogamus, audi nos.

"That it may please thee to give everlasting Rest to all the Faithful departed this Life, We beseech thee to hear us.

And in the Versicles and Responses, towards the end of that Litany, you have these words.

V. *Ego dixi, Domina miserere mei.*

R. *Sana animam quia peccavi tibi, &c.*

"I have said, Lady, have mercy upon me.

"Heal my Soul, for I have sinned against thee.

"Shew thy mercy upon us; and be gracious unto thy Servants.

And presently after you have this devout Ejaculation.

Miserere Servorum tuorum, super quos invocatum est nomen tuum.

"Be merciful to thy Servants, who are call'd by thy Name.

And

And so let them be, and never hereafter pretend to be Christians! For that she is their great Goddess appears,

2. By that blasphemous Honour which they have done her, in decking and magnifying her with the very same glorious Praises and Acknowledgments, wherewith *David* was inspir'd to honour God; which our Blessed Saviour himself, when he was upon Earth, and all the Church of God have sung to him ever since: Such as these which follow, and the rest is alike, for it is all Quintessence.

Psal. 10. "In thee, Lady, do I put my trust.

18. "The Heavens declare thy Glory.

30. "Into thy hands I commend my Spirit, my whole Life, and my last Day.

53. "I will freely offer unto thee the Sacrifice of Praise, and give thanks unto thy Name, for it is good.

67. "Let *Mary* arise, and let her Enemies be scatter'd.

111. "Blessed is the Man that feareth our Lady, and blessed is the Heart that loveth her.

118. "Lady, how have I loved thy Law! It is ever before mine Eyes.

7th Part. "Praise our Lady from Heaven, glorify her in the Heights.

"Praise her, Sun and Moon, &c.

And then this Psalter concludes, just as *David's* does.

150. "Let every thing that hath Breath praise our Lady.

Who can endure to see Scripture thus transpos'd and abus'd, and a Creature cloth'd with all the Majesty of Heaven, and adorn'd at this rate with the Spoils of her Maker? And besides *David's* Psalms, there is hardly a Hymn in the whole Bible, that is not in the same manner apply'd to her.

Canticum in-
star illius, Ex-
od. 15. P. 479.

The Chariots of Pharaoh and his Host she hath cast into the Sea.

How came she to cast them into the Sea, ye blasphemous Wretches, a thousand years before she was born?

They have likewise a *Te Deum* for her, which concludes thus:

Praise becometh thee, Dominion becometh thee; To thee be Power and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

And an *Athanasian* Creed, which concludes thus, speaking of our Saviour: He sent the Holy Ghost upon his Disciples, and upon his Mother; whom he afterwards took up into Heaven, and she sits at the Right Hand of her Son, not ceasing to prevail with her Son for us.

Exorate.

This is the Faith concerning the Virgin *Mary*; which unless every Man do believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved.

See Bonavent-
ure's Life, be-
fore his Works.

Now, whence had we this blasphemous Liturgy? Did not Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth himself take care to print it in the *Vatican*, amongst *Bonaventure's* Works? And did not he make this *Bonaventure* a Doctor of the Church, and a Father for these Works? And did not *Sixtus* the Fourth long before canonize him, and make him one of their Gods, for his Sanctity and Doctrine, which was testify'd by Miracles; such as raising the Dead, &c. at the instance and intreaty of *Frederick* the Emperor, the Kings of *France*, *Sicily*, *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Venice*, *Savoy*, *Milan*? &c. Did not the same Pope *Sixtus* hire and encourage People, with Indulgences, to worship this new God at his first setting up, that so he might be sure to have the more Divine Honour done to him? And did not this Divine *Bonaventure* make this Book, when he was upon Earth, with the Virgin *Mary's* help? And did not he make it for this end, That those that often prais'd her by this Book, she might mercifully look upon with her amiable Countenance, and receive into her Love, and recreate and refresh their Souls at present, and in the Glory that shall be hereafter set a Crown of precious Stones upon their heads? And if all these Saints and Popes, and Miracles, cannot make this to be good Catholick Doctrine, it is very hard.

See Bonavent.
Pref. to this
Psal. and Li-
turg. gratia &
adjutorio il-
lius conditum
& compactum.

However, to wave this Liturgy, there is as much attributed to the Virgin *Mary* in the publick Offices of their pretended Church: which no Papist can have

have any manner of colour of pretence to disown, because he himself joins in them. For instance, they attribute Omnipotency to her. *Bona Ventura* indeed says roundly, *Domina nostra Omnipotens post Deum nomen ejus*. And is not *Cuncta potens* as good as *Omnipotens*? And this the *Missal* freely bestows upon her, and gives it as a reason why she should forgive Sins, and bestow the Kingdom of Heaven.

Canticum in-
star illius
Exod. 15.

*Potens enim cuncta, ut mundi Regina, & jura
Cum nato omnia decernis in secula & ultra,
Subnixa es in gloria Cherubim electa, Seraphimque clara agmina.
Nam juxta Filium posita, sedes in dextera,
Virtus, Lampas, & Sophia.*

In Nativitate
B. M.

"For thou art mighty as Queen of the World, and with thy Son judgest
"all things for ever and ever: Thou upheldest in Glory the Cherubim
"and Seraphim, &c.

Nay, if she can do all things, they have reason; she is to be worship'd: O

Dea certe.

But how comes she to be thus All-powerful, and Queen of the World? It is not by the Right of a Mother, which elsewhere she is desir'd to use in commanding her Son; for then the Lady *Anne*, our Lady's Mother, wou'd come in for a share: who, alas! must be content with her Daughter's Honour, for she herself is made but a poor Messenger; as you may see by these words to her:

Corona B. V.
p. 466. Jure
matris impera
tuo dilectissi-
mo Filio.

*Tua proles est Regina in caelesti patria;
Ipsa cunctis jam prebata, per te sumamus haec precata,
Nostra fiat Advocata in Dei presentia.*

In Festo Annz
Matris B. M.

"Thy Daughter is Queen in the Heavenly Country.
"Let her who takes place of all, receiving these Prayers from thee, be-
"come our Advocate in the presence of God.

What handing of Prayers is here, just as they help Bricks out of a Cart! From whence, by the way, we may observe that Cardinal *Peronne* stopt short, when he said, Invocation was only *Prier pour Prier*; it is *Prier pour Prier pour Prier* at the least: For an ordinary Saint, no nor Angel neither, will not serve to present their Prayers, but must go to the Virgin *Mary*, and pray her over again.

For thus likewise they speak to the Angel *Gabriel*.

*Nunc igitur prece accelera, pia Matris precare viscera.
Nato monstrat pectus & ubera; Tu ab hoste nos tecum libera.*

In Festo Sancti
Gabrielis.

"Now therefore, Herald make haste; intreat the Bowels of the gra-
"cious Mother.

"Let her shew her Son her Bosom and Breasts; deliver thy self and us
"from the Enemy.

It is well *Post-haste* is written upon this last Packet of Prayers, for otherwise that mischance might happen to them, which did to the Master of Requests Petitions in Queen *Elizabeth's* time; who told the Queen, when she complain'd that his new Boots stunk, that it was not his new Boots, but the old stale Bills which he had kept too long in his pocket.

To return from this Digression: The Virgin *Mary* takes her place as Queen of the World, and Empress of Heaven, by another Right; for they have blasphemously made her the Bride, or the Wife of God the Father. So *Bona-venture* in his *Te Deum*.

*Te Matrem Dei laudamus, te Mariam Virginem profitemur;
Te aeterni Patris sponsam omnis terra veneratur.*

Hymnus in-
star illius qui
ascribitur Am-
bros. & Auguf.

"All the Earth doth worship thee, the Wife of the Father Everlasting.

G

But

But because I said I wou'd wave *Bonaventure*, tho' at the same time I prov'd his Authority to be sacred, the very same is said or sung in their own Mass-Book.

In die assumpt.
B. M.

*Tu es pulchra Dei sponsa, tu Regem Christum enixa,
Domina es in Celo & Terra.*

" Thou art God's fair Bride, thou broughtest forth the King Christ, and
" art Lady in Heaven and Earth.

And again you have an account how he came by her.

In Festo Sancti
Gabrielis.

*Imperatrix, cujus imperio tota gaudet Caelestis Concio:
Te creavit Deus mirabilem, te respexit ancillam humilem,
Te quesivit sponsam amabilem, tibi nunquam fecit consimilem.*

" Thou Empress, under whose Government the whole Assembly of
" Heaven rejoices to be. God created thee wonderful, he regarded
" thee his lowly Handmaid; he sought thee out his amiable Spouse,
" the like of thee he never made.

And this Title is so familiarly given to the Virgin *Mary*, that it seems to be annex'd to her Imperial Stile; for I will be bound, at very short warning, to produce a hundred places out of their publick and private Devotions, where she is call'd by that name. We are extremely beholden to the Papists, and ought to take this occasion to thank them, for answering an Objection of *Mahomet* against our Saviour's Divinity. For he being a crafty Impostor, found a necessity of lessening our Saviour, and making him barely a Prophet; by which means he himself wou'd clearly have the advantage, in being the last Prophet. And therefore he not only tells a ridiculous Story, how Jesus the Son of *Mary* being question'd for it by God, utterly deny'd that ever he call'd himself the Son of God, and laid all the fault upon his Followers, because they had done it of their own heads; but likewise he repeats and inculcates it all over his *Alcoran*, that there is but one God only, and no more. And in one place, I remember, he gives this reason for it: There is but one God and no more, and he has no Son, for he never had a Wife. But now there's an end of that *Turkish* Argument: And now likewise the Secret is out. For I confess it has often amaz'd me, to see the extravagant Blasphemies which are us'd in their Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*: as when they call her the *Fountain of Mercy* (which is the brightest and loveliest apprehension of God, that can possess the Minds of Creatures) when they call her *Empress of Heaven*, who upheld the *Cherubim* and *Seraphim* from falling (there I thought them mad) whom all the Angels worship (that methought was but reasonable, supposing the former) whom the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, and the whole Creation, are call'd upon to praise and magnify (as if she had been the Maker of them all) and who threw *Pharaoh* and his Host into the *Red Sea* (there, thought I, they make old Time go back a thousand Years for this piece of Flattery :) whereas this unthought of Relation entitles her to every thing that is, was, or can be in the universal World. Methinks such rank Blasphemy as this shou'd poison the Air into which it is breath'd forth, and blast the whole Creation round about! I am sure it will make the ears of all Christians to tingle, and raise their Blood against such a horrid Religion.

Sung in the
Council of
Constance,
apud Chem-
nitium, Exam.
Con. Trid. p.
610. Gen.
1634. & in se-
quentia Miss.
in Visitatione B.M.

And thus I have prov'd the *Papists*, out of their own blasphemous mouths, to be *Polytheists*, in setting up Saints and Angels for Gods, and in giving Divine Honour to them. I have employ'd no other Argument at present to prove this, than only their Prayers to them; whereas I might have us'd many others, as he that will read the *Humily* against the Peril of Idolatry, may easily see. Against certain Truth I know there cannot possibly be any material Objection; but I wou'd answer all trifling ones, if I cou'd foresee them. It may be the *Papists* will say, They do not make the Angels and Saints Gods, because they make them, in many respects, inferior to God. Were the Heathen Gods no Gods, because *Jupiter* was King of them? Was *Vulcan* no God, because he was only arm'd with a Hammer, and not with the sovereign Thunderbolt? What difference the Heathens made betwixt *Jupiter* and the other Gods, you may in part see by this following Passage, taken out of *Maximine's* Edict upon

a Pillar in Tyros: "The highest and greatest *Jupiter*, who presides over your famous City, and delivers the Gods of your Country, your Wives and Children, and Houses, from all destructive Calamity, &c." These poor helpless Gods were so far from being Omnipotent, that they needed the Protection of *Jupiter*, as much as the meanest of their Votarys. Eusebii Eccl. Hist. l. 9. c. 7. *μικροὶ ὁμοῦ θεοί.*

Or it may be they will say, They reserve peculiar Worship and Services to God, which they do not communicate to Saints: For they tell us, "They celebrate the Mass indeed, in memory and honour of the Saints; but the Priest never uses to say, I offer Sacrifice to thee *Peter* or *Paul*, namely this Sacrifice of the Mass." For that they offer all other Sacrifices, if it please God to give me Life and Health, I shall hereafter fully prove; and then they shall hear more of this deceitful Juggle too, and of the Tricks they have play'd with St. *Austin's* words. Rom. Catechis. p. 204.

We grant they do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to the Saints, but to the Trinity; so that they offer the Son of God to himself: And according to the usual Decorum, which they constantly observe in that aukard Religion, which is made to spite the Reason of Mankind; as our Saviour once heretofore sat at the Table discoursing, and lay sousing in twelve several mens Stomachs at the same time, so now he is every day, in Person, both the Sacrifice it self upon Earth, and the God in Heaven to whom it is offer'd. None, but such a Fool as I am, wou'd stand arguing and disputing with these Men; whom all the Reason upon earth can never distress by reducing them to Impossibilitys or Absurditys, when they own and profess these Absurditys and Contradictions of their own accord: It wou'd certainly be more wisdom, to go and preach, as Venerable *Bede* once did, to a heap of Stones. But to proceed, nevertheless, Are not we to take it for a great favour, that they do not offer the Great God of Heaven in sacrifice to *Thomas a Becket*? The Gentile Idolaters were so far from offering *Jupiter* in sacrifice to any petty God, that I never yet read, that they offer'd him in sacrifice to himself. There is no Consequence at all in this reasoning: "The Papists do not offer the Sacrifice of the Mass to Saints and Angels, but only to the Trinity; therefore they do not make Saints and Angels Gods. For had not the Heathens proper Sacrifices for *Jupiter*, which were sacred only to him? And yet this did not destroy the Divinity of the other Deitys. It makes no more difference amongst the Gods, nor affects their Godhead any more, to have this or that particular Sacrifice offer'd or not offer'd to them, than it did for *Esculapius* to have a great Beard, and his Father *Apollo* to have none at all."

Lastly, The Papists may possibly say, that there is a great difference betwixt the Gods of the Pagans, and the Saints which they honour and worship: the former having been leud Men, and sometimes feign'd Persons; the latter being such as we Hereticks pay some respect to, tho not enough. I shall not now enter into the Merits of that Cause, but refer them to a great Prelate of our Church, who has told them; "That they worship Saints in Heaven, and Saints in Hell, and Saints that are in neither place, nor ever were in being." Tho by the way, I cannot find any such great difference betwixt *Romulus* and *Ignatius Loyola*; the one having been, in his time, the Governour of a Den of Thieves, and the other the Captain General of the modern Banditti. And it is all one to me, whether they worship the Nine Muses or the Seven Sleepers; for still the *Polytheism* remains the same. They have indeed chang'd their Gods, but not their Religion. Vid. Festum 7 dormientium.

CHAP. XI.

Their Idolatry.

According to my former Method, I shall, 1st. Shew that the Church of England has all along charg'd the Papists with Idolatry: And, 2^{dly}. I shall make good that Charge upon them out of their own mouths.

1st. The Church of England has all along charg'd the Papists with Idolatry. The Homily, I am sure, charge them with it above a hundred times over; out of which I shall make choice of some few Instances. Speaking of the Ages of Popery:

Serm. Peril of
Idol. par. 3.
p. 56.

Pag. 57.

It is evident that Images, Superstition, and worshipping of Images, and Idolatry, have continu'd many hundred Years. And in the same Paragraph we have a fuller description of the State of all Christendom before the Reformation: So that Laity and Clergy, Learned and Unlearned, all Ages, Sects, and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think!) have been at once drown'd in abominable Idolatry, of all other Vices most detested of God, and most damnable to Man, and that by the space of eight hundred Years and more.

Ibid. p. 72.

Par. 2. p. 37.
Our mighty
Gods of Gold
and Silver,
Stock & Stone.
* Pag. 49.

Pag. 51.

Pag. 52.

Ibid. p. 56.

And in another place, after a description of their Men-Saints, which look'd like Princes of Persia Land; and the Idols of their Women-Saints, which might have been taken for nice and well-trimmed Harlots, you have these words: And because the whole Pageant must be thoroughly plaid, it is not enough thus to deck Idols, but at the last come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with Gold and Pearl, that they may be meet Servants for such Lords and Ladies, and fit Worshippers of such Gods and Goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these Golden Puppets, and fall down to the ground on their Marrow-bones before these honourable Idols, &c. And elsewhere you have a large Discourse, shewing, * That their Rites and Ceremonys, in honouring and worshipping of the Images, or Saints, be all one with the Rites which the Gentiles Idolaters used in honouring their Idols: In Pilgrimages to visit Images, which had more Holiness and Virtue in them than others: In their Candle-Religion, burning Incense, offering up Gold to Images, hanging up Crutches, Chains, and Ships, Legs, Arms, and whole Men and Women of War, before Images; as tho by them or Saints (as they say) they were deliver'd from Lameness, Sickness, Captivity, or Shipwreck. In spreading abroad, after the example of the Gentiles Idolaters, lying and feign'd Miracles of Images. Such an Image was sent from Heaven, like the Palladium or Diana of the Ephesians: Such an Image was brought by Angels. Such an one came it self far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome: Some Images, tho they were hard and stony, yet for tender-heart and pity, wept. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's Ass, who had Life and Breath in him. Such a Cripple came and saluted this Saint of Oak, and by and by he was made whole, and here hangeth his Crutch. Such an one in a Tempest vow'd to Saint Christopher, and scaped, and behold here is his Ship of War. Such an one, by Saint Leonard's help, brake out of Prison, and see where his Fetters hang. And infinite thousands more Miracles by like or more shameless Lyes were reported. And to conclude, the Papists serve themselves of those very Excuses which the Devil heretofore put into the mouths of the Gentiles, to palliate their Idolatry. So that by making use of the same Pretences and Answers, it is plain, that they be all one with the Gentiles Idolaters.

Declaration
after the Com-
munion.

Serm. concern-
ing the Sacra-
ment, par. 1.
p. 199.

Peril of Idol.
par. 2. p. 25.
Treatise of the
Death of The-
odosius.

Peril of Idol.
par. 3. p. 69.

Article Ch. of
England, 35.

These things hitherto are spoken in reference to the worshipping of Images; and then as to their worshipping the Host, the Rubrick after the Communion declares, That it is Idolatry to be abhor'd of all faithful Christians. Which has always been the Doctrine of our Church, notwithstanding the ignorant Cavils of some Men; as appears by the Homily, where this Doctrine was never discontinu'd. The Papists ignorance of the Sacrament is affirm'd to have been the cause of the Ruin of God's Religion, the cause of gross Idolatry, and of mummish Massing.

Their worshipping and falling down before every cross piece of Timber, which is but an Image of our Saviour's Cross, must needs be rank Idolatry; when in St. Ambrose's judgment, to have worshipped the Cross it self, which was embued with our Saviour Christ's own precious Blood, had been an Heathenish Error and Vanity of the Wicked.

In a word, Idolatry is so interwoven with their Religion, that the Homily very justly brands them with the name of the Idolatrous Church.

So much for the Doctrine of the Church of England, which I hope will not seem strange or new to the meanest Reader; for I am sure all the People of England ought to have been instructed and perfect in it, any time this hundred years and better.

2dly.

Concil. Trid.
Sess. 13.

Canon of the
Mass in Miss.
Sar. p. 162. b.

Fox, Mon.
Vol. 3. p. 5.

See more of
this, in the ex-
cellent and
learned Dis-
course of Dr.
Whitby, The
Absurdity and
Idolatry of
Host-Worship.

Pontificale
Rom. p. 360.

Rogamus te
Domine, &c.

Tum Ponti-
ficis, &c.

Missal. Sar.
p. 90. a. b.

Pontific. Rom.
p. 364, 384.

2dly. That this sorry Wafer, this contemptible Idol, is likewise to be worship'd with the same Adoration which is due to the true God, is the express determination of the Council of Trent, with a Curse to all them that shall say the contrary. And accordingly they make those Addresses to the Host, which are enough to astonish a Man, and fill him with the greatest Horror and Amazement. In the middle of the Prayer, *Domine Pater fons & origo totius bonitatis, &c.* is this Rubrick: "Here let the Priest bow himself to the Host, saying, I adore thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with all the power of my Mind and Heart, and pray thee not to forsake thy Servants, but forgive us our Sins." If this were not directed to the Host, the Rubrick shou'd have come in before these words, *Quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo.*

And Bishop Coverdale, who translated the Canon of the Mass, affirms, That the Priest here speaks in this manner to the Host, and asks why not? if it be his Maker, according to the usual saying of Papists, who have been at Mass, *I thank God I have seen my Maker to day.* And for certain, that noble Confessor understood the sense of the Papists, and their Worship, but too well, to his Cost.

To conclude this whole matter with that, which wou'd have startled and amaz'd the old Pagans themselves; after they have thus hail'd their God, and bow'd the Knee before him, and worship'd him with all their Heart, and Soul, and Strength, they very fairly eat him up.

2. The next Instance of Idolatry is this: If any Divinity or Virtue be believ'd to be in Idols or Images, for the sake of which they are to be worship'd. By Divinity here must be meant a Divine Power and Efficacy to supernatural Effects; for otherwise it will be the very same with the former Instance. And that the Papists are likewise guilty of Idolatry in this particular, I shall make as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*, with the help only of this one reasonable *postulatum*, That there is all that Divinity and Virtue in a thing, which is put into it. Now let any one read the Consecration of a new Cross, or a Picture of the Crucifix, and he will be satisfy'd, that there is Divinity and Virtue enough put in them to justify the worshiping of them. "We beseech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Everlasting God, that it may please thee to bless this Sign of the Cross, that it may be a saving Remedy to Mankind. Let it be Solidity of Faith, Proficiency of good Works, Redemption of Souls. Let it be a Comfort, and Protection, and Safeguard against the cruel Darts of the Enemys, thro Jesus Christ our Lord, &c." And after the Bishop has said this, and another such Prayer, and us'd several powerful Ceremonys, and indu'd the Wood with so many Divine Virtues, he may well do, as the Rubrick directs at the end of the Office: "Then the Bishop kneeling before the Cross, does devoutly adore it, and kiss it; the same do all others that have a mind."

There is no Man living can make an estimate of that infinite Divine Virtue which is in the Paschal Taper, that very tall Idol, being thirty six foot long. For in the Consecration of the new Fire (very well worth the reading) which is to light this Paschal Taper, they pray, *That whosoever shall carry away Light from it, may be illuminated with the Light of Spiritual Grace.* Now this Light, well husbanded, may convey Grace to all the World. But I shall never be reconcil'd to that scurvy Rubrick, which directs to sprinkle this new Fire with holy Water; with which, if it were ever so little too lavishly blest, the World is in danger of being left graceless, and in the dark.

And yet, for ought I know, there is a little Idol in a String, which may have as much Divinity and Virtue in it as any of them; and that is a Pectoral Cross, over which they say this Prayer.

"Almighty God, we humbly beseech thee, that it may please thee to bless this Cross with thy fatherly Goodness, and impart Heavenly Virtue and Grace to it; that whosoever shall wear it as a Sign of the Passion and Cross of thy only begotten Son, for the safeguard of his Body and Soul, may receive the fulness of thy Heavenly Grace in it, and the defence of thy Blessing." As for the other little Wax-work Idol, call'd an *Agnus Dei*, he is so well known to be accounted by them the Saviour of the World, and

the Prince of the Air, and every thing that is great, that I need say nothing of him.

If any Unbeliever, after all, does secretly imagine that these Charms, which we have repeated, do not work; and that these Crosses and Trade are not really endu'd with all this Divine Virtue, which is here bespoken for them: To cure him of his Infidelity, let him only read the form of delivering a Banner, after it is consecrated; *Accipe Vexillum celesti benedictione sanctificatum*: "Take this Banner which is sanctify'd with Heavenly Benediction." Pontific. Rom. p. 388. You see the Bishop has blest it, and it is blessed.

3dly. I come now to the next Instance of Idolatry, which is, desiring any thing of Idols or Images: Where I wou'd fain know, whether the Papists do not ask as much of the Cross, as ever was beg'd of piece of a Timber in all former Ages? in these following words;

Medicina Christiana salva sanos, agros sana;

Quod non valet vis Humana, fit in tuo Nomine.

"Thou Christians All-heal, save those that are in Health, and cure the Sick;

"What human Power cannot do, is done in thy Name.

Missal. Exaltatio Sancte Crucis 14-Sep.

Nay, they desire as much of an Aerial Idol, as they can of God himself.

Hoc reatum peccatorum tollat, præstet jubilorum

Odas, sede beatorum donet nobis perfrui.

Missal. in Fest. to nominis Jesu.

Here they beg neither more nor less, than that the Name of Jesus (not the Person) may release them of their Sins, and give them the Joys of Heaven.

4thly. And as for the last Instance, which is putting their Trust, and placing their Hope in Images or Idols; if the Papists have no hope in these Idols which I have nam'd, it is a sign they have no Faith in them, and are as very Infidels as we. So much for the first branch of Idolatry.

Secondly, The other is, If any one endeavour to represent the Form of the Divinity in any kind of Workmanship, as if it could be seen with bodily Eyes, or express'd by Colours or Figures. Catech. Rom. p. 299.

This, as the Roman Catechism adds, was the Idolatry of the Heathens; who, as St. Paul excellently says, *chang'd the Glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of Birds, and fourfooted Beasts, and creeping things*. These Men want nothing, but to have all the Bibles in the World in one heap, which I am certain they wou'd burn with as good a Will, as our People do once a year their Pastboard Pope: For then they might go to work, and make a new Bible; and then St. Paul might say excellently what they had a mind to have him. In the mean time they have found out this useful Expedient, to stifle and suppress any part of Scripture, which makes against them; and that they have shamefully done in this place. They afterwards allow the Israelites to be Idolaters, for *changing their Glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth Hay*; and the Heathens in this place, for *changing the Glory of God into the similitude of Birds, and Beasts, and creeping Things*. Now it is true, they do not trade in this sort of Imagery, and therefore they are willing it shou'd pass for Idolatry. But St. Paul's first Instance of Idolatry, in this very Passage, which they have shamefully mangled, is *changing the Glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an Image of corruptible Man*: the Absurdity whereof St. Paul expresses by an elegant Antithesis. But this falls heavy upon their own bald-pate Images, and their Monster Head with three Faces, and the other with an Imperial Crown on his Head, giving his Benisons with his two Forefingers and Thumb, and that which sits with a Crucifix resting on his Knees, and a Dove upon it; and to name no more, that same, which the honest Iconoclast found busy in creating the World, in a blue Coat, barefoot and bareleg'd, and marking out the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compasses; and therefore they make no words at all of that part of the Text, which condemns these horrid Disguises of the Deity. What, dare they not quote an intire Text of Scripture

Scripture to their own Priests, for this Catechism is written for their Instruction: No, nor in trusty Latine neither, which hides so many of their Cheats from the Eyes of the common People?

Nay then I do not wonder at it any longer, that there was once a vulgar Language, spoken above four hundred Years in a Catholick Country, which never was worthy to have the second Commandment in it. That great Antiquary Mr. *Lambert*, in his Notes upon the Preface to King *Alfred's* Laws, has long since told the World, that he never met with that Commandment in any Copy that is written in the Saxon Language. By these Practices we may see, that the Papists know themselves to be Idolaters, as well as we can tell them. But because they wipe their Mouths, and deny it, and endeavour to shuffle it off by nice Distinctions, I shall not think much to examine them.

Rom. Catechis.
p. 300.

First, They say, "They do not break this Commandment in expressing the several Persons of the Trinity by Signs, which have appear'd either under the Old or New Testament." Of which they give the Antient of Days in *Daniel* as an instance.

Secondly, They say, "That these are not Pictures of the Divinity, but only that some Propertys or Actions, attributed to God, are declar'd by them."

In answer to the first of these Excuses.

1st. Let them then fairly confess themselves Idolaters, for making those Pictures of God, of which they have neither Sign, nor shadow of a Sign in Scripture. For under which Testament did their Monster-Head with three Faces appear? than which never did any *Egyptian* or *Indian* God make a worse Figure. Or out of which Testament did they copy their other Pictures of the Trinity, that with a Crucifix on his Knees, or that where they sit all three a-breast; where our Saviour has Holes in his Hands and Feet, that you may know him from the Holy Ghost, for otherwise they are as like as the two *Sofias* in *Platon*? Had they these out of *Daniel*? And one or other of these abominable Images of the Trinity we had formerly in every Church, as the Compilers of the Homilies tell us; who, tho they be not allow'd as Doctors, may nevertheless serve for Testifiers.

3^d Part Peril
Idol. p. 40.

2^{dly}. If a Scripture-Sign be the only authentick Original of a Christian Image or Picture, then are theirs all Idols; for I never saw any of those, which they pretend to copy from *Daniel's* Dream, but vary'd extremely from the Original. They add very much in some things, and in others they take away. They picture the Antient of Days like an Old Man; there is no such word as *Man* in *Daniel*: then they gave him all the Lineaments of a Face, and a Beard, purely out of their own Invention. And then as for the Drapery, the Painter himself is the Fashioner; for there is nothing more of it mention'd in *Daniel* than the Colour of the Garment. In a word, the Lines and Proportion of the Body, the Face and Features, are altogether as the Painter pleases. If Men had not been stark mad of Idolatry, they wou'd never have catch'd thus at the shadow of a Dream, and gone to work furnish'd with no better Instructions, than with the Description of Eternity, the Colour of a Head of Hair, the Colour of a Garment, and the Posture of sitting.

Dan. 7. 9.

The *Jews* might as well have taken hints from *Moses's* metaphorical Expressions of the Hand, and Arm, and Finger of God; and much more from his own speaking to them, to have pictur'd God in a human Shape: from which they are so often and so strictly forewarn'd.

Deut. 4. 12,
15, 25.

And then as for all those awful Expressions of Majesty, wherewith the Antient of Days is attended in *Daniel*, which are fit to make all the World fear and tremble before him, they are all left out in their Pictures. His Throne was a fiery Flame, and his Wheels burning Fire. A fiery Stream issu'd and came forth from before him: Thousand Thousands minister'd to him, and Ten Thousand times Ten Thousand stood before him: The Judgment was set, and the Books were open'd. All this glorious Representation of the Antient of Days, is dwindled into a solitary decrepid Old Man, who is no more like *Daniel's* Description, than a Mounse is to a mighty Monarch.

Dan. 7. 9, 10.

3^{dly}. These Sign-Painters shew the worst Judgment that can be, in chusing their Pattern out of *Daniel*; for every body knows, that Prophetick Dreams

and Visions, and the Schemes of their Language and their Descriptions, are more wide from the thing it self, and more unlike, than the hardest Metaphors that ever were in the World. Flourishing Kingdoms are represented in that Book by Rams Horns and Goats Horns; which wou'd make very unintelligible Pictures of Kingdoms, and wou'd certainly require a Label to tell what they are. And therefore for Men to fetch the Picture of God out of such a Book, where besides above two Thirds of their Picture is a perfect Blank, is to do just like Children, but not with their Innocency, who rather than fail of a Baby to play withal, will make it of a Clout.

Secondly, Their other Excuse is, "That these are not Pictures of the Divinity, but only that some Propertys or Actions attributed to God are declared by them." *Rom. Catechism*
P. 300.

To this I answer,

1st. That not only their common People, but all Papists call these the Images of God the Father; of which we have an Instance in the Margin of this Catechism (which is as great an Authority as I cite it for) where it is call'd *Dei Patris Imago*. And if no body is so rude and ignorant, as to think the Divinity is express'd by those Images (as the Catechism says) Why then is every body so rude and ignorant, as to call them by that Name? For an Image of God the Father, must be an Image of the Divinity, or an Image of nothing, for I hope he never assum'd Humanity. *Ibid.*

2^{dly}. Further it is undeniably plain, that the Person of God the Father is declar'd by these Images, and not any Propertys or Actions. For wou'd not he blazon a Picture of the Trinity very improperly, and like a Heretick, who shou'd say, There is the Holy Ghost, and that is God the Son, and the other is Eternity, or Infinite Wisdom? So that if a Picture of our Saviour stands for his Person, and the Dove, &c. for the Holy Ghost, so does this old Man for the Person of God the Father.

3^{dly}. To let the Papists have their own way, I affirm, That the very declaring of the Propertys and Actions of the Deity by Images, was the Idolatry of the Heathens. For when they made an Image of *Jupiter*, they did not pretend that it was the very Figure of his Divinity, but declar'd some of his Propertys and Actions. And to prove that these Images were instructive, as the Popish are pretended to be, I shall only give this Instance: The same *Jupiter* was pictur'd in *Crete* with no Ears, and by the *Lacedemonians* with four Ears, whereas the ordinary Pictures of him had but two. Now it is a Contradiction, and therefore held to be an Impossibility, that one and the same Person shou'd have four Ears, and yet but two Ears, and no Ears at all. When they therefore made him with two Ears, they wou'd have him look like a Man, and had no further meaning; but when they made him with four Ears, and no Ears, then they declar'd Propertys. And the Moral and Signification of both these seems to be much alike. For when the *Cretians* crop'd him, they declar'd, That being King of the World, it was not fit that any one shou'd have his Ear, but that they shou'd lie open to all alike. And they that gave him that large Set of Ears, declar'd, * That he heard all things, and from all Parts and Quarters of the World. So that when the Papists have done all, when they have excus'd, and apologiz'd, and blanch'd their Images of God, and made the best of them, still they are no better than old Pagan Idols.

Plutarch de Iside & Osiride, p. 381. & Lilius Gyrardus, p. 76.

Id significantes dominatorem omnium audire debere neminem, sed æque omnibus patulas offerre aures.

** Eum undiq; & omnia audire innuentes.*

C H A P. XII.

Their Cruelty.

WHAT the Prophet says of *Ephraim*, hath often come into my mind with relation to the Papists, They are join'd to Idols, let them alone. They are infallible and incurable; and if they will not hear *Moses* and the Prophets, poor private Men may do wisely to save their Breath. So we wou'd with all our hearts; but they will not let us alone. Nothing will satisfy them, unless they force their Idolatry upon us (as the *French King* sells his Salt) whether we have any occasion for it, or any mind to it or no.

Hofa 4. 17.

These mighty *Nebuchadnezzars* set up Images, and all People, Nations and Languages must either fall down and worship them, or else be cast into a fiery Furnace. This is the hard Chapter to which we are now come, which is the very Sting of Popery. In which I shall first shew, that the Church of *England* has been all along sensible of the Popish Cruelty. And, Secondly, that the Papists herein have far exceeded the old Pagans.

2d Part Sermon for Whitsund. P. 215, 216.

Second Part Peril of Idolatry, P. 31.

Ibid. p. 34.

Ibid. p. 32.

First, As for the Sense of our Church, the Homilys give us a large account of the Cruelty and Tyranny of many of the Popes of *Rome*, who had not the Spirit of God, but of the Devil; who not only were cruel to the Living, but persecuted dead Bodys: to whom they apply our Saviour's Prediction of cruel and ravening Wolves in Sheeps-clothing. Their Image-Worship was maintain'd, at the very first, by the Treason and Rebellion of Pope Gregory the Third; which Example other Bishops of *Rome* have continually follow'd, and gone thro withal most stoutly. And afterwards we have an account of the Tragical Crueltys which were committed by the Empress *Irene*, in maintenance of Image-Worship: who was the great Patron and valiant Captain of the Bishops of *Rome*, whose wicked and unnatural Cruelty pass'd *Medea* and *Progne*, whose detestable Parricides have ministr'd matter to Poets, to write their horrible Tragedys.

Amongst other things, she dig'd up the Body of her Father-in-Law *Constantine the Fifth*, and commanded it to be openly burn'd, and the Ashes to be thrown into the Sea; because when he was alive he had destroy'd Images, and taken away the sumptuous Ornaments of Churches: Which Example of her's (as the constant Report goeth) had like to have been put in practice with *Princes* Condes in our days, had the Authority of the Holy Father continu'd but a little longer.

This is true modern Popish Cruelty and Barbarity, which, according to the daily Improvement of it under that Religion, wou'd have far exceeded *Irene's*. She burnt her Father-in-Law, a Man that was no kin to her otherwise than by an artificial Relation, and a Fiction of Law. But here it wou'd have been an own natural Father and Brother; in which case a sweet Protestant Prince, and a Persecutor of Protestants, only not a Slave to the Pope, had both far'd alike. So that where Popery comes to be well settled, the sacred Relicks of all those Princes are in danger of suffering the most barbarous Indignitys, who have been in their time either hearty Protestants, or not hearty and thorow-pac'd Papists. And neither the Reverence of a Father, nor the dear Relation of a Brother, shall save them from being treated like the most notorious Malefactors, whom the Justice of a Nation thinks it self bound to follow and pursue into the other World, and to make Examples to all future Ages. For blind Catholick Zeal knows no body: but be it Peasant, or Prince, Strangers, or their own Flesh and Blood, alive or dead, if they have been Hereticks, or insufficient Catholics, into the Fire shall they go.

What *Englishman*, who had but one drop of true *English* Blood left in his Veins, cou'd have endur'd to behold this horrid Sight? To see a parcel of cowardly Papists breaking up a Royal Monument with sacrilegious Hands, and dragging thence a mighty Monarch, whom, when he was alive, they durst not have look'd in the face: to see those sacred Temples, which had been

†

incircled

incircled with a Crown, and that puissant Arm which had sway'd the *English* Scepter for almost forty Years, now reduc'd to infamous Alhes; and these thrown into the Water, as not fit to have a place on God's Earth: And all this perform'd by the pure Zeal of his own Daughter, only because he was not quite so good a Catholick as her self?

I cou'd not forbear shaking this Note a little, to try what Musick it will make in their Ears, who make way for a Popish Successor, out of pure Loyalty to a Protestant Prince. As they like this, they may proceed. For here they may plainly behold what blessed Fruits the Authority of the Holy Father is like to produce, and what true and laudable Service will be done to Protestant Princes, by introducing Popery.

So well the first Reformers, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* time, understood the Spirit of Popery, and yet they knew nothing of those Hellish Plots, which almost fill'd up the succeeding part of that Queen's Reign: They knew nothing of the *Paris* Wedding, the Gunpowder Plot, or the *Irish* Massacre; which will remain in Books, as Monuments of the inhuman and accurs'd Cruelty of Papists, when Time has perish'd the *London* Monument. And they may as well go and try their Foreheads upon this Monument of Stone, as endeavour to outface the other.

These Crueltys never entred into the Hearts of Pagans; and therefore we have no foundation of a Comparison betwixt Popery and Paganism in this Point, no more than we can compare Prince *Rupert's* Iron Guns with *Julius Caesar's*. For this murdering and massacring hundreds of thousands upon the score of Religion, in cold Blood, and under the sacred Rites of Friendship, are things found out in these latter Ages: And the compendious Destruction of a Nation at one blow, is as perfectly a new Invention, as the Gunpowder it self, which was to have done that Catholick Job.

All that can be done therefore in this Matter, is;

1st. To shew what Cruelty the Pagans exercis'd upon the account of Religion.

And, 2^{ly}. to shew, that the Papists have far exceeded them.

The Pagan Cruelty, upon the account of Religion, falls under these two Heads.

1. The Sanguinary Laws which were enacted, or put in execution against the Christians.

2. The Outrages which were committed upon them.

In both these the Papists have much outdone the Pagans, as might easily be made appear from their own General Councils, their own Historians, their Popes Speeches, particularly that of *Sixtus Quintus* upon the Murder of *Henry* the Third of *France*; their Popes Bulls, particularly to the *Irish*, in their late Holy War; their Holy Inquisition, which has, I will not say, Ten Persecutions, but Ten Thousand Persecutions in the Belly of it.

Alas! the *Roman* Laws were but Cobwebs, to those of Holy Church against Heresy. You may see some of them in the Decrees of the *Lateran* 28 Vol. Conc. Council, under *Innocent* the Third; Laws like our late Act for burying in *Paris*, cap. 3. Woollen, which will execute themselves, and extirpate the pestilent Northern P. 161. Heresy, by a modest computation, in a year and half's time. For it is Deprivation to the Bishop that is remiss and negligent, who must make room for another, that can and will confound Heretical Pravity: It is Death in that private Man who will not be an Informer: It is the loss of his Kingdom to that Prince, who will not extirpate as fast as he can; which in that case is to be given to Catholick Free-booters, who, when they have extirpated the Hereticks, are to possess it without any contradiction, and to keep it in the Purity of the Faith.

But because I wou'd willingly do all Right to the Papists in this matter, which cannot be done but by a large and just Discourse upon the Subject; I shall here break off, making that the Conclusion, which is the only End and Intention of this Book, and that my hearty Prayer to God, which shall always be my poor Endeavour among Men:

2d Part Hom.
for Whitfund.
p. 216.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth defend us from their Tyranny and Pride, that they never enter into his Vineyard again, to the disturbance of his poor feeble Flock: but that they may be utterly confounded, and put to flight in all Parts of the World: And be of his great Mercy so work in all Mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preach'd, truly receiv'd, and truly follow'd in all Places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist: that like scatter'd and dispers'd Sheep, being at length gather'd into one Fold, we may in the end rest all together in the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be Partakers of eternal and everlasting Life, thro' the Merits and Death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

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JULIAN'S

JULIAN'S ARTS

To Undermine and Extirpate

CHRISTIANITY!

TOGETHER WITH

ANSWERS

TO

Constantius the Apostate, and Jovian.

To the Ever-Glorious
M E M O R Y
O F
W I L L I A M
Lord RUSSEL,

The Author having Written this
Book in his Lordship's Service,
does most Humbly Offer and
Dedicate it.



The PREFACE.

BEFORE the Reader engages in the Perusal of this Book, I shall intreat him to take this following Account of what he shall find in it. Having given as large an Account in my former Book concerning Julian's Usage of the Christians, and their Behaviour towards him, as might satisfy any reasonable Man; I have since found it necessary to add some new Matter of Fact upon that Subject, both to confirm the old, and to free it, if it be possible, from Wrangling and Dispute. And that I might not deliver this fresh Matter in a way of loose and incoherent Quotations, which wou'd have been tedious, I took a hint from Gothofredus's Julianus, to put it into a Discourse, which will at once give an account of Julian's Devices to worm the Christians out of their Religion, and likewise shew how well studied the Papists are in those Arts.

My Answerers have been so many, that I cannot number them on the sudden; and I think it has been drudgery enough for one Man to read them over: but yet because two of them especially have been applauded as the Champions of the Cause, I thought my self concern'd to give them an Answer; not in the least to vindicate my self from their Reflections (which I value not, tho it were stupidity not at all to resent them) but to do what service I cou'd to Truth, and to the Rights of my native Country: for either of which, if God will have it so, I hope I shall not be unwilling to lay down my Life.

The Author of Constantius, in the late shamming way, has set up a Mock-Apostate, to give a diversion, and take off the force of what has been said concerning Julian; but I hope it will prove to be with the like success as the Mock-Plots have had, which have always confirm'd Men in the belief of the true one. He has likewise abus'd a great deal of Scripture, to expose the Freeman of England, and their establish'd Religion, to Violence, Oppression, and Extirpation; and if I have rescu'd those Texts which he has so employ'd, from such mischievous Applications for the future, I shall think my pains well spent.

The Author of Jovian, by coming last, has had the advantage of summing up the Evidence, which he has done so faithfully, that he has not omitted Heraclitus's Charge against me, That I raise an Induction from one Particular; which he backs with as true an Observation of his own, That I call the few Months of Julian's Reign an Age, p. 139. I say this, to shew
the

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the Compleatness of this Author's Performance, and that in his Answer we read the Substance of all the rest; and not to rob him of the Honour of having added many things of his own, as particularly the History of broken Succession in the Empire (which may be a true one for ought I know; for it is of so small concernment in this Controversy, that I never examin'd it) his outlandish Notion of a Sovereign, which is such a Deceit to a common Reader, as a Scale of Dutch Miles wou'd be in a Map of Middlesex; and his Distinction of Imperial and Political Laws, which is the Master-piece in his Book. This Distinction, I am apt to think, is his last refuge; and therefore I shall, first, shew how this Author was driven to it: and, secondly, How false and groundless it is: and, thirdly, What are the immediate Consequences of it.

1. In my former Book I laid down this undeniable Truth, That we are bound not to part with our Lives, but to defend them, unless when the Laws of God or of our Country require us to lay them down. Now it is not Death by the Law of God, but our Duty, to be Protestants; and by the Law of the Land it is so far from being Death, that on the other hand it is Death to forsake the Protestant Religion, and to turn Papist. And therefore, in case Protestants shou'd be persecuted under a Popish Successor, I ask'd, by what Law they must die? That Question wou'd admit no direct Answer; for no man can say, that we ought to die for being Protestants, either by the Law of God or the Law of the Land: And therefore the Author of Jovian, being resolv'd to cut a Knot which he cou'd not untie, has found out the most wretched Expedient of a Distinction that ever was. For first he splits and divides one and the same Law of the Land into Imperial and Political; and then says, that by the Imperial or Prerogative Law we ought to submit to be murder'd.

Finch of Law,
Book 2. chap.
1. p. 85.

2. Now in the second place, there never was a more horrid Slander cast upon the Prerogative, than this is: For whereas the Law of England says, That the King's Prerogative stretcheth not to the doing of any Wrong; this Author has found a way to stretch and extend it to the subversion of all the Laws, and to the destruction of all his Liege Subjects. By the Law of England the King is inviolable, and by the same Law he can do no wrong; and there is all the reason in the world, that he who is above the doing of any injury, shou'd be plac'd out of the reach of any manner of Resistance. But tho the King can do no wrong, and therefore we can suffer none from him; yet to make way for Passive Obedience, our Author will have a sort of Subjects, call'd the Sovereign's Forces, to be irresistible too, tho in the most outrageous Acts of destructive Violence. That's too plain a Juggle; for as the King can do no wrong, so he can authorize no single Person, much less numbers of Men, to do any wrong: or to borrow the words of a great Lawyer, The King cannot do injury; for if he command to do a Man wrong, the Command is void, & alter fit Actor, and the Actor becomes the Wrong-doer. Now whether Men, by authorizing themselves to do mischief, and to commit capital Crimes, are thereby entitled to an uncontrollable Imperial Power to the Rights of Sovereignty, and to the Prerogative of being irresistible, I leave all the World to judg.

Ephemeris
Parl. p. 146.

3. In the last place, I shall shew the immediate Consequences of this new Distinction of Imperial Laws, to which we must pay our Passive Obedience. We have many People amongst us, who are very much at ease, and wrap up themselves in the Security of this one Consideration, That Popery can never be establish'd in England: which I believe to be true, provided Men may be allow'd to hold their own, and to maintain those Laws which establish the Protestant Religion, as they are bound to do. And therefore I was perfectly

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of the same mind, till I saw the blind slavish Passive Obedience set up, and so industriously promoted amongst us; for that Passive Obedience is Popery establish'd by a Law, whenever the Prince shall please. For what was Popery establish'd by a Law in Q. Mary's time? Or what other mischief can Protestants suffer by the Establishment of Popery at any other time, but only to be reduc'd to this Choice, either to turn Papists, or else to submit to be destroy'd? Now so soon as ever a Popish Successor shall give the word, Popery is as surely establish'd by the Imperial Laws, as it can be by ten thousand Political Acts of Parliament: For if we are as much bound to submit when we are turn'd over to the Secular Arm of a Brigadier, as when by a Writ de Hæretico comburendo we are turn'd over to the Secular Arm of a Sheriff, where is the difference? So that we may be driven to Smithfield by droves, and be pil'd up and burnt like Loads of Faggots, without the trouble of repealing one Protestant Political Act. Unless a Protestant Nation, a Kingdom fly, they are in a state of Damnation, according to our Author, if they will not submit to this Usage; and I am sure a Popish Prince, according to his Religion, is in the same state (to say nothing of the loss of his Kingdom) if he do not destroy Hereticks, as far as Fire and Sword will go.

Vide Concil.
Lat. sub Inno-
cent 3. cap. 3.

Thus far, as Protestants, we are beholden to this new Doctrine of Imperial Laws; and, as English-men, we shall suffer more by them than the Nation ever did under Popery: For those that will be Papists, shall not be excus'd from being Slaves, but their Lives and Libertys shall be wholly at the discretion of the Prince. This is so clear a Consequence, that our Author himself owns it, and says expressly, p. 242. In all Sovereign Governments, Subjects must be Slaves as to this particular. Whereas the Subjects of England never were Slaves in any particular, nor ever wou'd be, in the darkest times of Popery. Besides, I wou'd fain know in what particular they are Freeman, who are Slaves as to this particular of their Lives and Libertys; I cannot but think they must needs be Slaves all over. Neither can I see the Necessity of our Author's must be Slaves; for Sovereignty in the Government does not at all imply Slavery in the Subject in any one particular, as I will prove to him, even in his own way, by the Notion of a Sovereign: For tho he talks much of the Essence and Essential Rights of Sovereignty, p. 241. and in many other places; yet I doubt not of convincing him, that the Notion of a Sovereign implies nothing in it but Superiority: and as for the Terms and Measures of this Superiority, they must be known some other way, and are not involv'd in the formal Conception of a Sovereign, nor are all out so certain and demonstrable, as the Property of a Cube or a Sphere. For in the Law of England, every Master of a Servant, for instance, is a Sovereign; he is his Servant's immediate Sovereign, as our Author may find it twice in one short Act, 12 Hen. 7. cap. 7. And a hired Servant, who is a Freeman, owes to this immediate Sovereign a natural and obliged Duty, as he may see in the same Act. And yet I am certain, our Author will not undertake to prove, that the Rights of an absolute and arbitrary Sovereignty do belong to every Master of a Servant; or that that Servant is a Slave as to his Life or Liberty, either by the common Laws of Sovereignty, as his Phrase is, or by the Laws of Christianity.

And truly it is not the least Aggravation of this Slavery, to be put into Chains on pretence of our Christianity, which for that end must go under the name of a suffering Religion, and be call'd the Doctrine of the Cross, in such a sense, as if it wou'd not suffer the Professors of it to live. Whereas I have heretofore shew'd, from 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23. that Christianity is so far from enslaving us, or divesting us of those Rights and Privileges which we have already,

already, that it encourages us to procure more Libertys and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them: *Ver. 21.* But if thou mayst be made free, use it rather. It forbids Men likewise to enslave themselves; *ver. 23.* Ye are bought with a Price, be ye not the Servants of Men. I might now from this place charge all those that are for the slavish Passive Obedience, with denying the Lord that bought them; as the Author of Constantius does me, with denying a passive Crucified Saviour; or as the Author of Jovian does, with burlesquing the Doctrine of the Cross: but I abhor all such Abuse of Scripture, to abuse an Adversary; for I know that all honest Men will sooner renounce a hundred such silly Doctrines, which it may be hitherto they had no occasion to examine, than either renounce their Blessed Saviour, or any part of his Religion. But to return, it is plain therefore that Christianity does not alter Mens Condition for the worse, nor turn Freeman (as the People of England have always been) into Slaves, as to their Lives and Libertys; neither, under the pretence of Passive Obedience, does it give their Persons or Estates into the hands of Violence, when the Law bids them keep them, and protects them in defending them. But on the other hand it charges them, Be ye not the Servants of Men: which indeed is a Dictate of the Law of Nature, and what Men of themselves wou'd observe, if they were not degenerated; for voluntary Slavery is a Sin against the Law of Nature, which no

* *Manebat antequam vinum inveniretur, omnibus inconcussa libertas; nemo sciebat a consorte naturæ suæ obsequia servitutis exigere. Non esset hodie servitus, si ebrietas non fuisset. Gratian. dist. 35. sect. 14.* This was written upon occasion of delivering up Charters.

Man in his right mind can be guilty of. And therefore the Canon-Law says, * That if there had been no Drunkenness, there had been no Slavery. It seems it was the Product of a blind drunken Bargain. And we have hitherto seen no better fruits of our drunken Healths and Hazza's, but much worse: For it is a greater sin for a Man to betray others into Slavery with him, than only to make bold with himself; and it is still a greater sin to betray a Trust to do it, and to break Oaths, and be perjur'd to betray that Trust; for that is making themselves the Captives of the Devil, that they may be the Servants of Men, and enslaving themselves Body and Soul to enslave others. Good God! what will become of us, when such Wickedness as this shall dare to assume the Name of Loyalty; and an irreparable Injury to the Subject, shall pass for Duty to the Prince! Is not this, Thou shalt not forswear thy self, Thou shalt not defraud, Be ye not the Servants of Men, as much Scripture as, Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's? and that as much Scripture as this? Why then shall we set them at variance, and make them inconsistent? Why must one Duty drown another? or that which indeed is no Duty, drown those that are? For where is it said, Render unto Caesar the Things which are not Caesar's? Where do you find that Duty, To render that which by the Law of God and Man is your own, or indeed not wholly your own, but other mens too, with which you are entrusted; and not theirs neither, but the Children's which are yet unborn, and made sacred to them all by the Oath of God which is upon you? It is a madness beyond that of Drunkenness, to do all this in a Compliment. Men must be under some stronger delusions, and think there is a great deal of merit in it, before they cou'd be brought to do it: And therefore I believe these Effects are wrought by the Power of that Turkish Passive Doctrine, which enables those Slaves to break their own Necks, out of a profound Obedience to their Grand Signior, and fills them with Conceits of going to Paradise for their pains. If that be so, what have those Men done, who have ventur'd to adopt this Doctrine into Christianity, thereby removing our old Land-marks, and undermining those Banks and Walls of English Rights and Libertys, which alone, under God, cou'd keep out Popery and Slavery from

from overflowing us? I beg of them, for the Love of God, and of their Country, and of their own Souls, and in the behalf of Posterity, which had better never see the light than be born under Popery and Slavery, that they would seriously consider what will be the end of these things, and how they will be able to account for it; and then let them do as they shall think fit.

I must not omit to say somewhat to one Fallacy of our Author, which he has repeated so often in his Book, that perhaps he now believes it himself, as he would have others to do; and that is, That Self-defence does more mischief than the most outrageous and bloody Oppression. The Learned call that the Fallacy of *Non causa pro causa*; for Self-defence never did any mischief in this world: and it is impossible, that one man's righting himself can do another man wrong. The mischief that happens in that case, is wholly to be charg'd upon those that invade mens Lives and Libertys, and thereby put them upon a necessity of defending them. And if that mischief fall upon the heads of the Invaders themselves, it is well plac'd; it is their own mischief which they intended for others. If by accident it involve innocent Persons who were not aim'd at, still they are answerable for it, who were the cause of it. But for men to abandon their Lives, and all their English Rights and Libertys, for fear of accidental mischief, is to throw away their Bibles for fear of Heresy; of which Mischief the Scripture it self is never the Cause, but very often the unwilling Occasion. In a word, our Author's Doctrine of a slavish Passive Obedience, is an Encouragement, a Provocation, and an irresistible Temptation with wicked Men to all manner of lawless Oppression, which is manifestly to the Destruction of the Government, and against the King's Crown and Dignity, as the Law sets forth such Offences: Whereas the Doctrine of a just and necessary Defence, and that no man should invade or destroy his Fellow-Subjects, but at his own peril, has a direct tendency to the Welfare and Preservation of a Nation, by putting an Awe and Restraint upon all lawless and destructive Insolence. So that no man can be offended at it, but he who would exercise that Cruelty, and do that Mischief which the Law will not suffer him to do.

As for our Author's Introduction, and other parts of his Book, wherein he directly charges me with burlesquing the Doctrine of the Cross, and insinuates therein a Charge of Blasphemy upon that account; I leave the Reader to judge, who brings the greater Reproach upon the Cross of Christ: He that says, The Doctrine of the Bow-string is the Doctrine of the Cross; or he that says and proves, That the Doctrine of Martyrdom only is the Doctrine of the Cross, but that the slavish Doctrine of the Bow-string is a mischievous Turkish Doctrine, and no Evangelical Principle. But this man would have fac'd down the Prophet, when he derided Baal, for a God who was hunting, or upon a journey, or fast asleep, and must be awaken'd, that all that while he was blaspheming the Deity: For when I do the same as the Prophet did, by Popish Idolatrous Prayers, and by the mischievous Cant of Prayers and Tears which these men employ as a Tool and an Instrument of Arbitrary Government and Oppression; which destructive way of prescribing and applying them, was the only thing I call'd a Mountebank Receipt (as the Words which immediately follow in that place, chap. 2. do fully testify) this by all means must be represented as Irreligion and Profaneness.

I shall say nothing to his Libels, which are scatter'd quite thro his Book against Persons of sacred Memory, of Honour, and of great Learning and Integrity; for their own Worth has given them so secure a Reputation, that it would be a ridiculous Officiousness in me to vindicate it: I should rather be inclin'd to bid him rail on; for tho his Reproaches are no Slanders, yet I know not what his Commendations might be.



JULIAN'S ARTS

To Undermine and Extirpate

CHRISTIANITY.

BY being born an English-man, I am become a Debtor to my Country; and by being a Clergy-man, to the Church of God: And I cannot better discharge my Duty to both of them at once, than by laying open those wicked Arts and Stratagems, which heretofore distress'd a flourishing Empire, and wanted but little of extinguishing the Christian Name all over the world. For as my Lord Bacon has wisely observ'd, to discover these wicked Arts, is to disarm them: which (as the Fable goes of the Basilisk) kill those only that are not aware of them, but are disabled from doing mischief by being seen first. Before I come to treat of these in particular, I shall say somewhat in general of *Julian's* Dissimulation, a vein of which you will see runs thro all his Actions: and likewise of those peculiar Advantages which he had to further all his mischievous Designs, and those were the Reputation of his great Moderation and Justice.

CHAP. I.

Julian's Dissimulation.

AND indeed nothing of Truth and Sincerity cou'd be expected from him, who had dissembled for ten years together, in that which is the most sacred and solemn thing in the world: for so long he counterfeited in the matter of Religion. A Practice so false and odious, that we know little of *Julian*, unless we view him a while in his Religious Disguise; which is patch'd up of the basest and most mischievous Vices that are in the world. For there is in this practice a mixture of Cowardice and Impudence at once: it prostitutes Religion, and makes it truckle to a poor worldly Interest; and it destroys the foundation of all Belief and Confidence amongst Men. For at this rate, Oaths, Vows, Protestations, Appeals to Heaven, and such like, the greatest Assurances amongst Men, come to nothing.

This then is *Ammianus's* Hero! That mighty Man, who durst not own his Gods for ten years together; but was such a Slave, as to fall down and worship the Carpenter's Son, that Son of *Mary*, whom he so much vilifies and disdains in his Writings! That false Man, who worshipp'd the Eternal Sun by Moon-light, and yet in the very face of him went and worshipp'd the obscure *Galilee*, and turn'd his back upon his own glorious Deity! That degenerate Heathen, who to gain the favour of the *Galileans*, whom he inwardly scorn'd and hated, did that which an honest-hearted Heathen abhor'd, that which *Socrates* would not do to save his Life, but prefer'd Hemlock before it! In a word, That Man, who if he wou'd have bespoke mens belief, as he us'd to do their attention, *Hear me, to whom the French and Germans before now have hearken'd*; must have said thus: "Believe me, Christians, whom no body can believe; who can swear by no Gods, to whom for many years I have not been false. Believe me, Christians, to whose Prayers I have said many a false *Amen*; whose Sacraments I have turn'd into biting and supping, and whose whole Religion I acted as a part for ten years together. Be you run, Fools to believe me now, and I will give you leave to be wiser hereafter, and to speak Sentences hereafter: and when you have serv'd my Designs, you may then say if you please, *There is no Faith in Man.*"

Amm. Marcel: l. 22. Saepq; dictabat, Audite me, quem Alemanni & Franci audie-

CHAP. II.

His Moderation.

BESIDES the great Gift of dissembling in general, *Julian* had the advantage of furthering his Designs by pretending great Moderation; which *St. Gregory* calls a *Shew of Gentleness*; and *Theodoret* calls his *Vizor of Meekness*: and this he chiefly wore, in these two cases,

First, In pretending to be reconcil'd to those that had oppos'd him, and in telling the world he cou'd readily forgive. I shall make choice of this Instance out of very many.

"As he was sacrificing to *Jupiter*, of a sudden he saw one lying prostrate on the ground, begging to have his Life and Pardon given him. And when *Julian* ask'd who it was, answer was made that it was *Theodotus*, one that belong'd to the Governour of *Isirapolis*; and that waiting upon *Constantius* at his departure out of that City, in an ugly way of flattering him, as if for certain he wou'd have the Victory, he beg'd, just as if he had been crying, of the Emperor, that he wou'd please to send their City the Head of *Julian*, that ungrateful Rebel, in the same manner that he remember'd *Magnentius's* Head was carry'd about, which was on the top of a Pole: Which when *Julian* heard, *I have heretofore*, says he, *heard this Saying of yours reported by many. But go your way home, secure and free from all fear by the Clemency of your Prince; who has resolv'd in prudence to lessen the number of his Enemies, and out of choice does what he can to increase his Friends.*" But notwithstanding this melting Passage, he that shall believe *Julian* to be the mildest and most merciful Prince that ever liv'd, will be grossly mistaken. For when he shew'd full as much Gentleness to *Marius* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, who told him his own very publicly, *Sozomen* neither imputes it to his Vertue, nor to his Good-nature; but represents it only as a Copy of his Countenance, and a mere Amusement. "The Emperor, says he, making no answer, pass'd it by: For he reckon'd that hereby he shou'd confirm Heathenism the more, having shew'd himself so surprizingly meek and patient before a great number of Christians." And that he did it out of design, appears further, by taking his time to reckon with the old Bishop afterwards.

Amm. l. 22. P. 244.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 4.

Secondly, His Vizor of Meekness went on again, when there was any occasion to speak of Differences in Religion: for there he breath'd nothing but Gentleness, and seem'd to have a very tender regard of Mens Consciences. He was not for pressing any body against their Inclination in matters of Religion,

Julian. Epist.
52.

gion, but for leaving all Men in their native Liberty, and as free as Thought. If any man wou'd be perswaded to come over to his Religion, he was welcome; but he wou'd not allow of Compulsion by any means. And thus, by an Edict, he orders his Heathens at *Besra* to treat their *Galilean* Neighbours; telling them that Men ought to be won by Reason and Instructions, and not by Beating and Reviling, and corporal Punishments. And if the *Galileans* notwithstanding shou'd continue obstinately in their Error, he bids them not to be angry at them for it; but to look upon them as Objects of Compassion, and rather to pity them as lying in a State of Irreligion, which is the greatest Calamity in the world. He never speaks better Sense than upon this occasion; and when he inveighs against Force and Compulsion, he does it with a good Grace. And yet all this was no more than Queen *Mary's* Court Holy-Water to the Men of *Suffolk*, or her compounding afterwards with the *Londoners* in *Guild-Hall* for the Liberty of her own Conscience; while *Gardiner* and *Bonnet* were framing quite other Arguments of Conversion, than those of Reason and Instruction.

CHAP. III.

His Justice.

August. Epist.
48, & 166.

Julian. Ep. 10.

Sozom. l. 5. c. 8.

Inve. l. 1. p. 91.

BUT the Reputation which he had for his Temper and Moderation, seems to be short of that which he had for Justice, to which he was a great Pretender, and under the covert of it did infinite mischief. This gave him a fair opportunity of undermining Christianity: For who cou'd suspect that he wou'd not do all Men right, who had brought *Africa* back again from Heaven, and took care to administer Justice himself, that it might be well done, and valu'd himself mightily upon it? And not only the Heathens were always filling mens ears with their Praises of him for it, but the *Dematists* too, like true Flatterers, who use to give men those Praises which they most willingly hear, told him, *That he was the Person with whom only Justice took place.* Whereas he plainly turn'd the Sword of Justice into a Back-Sword; for it was very keen towards the Christians, but blunt and harmless towards the Heathens. For tho the Christians were destroy'd in most parts of the Empire, yet it was sore against his will if any of the Heathens suffer'd for their Outrages upon them. He spoke big indeed, and threaten'd the *Alexandrines* for their barbarous Murder of Bishop *George*; but his Blood was put up. For before he concludes his terrible Letter, he tells them, *That for the sake of some of his Kindred, and their God Serapis, he still reserves a brotherly Kindness for them.* But when the like Barbaritys were acted at *Gaza* upon *Eusebius*, *Nestorius*, and *Zeno*, only for their former Zeal against Heathenism (the Description of whose Usage wou'd make a man's heart bleed) the Historian expressly says, "That the Emperor did not so much as send a chiding Letter thither; but on the other hand, turn'd out the Governour, and in great favour banish'd him, instead of putting him to death, because he had apprehended some of the Men of *Gaza*, who were said to be Ring-leaders in the Riot and Murders which had been committed, and had put them in prison to abide the Law. For why shou'd they suffer, says Julian, who had reveng'd themselves upon a few Galileans, for the Injuries they had often done both them and their Gods?" St. *Gregory* relates this as a well-known and famous Passage: "Who is ignorant how that a certain People having rag'd against the Christians, committed many Murders, and threaten'd a great deal more, because the Governour of the Province went the middle way, between the Times and the Laws; for as he thought he must serve the Times, so he had some small reverence for the Laws; and therefore having put to death many of the Christians, and punish'd but few of the Heathens, and being accus'd for this before the Emperor, tho he pleaded the Laws, according to which he was intrusted to govern, he had like to have been put to death: At last obtaining favour, he

" he was condemn'd to be banish'd. And how admirable and gracious was this Expression of *Julian* at that time? for says the just Judg, and no Persecutor of Christians, *What great matter were it if our Heathen hand had kill'd ten Galileans?* Is not this bare-fac'd Cruelty? Is not this an Edict of Persecution?" Surely there never was a greater Juggle of Tyranny in the World, nor more odly manag'd than this of *Julian*. To make no Sanguinary Laws against the Christians, because he wou'd not be thought a Persecutor, and yet to take care that they shou'd be as effectually destroy'd, as if all the Laws of the Empire had been against them: and after that to lay open the Contrivance, and betray his own Plot! As *Gregory's* words are upon a like occasion: "*He cou'd not keep his own wicked Counsel, but discover'd the Secret;*" for we need no further light to understand what his Justice was, than this "one Aphorism of it from his own mouth."

CHAP. IV.

His Methods of Conversion.

JULIAN finding the Christian Religion, as *Constantine* had left it, in Power and Authority, having had an Establishment of well nigh fifty Years under the glorious Emperor *Constantine* the Great, and his Sons; and Heathenism being driven into Corners by a great number of Edicts, which among other things had made it Death to sacrifice; had reason to complain, as Secretary *Coleman* did upon a like occasion, that he had a very great Work upon his hands, no less than the Conversion of a whole Empire. Only there were two sorts of Men who fav'd him the Labour, and did his Work to his hands.

One of Constantine's Edicts: Poena Capitis subjugari precipimus eos, quos operam Sacrificiis dare vel colere Simulachra constitit.

First, The Volant Squadron, that running Camp, which immediately wheels about upon the least signal of a Change in Religion. Those very forward People, who as soon as they knew how *Julian* stood affected, and what he wou'd be at, presently took the hint, and were special good Heathens in an instant; and afterwards were immediately as good Christians again, at *Julian's* service. There are always such Wretches as these in the world; who, as *Themistius* excellently says, do not worship God, but the Purple: and, as one of our own Historians speaks concerning the same sort of People in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign, are so forward to worship the rising Sun, that to make sure work of it, they will adore the dawning Day.

Secondly, A sort of simple, unthinking and stupid Men; who tho they are slower, are no less sure than the former. They do not indeed anticipate an Alteration in Religion; but when it is made, they no more scruple the Prince's Religion, than they doubt whether his Coin be lawful Money. They count it their Duty and their Loyalty to acquiesce, and very ill Manners to think themselves wiser than their Betters; concluding, that God and the *Cæsar* know all. Their Conscience is, that they ought to be guided by the publick Conscience; and they please themselves mightily in believing, that if they be misled, the fault will lie at their door who have misled them, and that they must answer for it. Whereas it is suppos'd, if a Man out of complement to the Eyes of his Betters, shou'd neglect to use his own, and run his Head against a Post, that he himself wou'd have the worst of it. *Julian* presum'd to find this implicit Temper chiefly in the Army, who are so us'd to a blind Obedience, that, as *St. Gregory's* words are, *Some of them know no other Law than the Will of their Prince:* And accordingly he did find it, for many of them presently follow'd their Leader, tho it were to Heathenism and the Worship of Devils.

Inveſt. 1. p. 75.

But, *Thirdly*, Where he cou'd not meet with this Stupidity and Indifference, which makes men so easy that no Religion comes amiss to them, there he us'd his utmost endeavour to convert them by Argument, and all the Arts of Persuasion. For being a zealous Prince, he thought it meritorious to in-

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gage in the Work himself, and not to leave it to I know not whom. And this he did partly by way of Discourse and Conference, and partly by Writing.

Greg. Naz.
Orat. 10. p.
167.

1st. By Discourse and Conference. In this way, amongst many others, he set upon *Casarius* his Treasurer, *Gregory Naz.*'s Brother, and imploy'd a great deal of Sophistry in the Dispute: but *Casarius* was too hard for him, and baffled him; and when he had done so, proclaim'd with a loud and clear Voice, *That he was a Christian, and wou'd be a Christian.* And this Victory, which his Brother thus gain'd, *Gregory* prefers before *Julian*'s great Power, and noble Purple, and rich Diadem.

Julian. Ep. 51.

2^{ly}. When he had not the opportunity of personal Conference, he convey'd his Arguments by writing. In one of his Letters to the *Alexandrians* he tells them, "I am asham'd by the Gods that so much as one Man in *Alexandria* shou'd confess himself a *Galilean*." For this weighty Reason forsooth, because the *Hebrew* Fathers of the *Galileans* had been Slaves to the *Egyptians*, and the *Egyptians* themselves had been conquer'd by the *Alexandrians*; and therefore it wou'd be a stark shame for them, after all this, to submit themselves in a way of voluntary Slavery to the *Galileans*, who, as one may say, had been their Slaves Slaves. I know not what force this Argument may have in Heraldry, but I am sure it has none at all in Logick. He further tells them, "That *Alexander*, the Founder of their City, was a religious Worshipper of the Gods, another-guess Man by *Jove* than any of the *Galileans*, or any of the *Hebrews* before them. And so was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* a better Man than any of them. And as for all the *Ptolomys*, they did not nurse up their City to that Greatness with the Sayings of *Jesus*, nor render it a well-order'd and flourishing City even to this day, with the Doctrine of the hateful *Galileans*. And when it fell afterwards into the hands of the *Romans*, *Augustus* express'd great kindness to it for their God *Serapis*'s sake." Just as *Father Cressy* insults, when he is got into the *Saxon*, *Danish*, and *Norman* times. And presently after you have a whole Cluster of the Pope's own Arguments. *Julian* wou'd not have them worship *Jesus*, "Whom neither they, nor their Fathers have seen; but the great Sun, whom from all Eternity, the whole Race of Mankind does see, and behold and worship, and by worshipping, prospers." Now here is the utmost of Antiquity, Universality, Succession, Visibilty, and what not? Arguments not worth the stooping to take up, and therefore I conceive, neither worth fetching from *Rome*, nor carrying into *Egypt*.

Hom. cont. A-
varit. Biblioth.
Pat. Paris,
Tom. 2. p. 585.

4. If his Arguments were unsuccessful, and he cou'd not get Men to apostatize gratis, then he wrought upon their Covetousness and Ambition; for amongst too many, a very bad Religion, with Money or Honour to boot, is reckon'd a great bargain. And in this Field it was that *Julian* conquer'd, as *St. Asterius* says: "What drew those who had been Christians and Communicants to the Worship of Devils? Was it not the desire of great Possessions, and to be Lords of other Mens Estates? who having receiv'd Promises from wicked Heathens, of being Governors as long as they liv'd, or of having large Pensions out of the King's Treasury, presently shifted their Religion like a Garment. We have some Instances of these things from former times, and our own Age has given us the Experience of others. For when that Emperor, who of a sudden laid down the Mask of a Christian, impudently fell to sacrificing to Devils himself, and propounded many Advantages to them that wou'd do so too, how many were there who left the Church and ran to the Altars? How many catching at the Bait of Honours, swallow'd the Hook of Apostacy together with him? But now they go up and down the Citys as stigmatiz'd Persons, hated and pointed at by all. Look, these are the Betrayers of Christ for a little Money: they are put out of the Catalogue of Christians, as *Judas* was out of the number of the Apostles; and are as well known by their Denomination from the Apostate, as Horses are known by their Brands." As *St. Gregory*'s words are, "Some he drew with Money, others with Dignity, others with Promises, others with Honours of all sorts, which he expos'd in all mens sight, not like a King, but in a very servile manner." Which made that honest Clergyman *Basilins* take a great deal of necessary pains to fortify the

Orat. 10. p. 167.

the Christians against that Temptation, by warning them not to part with their Religion upon those wretched Terms. "When Julian was Emperor, *Saxom. lib. 5.*
 "says the Historian, he went all up and down, publicly and openly ex-
 "horting the Christians to stick fast to their Religion, and not to be defil'd
 "with the Sacrifices and Libations of the Heathens; and that they shou'd
 "reckon for nothing the Honours which were bestow'd by the Emperor, de-
 "claring that they were but for a season, in respect of the Wages of eternal
 "Destruction. Making this his business, he was hated by the Heathens: and
 "standing and looking upon them as they publicly sacrific'd, he fetch'd a
 "deep Groan, and pray'd, that no Christian might ever know by Experience
 "that false Religion. Upon this he was apprehended, and deliver'd to the
 "Governor; and after several Torments, manfully finish'd his Martyrdom."

I cannot but observe, that both *St. Asterius* and *Gregory* make mention of *Julian's* tempting Men by Promises, which was a cheap way of corrupting great Numbers. For (as the Cardinal advis'd the Gentleman, who told him that he intended him the Present of a very fine Horse, but he unhappily fell lame by the way: Go, says his Eminency, to such and such, naming half a dozen other Cardinals, and tell every one of them the very same Story; and you may oblige more with your lame Horse, than if he had come well to Town) It is plain that one single Preferment in this way, is capable of engaging a multitude of Expectants. O base and low-priz'd Souls in the mean time! which once cou'd not be redeem'd with Silver and Gold, but are now bought with the very chinking of Money in one's hand. It is no marvel therefore, that immediately after *Julian's* Death, these Men became a publick Scorn, and were as vile in all mens eyes, as Cattel that had been sold in a Market, and wore their Master's Brand upon them. *Gregory* sufficiently ex-
Invest. 1. p. 53,
 presses himself against those that had not the Courage and Resolution to hold
 out, in that short and weak Assault of the Devil, as he calls *Julian's* Persecu-
 tion. "But they are worse than these, says he, and more deserve to be pro-
 "hibited from coming to this Assembly, that wou'd not oppose the Times
 "ever so little, nor them that drew us into a miserable Captivity away
 "from him, who ascended up on high, and made us happy Captives; but
 "of their own accord, and needlessly, shew'd themselves to be wicked and vile,
 "neither making the least Resistance, nor being offended because of the
 "Word, for any Affliction or Trial that was upon them: but the Wretches
 "barter'd away their Salvation for transitory Profit, or Worship, or a little
 "Honour." A little indeed; a snuff of Honour, which soon expir'd, and
 went out in a stink.

CHAP. V.

His Choice of Magistrates.

AND now we might congratulate all the good Christians, who had es-
 cap'd *Julian's* Snares, if he had so done with them; but, alas! this
 Deliverance only expos'd them to new and fiery Trials: for those whom he
 cou'd not catch in his Nets, he left to be hunted down by the Rage of the
 People. And, in order to this, he had Magistrates for the purpose; Men
 that wou'd countenance and incourage the People in their Outrages upon the
 Christians, instead of restraining or punishing that illegal Violence. "The
 Government of Provinces, says *Gregory*, was not put into the hands of the
 "best natur'd and most moderate Men, but of the most inhuman." And he
 not only put into Office the worst natur'd Heathens, who were of a Disposi-
 tion inclin'd to Cruelty, but Apostates, who never give quarter, and are
 found, by the experience of all Ages, to be the fiercest Persecutors.

The Christians knew this very well, in the beginning of *Julian's* Reign, be-
 fore they felt it. For *Saxomen* says, "The Church was in great fear of Per-
 "secution, because of *Julian's* Hatred to the Christians; and was the more
 "exceedingly

Inv. 2. p. 120.
 ἡ μὲν ἰστορία
 ἡ τοῦ ἀποστόλου
 ἡ ἐκκλησία.

" exceedingly afraid, because he had formerly been a Christian." Now it is very plain, that *Julian* took care to bestow Offices upon those that were like himself. For *Gregory* tells us, that Apostacy was the road to Preferment, and expressly says, that it was the only recommendation to a place in the Government. So that if the poor Christians were trampled upon by Heathens, they must seek relief at the hands of Renegadoes, more implacable and irreconcilable Enemies than the others. For while there was one Christian left in the World, who persever'd and was true to his Religion, that Man was a standing reproach to their Falseness and Treachery. And thus it has been in later days; the Renegates that have gone over to Popery, have always been fiercer than others, and they are forc'd to be so in their own defence: They must be cruel Papists, that they may be believ'd to be Papists at all.

C H A P. VI

His different Carriage towards Citys.

* Κοινῶ.
 Sozom. lib. 5.
 c. 3.

ANOTHER effectual course which *Julian* took to advance Paganism, and to suppress Christianity, was, by giving encouragement to those Citys which turn'd Heathens; and by setting all marks of his Displeasure upon those which were firm to their Religion. " He often writ to the * Common Council of Citys, if he understood they were converted to Heathenism, bidding them to ask of him what Gifts or Grants they wou'd. But he manifestly hated those Citys which continu'd Christian, so that he wou'd neither endure to come at them himself, nor receive the Messages of those who were sent to complain of their Grievances: For example, when it was expected at that time that the *Persians* wou'd make an Invasion, and the Inhabitants of *Nisibis* (a City upon the Frontiers) sent a Message about it; because they were Christians, and neither open'd Temples nor sacrific'd, he threaten'd that he neither wou'd give them any Aid, nor receive their Message, nor come into their unhallow'd and accurs'd City, till such time as they wou'd be persuaded to turn Heathens.

Ibid.

" And objecting the like Faults to the Citizens of *Constantia*, he gave away their City to the Men of *Gaza*. For whereas that City was the Sea-Port to *Gaza*, and therefore call'd *Majuma*: *Constantine* understanding that it had a very great regard for the Christian Religion, advanc'd it to the Dignity of being a City, and call'd it by the name of his Son *Constantius*; accounting it an unjust thing, that it shou'd be subject or tributary to the Men of *Gaza*, who were bigotted Heathens. But as soon as *Julian* came to the Empire, the Men of *Gaza* commenc'd their Suit against the *Constantians*: And *Julian* himself sitting Judge, annex'd *Constantia* to the City *Gaza*, tho about two miles distant from it; which being depriv'd of its former name, is now call'd the Maritime part of the City *Gaza*.

Sozom. lib. 5.
 c. 4.

" About the same time *Cesarea*, that great and wealthy City, and Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, was by *Julian* struck out of the Catalogue of Citys, and depriv'd of its Denomination from *Cesar*, which it had under *Claudius*, its original name being *Mazaca*: For he had formerly born an implacable hatred against the Inhabitants, because they were generally Christians, and had formerly destroy'd the Temples of *Jupiter*, Patron of their City, and *Apollo* Guardian of their Country. And because withal the Temple of *Fortune*, which only was left standing in his Reign, was overthrown by the Christians, he was grievously inrag'd at the whole City; and chid the Heathens that were there very severely, tho they were few in number, that they did not revenge it; and if any Calamity was to have been suffer'd, that they did not undergo it readily for the sake of *Fortune*. Whereupon he order'd all the Goods and Mony which belong'd to the Churches of *Cesarea*, and those that were in the Confines of it, shou'd be discover'd by Tortures, and brought forth into the midst: That they shou'd

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" presently

“ presently pay three hundred pounds of Gold to the Treasury: That all the
 “ Clergy shou’d be entred into the Roll of Soldiers which serv’d under the
 “ Governor of the Province, which is look’d upon as very chargeable, and
 “ very disgraceful in the Roman Armys: And that the multitude of Chris-
 “ tians, with their Wives and Children, shou’d be tax’d, as they are in Villa-
 “ ges. And moreover he threatned them, and bound it with an Oath, that
 “ unless they suddenly rebuilt these Temples, he wou’d not leave raging and
 “ plaguing them; and that the *Galileans* shou’d not keep their Heads upon
 “ their shoulders, for so in scorn he call’d the Christians. And perhaps he
 “ had been as good as his word, if he himself had not the sooner come to his
 “ end.” Thus far the Historian. It is worth the while to read what *Gre-
 gory* says, in a very pleasant way, concerning this last Passage. “ As for *Inveſt. 1. p. 91.*
 “ what *Julian* did to my Countrymen the *Cesareans*, those generous and zea-
 “ lous Christians, who were so harass’d by him, perhaps it is not fit to
 “ be mention’d by way of Reproach: For he seem’d to be justly angry up-
 “ on *Fortune’s* account, who was unfortunate in a fortunate time, and so to
 “ have proceeded to this Recompence; because one must yield somewhat to
 “ Injustice when it is got into Power.”

C H A P. VII.

His Arts to divide the Church.

JULIAN’S whole Design was to have the Christians ruin’d; but no doubt
 it wou’d please him best, if he cou’d contrive and order the matter so,
 that they shou’d do it themselves, and fall by their own hands: and there-
 fore he took all the ways he cou’d think of to imbroil them, and engage
 them in a Civil War of Contention among themselves; because in all other
 things he vex’d and afflicted the Church, and never meant any thing but Mis-
 chief. *Sozomen* is thereby induc’d to believe, that his very calling home the *Sozom. lib. 5. c. 5.*
 Orthodox Bishops was not out of any kindness to them, but with an intent
 to revive the Quarrel betwixt the Orthodox and the *Arians*, that in the scuf-
 fle they might both lose their Religion: or else, as he adds, that he might
 cast a Reproach upon *Constantius* for banishing them. For *Julian* took all oc-
 casions to blacken both *Constantius* and *Constantine* the Great; and by traducing
 these, who were the happy Founders of the Christian Establishment, he laid
 the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and wounded all sorts of Christians at once.
 In his *Cesars* he represents *Constantine* in the same manner as the Papists use to
 do our *Henry* the Eighth; and elsewhere he wishes his Enemies, instead of one
Constantine, a great many. And by the way, we owe as little thanks to
 them, who call themselves Protestants, and yet at every turn dare vilify the
 blessed Instruments of our Reformation; when such a sweet Prince as *Edward*
 the Sixth cannot escape their virulent Pens, nor the Memory of the glorious
Elizabeth from being assaulted with their false and foul-mouth’d Slanders. I
 am sure the Homilys teach them another Lesson, and put better words into
 their Mouths: “ Honour be to God, who did put Light in the Heart of his
 “ faithful and true Minister, of most famous Memory, King *Henry* the Eighth,
 “ and gave him the knowledg of his Word, and an earnest affection to seek
 “ his Glory, and to put away all such Superstitious and Pharisaical Sects by
 “ Antichrist invented (speaking of their Monks and Friars) and to set up a-
 “ gain the true Word of God, and Glory of his most blessed Name; as he
 “ gave the like Spirit unto the most noble and famous Princes, *Jehosaphat*,
 “ *Josias*, and *Hezekias*.” To return from this necessary Digression: *Julian*
 never shew’d kindness to Orthodox or *Arian* (old *Elizabeth* Church-of-Eng-
 land-man, or *Laudensian*, as we are now taught to speak) but in order to de-
 stroy them both: which appears by this, that when he found they both a-
 greed to preserve Christianity, he presently fell to picking holes in their Coats,
 whom he had lately restor’d; and *St. Athanasius* particularly made a very hard
 shift to escape with his Life. Just

*Sermon. lib. 5.
cap. 14.*

Julian. Ep. 52.

Just so kind he was to the People of *Bosra*, when he took their part against their Bishop *Titus*; who, as he pretended, had accus'd them of being seditiously inclin'd. The Story is thus: *Julian* understanding that there was a great number of Christians in *Bosra*, threatned *Titus* and his Clergy, that they shou'd answer for it, in case the People were guilty of any Stir or Sedition. *Titus* and his Clergy sent a Writing to the Emperor, wherein he testifies, That the Christians indeed were equal in number to the *Flavians*, and as to one; but nevertheless were very quiet, and, led by his Admonitions, had no manner of seditious Intentions. Out of these very words he contriv'd to bring *Titus* into the hatred of the People; and writing to them, represented him to be no better than a base Informer against them, as if they were restrain'd from Sedition, not by their own Inclination, but by his Admonitions: and therefore by his Proclamation, commanded them to drive their Enemy and Accuser out of their City.

Now *Sozomen*, in the same Chapter, tells you the Mystery of this pretended Zeal to have the *Bosrians* do themselves right. "*Julian* us'd all diligence to drive the Bishops and Clergy from the City. And to tell you the truth of the matter, he endeavour'd, by their absence, to dissolve the Assemblies of the People, and their meeting at Church. For by that means they cou'd have no body to assemble them, nor preach to them, nor cou'd they receive the Sacrament, and so in tract of Time wou'd forget their Religion.

C H A P. VIII.

His Edicts.

*Invest. l. 1. p. 81.
82.*

Come now to his Laws, some of which seem at the first sight to be light and frivolous, and yet carry a Sting with them; whereby they were the fitter for *Julian's* purpose, which was to do the Christians what mischief he cou'd, with as little noise as he cou'd. His first Edict commanded that the Christians shou'd be call'd *Galileans*. *Gregory* indeed looks upon this as a ridiculous Law, and rather like a childish or waggish Conceit than an Edict, and so all wise Men will account it: and yet withal it was a very popular way of disgracing the Christians, and consequently of weakening and destroying them. For every body knows that so much Reputation is so much Power; which is like to be little enough, when Men are once made a publick Scorn. By this Device *Julian* both assailed the Constancy of weaker Christians, who cannot all of them digest Reproaches, and despise the Shame, as their great Master did; and likewise laid a great stumbling-block in the way of all Converts to Christianity. For a reproachful Name is the same with the disguise of an ill Deeds, which is always to the disadvantage of him that wears it. This the Popish Inquisitors understand very well, no Men in the world better: when they clasp a *Sarbanie* upon the back of a poor condemn'd Heretick, they make the People believe, the Wretch has as many Devils within him, as they see there pictur'd upon his Frock. And in Queen *Mary's* days, the like course was taken to run down the Protestants with reproachful names. Their religious Assemblies were by Law call'd *Conventicles*, their Common Prayer Fantastical and Schismatical Services, and themselves Hereticks, which of the two is a worse name than *Galileans*; for it implies all those Devils which the *Sarbanie* represents, and is indeed but another unblest Coat to burn Men in.

His next Edict prohibited Christians from being Schoolmasters and Tutors, and having the Education of Youth; which was a great temptation to the Learned Men amongst them to turn Heathens for a livelihood: but if he fail'd in that design, as for the most part he did, this was nevertheless a sure way to keep the Christians low and ignorant, and at length to bring Darkness upon the face of the Church. One *Procrastus* indeed, notwithstanding this Edict, had the liberty given him by *Julian* to continue in his Profession; but he generously

rously refus'd it, and wou'd not receive the Favour at his hands: for which St. *Jerom* has chronicled him, to his immortal honour. "*Proterefius* a Sophist Hieronym. Chronic. Anno 366. at *Athens*, when a Law was made that no Christian shou'd be a Teacher of the Liberal Arts, and *Julian* gave him a special Licence, that tho he were a Christian he might teach; of his own accord left his School." This was the Temper of those Christians: They were so far from courting an Enemy to their Religion, that they scorn'd the very Favours which he offer'd them; and for doing the contrary, as I have heretofore mention'd, the *Donatists* carry'd a brand of Infamy along with them for some Generations. Nay, St. *Chrysostom* upbraids the very *Jews* with those Favours, which they were willing to receive from him who was a wicked Pagan, and for imploying his impure hands to build their Temple. You see they thought it a reproach, even to a Jew, to desire or make use of his Kindness. Chrysost. Orat. 3. adv. Judæos.

To return to *Julian's* Edict: St. *Chrysostom* reckons up the Physicians like-wise amongst those who were put out of their Employments; whereby they also had the temptation of changing their Religion. And all other Christians had this further difficulty put upon them; either to want the help of a Physician in the extremity of Sickness, or else to trust their lives in the hands of their Enemies: in which case, to speak modestly, one Heathen hand might easily kill ten *Galileans*. If *Julian* had been that Mirror of Justice which the Heathens cry'd him up for, he wou'd at least have made another Edict, commanding the Christians never to be sick. Chrysost. Hom. 40. de SS. Juv. & Max.

In his next Edict he proceeded to disarm the Christians, by putting them out of all places in the Government and Militia, which he did with this plausible pretence, that the Christian Religion did not permit them to use the Sword. It seems it was his Notion too, that Christianity was to be a suffering Religion; and he made it so before he had done with it. Bishop *Jewel* has fully express'd the purpose and design of the foregoing Edict in these words: "*He gave command that no Christian Man's Child shou'd go to School (so he understood it) devising thereby to keep them rude and barbarous; That no Christian shou'd bear Office, or live in any manner of Authority, thereby to make them vile; That they shou'd never be Captains or Soldiers, that so they might be kept in weaknes.*" Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 13.

Hitherto the Goods of the Christians were in peace; but *Julian* having thus disarm'd them, presently fell to dividing the Spoil. He took the Revenues of the Church, and apply'd them to the maintenance of Heathen Priests, as having first belong'd to them. He took away their Church-Plate (for which *Gregory* calls him *Nebuchadnezzar*) as being too rich for the Son of *Mary* to be serv'd in. By an Edict he sent his Soldiers to plunder their publick Stock, and to ease them of their Money, that they might go the lighter to Heaven, as his words were upon a like occasion. He levy'd Money likewise from those that wou'd not sacrifice, to supply him in his War against the *Persians*. And this Exaction, says *Socrates*, was shrow'd up upon those that were true Christians: for every one paid according to the proportion of his Estate. And *Socrates* tells us moreover, "That the Christians were oppress'd very much beyond what the Emperor's Edicts requir'd; but tho he knew it, he did not regard it: and when the Christians came to him about it, he told them, *It is your part when you are ill-used to bear it; for this is the Commandment of your God.*" As good passive Doctrine as a man wou'd desire; only *Julian* was fain to be his own Chaplain, and to preach it himself. Ep Jewell's Sermon. p. 165. Inveft. 2. p. 117. Julian. Ep. 43. Eusebio. Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 13. Ibid. cap. 14.

After his return from *Persia*, *Julian* intended to have so straiten'd the Christians by some other Edicts, that they shou'd hardly have breath'd: for he wou'd have deny'd them the liberty and freedom of common Life. He resolv'd to drive them from all Assemblies, Markets, publick Meetings, and even from the Courts of Justice; for no man shou'd make use of these, who wou'd not sacrifice upon an Altar which shou'd be there plac'd. Upon this occasion St. *Gregory* cannot contain himself, but breaks forth into an Exclamation, That he shou'd offer to bar the Christians from the benefit of the Laws! 94. which were intended for all Freemen to enjoy equally, and upon equal terms, as they do a Prospect of Heaven, or the Light of the Sun, or the common Air. Inveft. 1. p. 93.

CHAP. IX.

His mingling Heathenism with Laws.

NONE of *Julian's* Laws drew blood, unless it were in the forcible and barbarous execution of them: nor indeed was it his business to make sanguinary Laws against the Christians, and to destroy them fairly (which he might have done with a dash of his Pen, and with as much ease as he cou'd speak or write) for then he had proclaim'd himself a Persecutor, and them Martyrs; which was an Honour, says *Gregory*, which the Gentleman env'y'd the Christians. It was therefore more agreeable to his treacherous Malice, to do the thing, and not to be seen in it; and to put the Christians to death, not as Martyrs, but as unpity'd Malefactors. In order to this, he twisted Heathenism so artificially with the legal Expressions of their Loyalty and Duty, that it was impossible to separate them; but they must of necessity either offend against the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Empire. He did this particularly in that famous contrivance of his Pictures, which he had so clog'd with Idolatry, in joining the figures of the Heathen Gods with his own, that the poor Christians were reduc'd to this strait, either to rob God or the Emperor of his Honour; and either to sin as Idolaters, or suffer as Traitors. But all the good Christians of that Age determining their choice to the latter of these two, have thereby taught us, that our Duty to Man ceases, when it becomes inconsistent with our Duty to God; and that when our Religion is concern'd, we must beg our temporal Lord's excuse, as *St. Austin's* distinguishes it. Those Christians never valu'd themselves upon a false and hair-brain'd Loyalty, to the prejudice of their Religion: but on the other hand, they wou'd not render unto *Cesar* the things which were *Cesar's*, when in so doing they must of necessity alienate from God the things which were God's; when they found *Julian* in company with Heathen Gods, and when he had inseparably interwoven his own lawful Rights with Idolatry, and with the Worship of those false Gods.

In this place it will not be improper to mention another Device of his, whereby he mingled Heathenism, not as before with the Laws of the Empire, but with the more rigorous Laws of Nature: "For, as *Theodoret* tells us, he defil'd the Fountains that were in *Antioch* and *Daphne* with impure Sacrifices, that every one who us'd the Water might take part of the Abomination. Afterwards he fill'd with pollution all things that were to be sold in the Market: for the Bread and Meat, and Fruits and Herbs, and all other things that were to be eaten, were sprinkled with Holy Water. They that were call'd by the name of our Saviour, seeing these things, groan'd indeed and made lamentation, detesting what was done: but withal they eat of them, obeying the Apostle's Law; for says he, *All that is sold in the Shambles eat, making no difference for Conscience sake.*" *Julian*, no doubt, by this barbarous act intended either to starve the Christians out of their Religion, or at least to perplex them, and to render their lives uncomfortable. For how great an affliction this was to the Christians, and how much they laid it to heart, appears by this instance which immediately follows. "There were two Persons of no mean account in *Julian's* Army, for they bore Shields, and were of the Emperor's Lifeguard; who being at a Feast, did most bitterly bewail the abomination of those things that were done, and made use of the admirable Expressions of the Young men that behav'd themselves so bravely in *Babylon*: *For thou hast deliver'd us*, said they, *to an upright Emperor, an Apostate beyond all the Nations of the Earth.* Some body that sat at the same Table, inform'd against them; whereupon *Julian* presently had these brave Men brought before him, and ask'd them what they had said? They taking the Emperor's question for an occasion of speaking freely, whetting a Zeal which was praise-worthy, said after this manner: O King,

“ we having been bred up in the true Religion, and having liv’d under the commendable Laws of Constantine and his Sons, are griev’d to see all things now fill’d with Abomination, and our Meat and Drink defil’d with accursed Sacrifices. We have lamented these things at home, and do now bewail them in thy presence. This is the only Grievance we have under thy Government. The most meek Person, and the most a Philosopher (for so he was call’d by those that were like himself) laid by his Vizor of Clemency, and shew’d a bare face of Impiety: and ordering them to be grievously us’d, he depriv’d them of this present Life; or rather he deliver’d them from those calamitous times, and procur’d them the Crowns of Conquerors. And he fitted an Accusation to answer to their Punishment: for he did not charge them with their Religion, upon account of which they were cut off, but with Ill-language; for he said they were punish’d for reviling the Emperor. He commanded this Accusation to be publish’d abroad, envying the Champions of Truth the title and honour of Martyrs. Their names were *Juventinus* and *Maximus*. The City of *Antioch* honouring these Men as Champions of the true Religion, laid them up in a costly Tomb; and to this day they are honour’d with an anniversary Holiday.” Now this was right *Julian*, to give publick order that the Christians shou’d not be forc’d to sacrifice against their wills, and yet to find out such indirect ways of cramming his Heathenism down their throats.

For affinity-sake I shall here set down the Snare of his Donative to the Soldiers; which was strangely complicated, and full of invention. For there was in it an appearance of Law, there was the awe of the Emperor’s Presence, there was the temptation of Mony, and withal there was a perfect Surprise in it. It was a custom for the Emperor at some solemn times to bestow a Largess upon the Army; and accordingly there was a day set for *Julian*’s Donative. Whether it were an anniversary Solemnity, or whether *Julian* took any other day that came next to hand on purpose for this wicked prank, *Gregory* cannot tell. But when the day came, he himself sat in great state and majesty, in the place where the Soldiers were to receive their Mony, with an Altar before him, and Frankincense and Gold ready plac’d. And when the Soldiers came in, there were Officers ready to prompt and manage them in the form they were to observe; which was, first, to throw a little Frankincense upon the Altar, and then to take their Mony, which was plac’d at the Emperor’s right hand. Those Christians, who had notice before-hand of this Contrivance, found excuses to absent themselves; but the others who knew nothing at all of it, were miserably caught. For, first of all, they had no time to consider or deliberate whether it were lawful to throw this Frankincense on the Altar or no, and were plainly hurry’d to it: There was the sight of their Mony to prevent all such troublesom Scruples; and the Emperor looking on to over-awe them: and there was a very probable shew and appearance (as *Gregory*’s words are) that this was the Law of the Emperor’s Donative, at least in the more antient and honourable way. But when these unhappy Men came afterwards to understand what they had done, and were made sensible that they had sacrific’d, and in effect renounc’d Christ; there follow’d one of the saddest Scenes that ever the World saw. For they presently broke out into the most doleful Lamentations, and fell to tearing their hair off their heads, and ran up and down the Market-place, recanting what they had done, and crying out, *They were Christians*, and that they were over-reach’d and deceiv’d by the Emperor’s Wiles. With these outcrys they went to Court, exclaiming against the Fallacys and Juggles of the Tyrant: they threw him back his Mony, as *Gregory* tells us, and desir’d to be burnt out of indignation against themselves for what they had done; that being polluted by one Fire, they might be purg’d by another. These and the like words made *Julian* mad; who thereupon order’d them to be beheaded: but when they were at the place of Execution, and *Romanus* the youngest of them (who, at the request of the oldest Christian, was put to die first, that he might not be dismay’d with seeing the other Executions) was kneeling down, and the Executioner just drawing his Sword, there came a Messenger in great haste to stop the Execution; which Reprieve the young Man was troubled at, and said, *No truly, Romanus was not worthy to be call’d a Martyr of Christ.* However,

Julian

Inveſt. 1. p. 84, 85.

Theod. lib. 3. cap. 15, 16.

Ibid.

Julian banish'd them to the farthestmost part of the *Roman* Empire; that is, says *Gregory*, he did them the greatest favour in the world, to send them a great way off, out of the reach of his Pollutions and Snares.

CHAP. X.

His turning innocent Actions into Crimes.

Orat. 10. in
Cæsar. p. 167.

I AM come now to the last and most effectual means which *Julian* us'd, of destroying the Christians; and that is, in one word, by turning the most innocent, lawful, and commendable Actions of their whole lives into capital Crimes. As *Gregory* says, "It was his device and contrivance that we shou'd not so much as have the honour which belong'd to the combats of Martyrdom (for the Gentleman envy'd the Christians that) and he order'd it so, that those who suffer'd for their Christianity, shou'd be punish'd as Evil-doers." And truly there was no need for *Julian* to take upon him the odium and disgrace of putting Christians to death for their Religion, contrary to his publick and repeated Declarations, which promis'd them all Security, when he had more plausible pretences at hand, and might execute them as sacrilegious Wretches; and so cut off both their Lives and Reputations at one blow. It's true, if the Christians had been really guilty of Sacrilege, their blood had been upon their own heads, and they had died justly; but there was nothing at all of that, it was all Sham, and Juggle, and Pretence.

When *Constantine the Great* was converted to Christianity, he presently learnt it was his duty to suppress Idolatry, in which he proceeded very far, in some places destroying Temples, in some places again only shutting them up, and for the most part taking out the Images, and spoiling them of their Religion, by making them serve for common and ordinary Statues. His Son *Constantius* went further in destroying these Nests and Implements of Idolatry, and gave the Christians authority to pull down Temples, and build Churches in the place of them; to throw down Altars, and break Images in pieces; and so, as far as it was possible, to drive Heathenism, and root the memorial of it out of the world. Instead of a number of Proofs which I cou'd produce, I shall give you this one clear Testimony, that the Christians were impower'd to do this. *Gregory*, speaking of *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa*, has these words: "This Person in the Reign of the famous *Constantius*, in pursuance of that Authority which was then given to the Christians, destroy'd a certain House of Devils, and built a Church in the room of it."

Inveſt. 1. p. 88.
Κατὰ τὴν
τότε δέδομε-
νην ἐξουσίαν
Χριστιανοῖς.

Hom. de Juv.
& Max.

Julian afterwards coming in an ill hour to the Throne, and professing himself a Pagan, gave order to have the Temples open'd, the Gods worship'd, and Fires to be new kindled upon the Altars. But alas! the Heathens in some places had no Temples to open, in others their Gods were flown, and their Altars demolish'd. Hereupon they revenge the quarrel of their Gods, as *Julian* words it, and barbarously murder, and more barbarously torture those who had been most active in making havock of their Idols. This way of proceeding wou'd not do every where, and might be of ill consequence where the Christians were too many for the Heathens; and therefore *Julian* has this further fetch, he reckons with the Christians for Sacrilege, and fairly dispatches them by Law. As *St. Chrysostom* tells us, "If any one in former times, when Godly Kings had the Government, had either broken their Altars, thrown down their Temples, taken away their Oblations, or done any such thing, he was presently hurry'd away to the Tribunal; and sometimes the Innocent were executed, when they were barely accus'd." The Innocent, that is, those that never did the matter of fact; for it is plain that none of them were guilty of Sacrilege. What stealing or pilfering of Holy Things cou'd that be, when they publicly destroy'd things detestable and devoted to destruction, and were arm'd with Authority so to do? But if *Julian's* Judges were minded to say Ears were Horns, who cou'd help it?

And I doubt not but the Papists, when time serves, can frame as good an Indictment of Sacrilege against those who have reform'd their idolatrous glass Windows, or burnt Crucifixes, our Saviour, as they term it, in effigie, or even the Bauble of *Barkin*: nay, I doubt not but they can make a Riot of mens going to Church, and find a way to destroy us by those very Laws, which were made for our safeguard and protection.

St. *Chrysostom* speaks as if very great numbers of the Christians had suffer'd for Sacrilege; and by this single passage it will appear with what infamy they fell, and under what character they stand recorded in History. "At the same time, says the Historian, *Artemius*, who had been Duke or General in *Egypt*, was beheaded, the *Alexandrines* accusing and loading him with a great heap of horrible Crimes." Now *Theodoret* will tell us what horrible Crimes he was charg'd with: "*Julian* not only stript *Artemius* of all that he had, but also sever'd his Head from his Body; because (when he had his Government in *Egypt* under *Constantius*) he had broken very many Idols." One wou'd have thought by *Artemianus*'s words, that *Artemius* had been some Monster, made up of all the seven deadly Sins; but it seems the whole business amounts to no more than this, that he was a Good, Godly, Lawful, Wicked, Profane, Sacrilegious Image-breaker.

Amm. Marcel.
p. 240.
Alexandrinis
urgentibus a-
trocium cri-
min. mole.
Theod. lib. 3.
cap. 17.

So much for Sacrilege. At another time Treason or Rebellion is the word; and then the Christians go to rack for that. *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, as we have seen before, fell under that Accusation. And it is very plain that those other, whom St. *Chrysostom* mentions in his Homily upon those two Martyrs, suffer'd also for the like Crime. "When these two Men were in prison, says he, the whole City flock'd to them, notwithstanding the great Terrors, and Threatnings, and Dangers which hung over their heads, who shou'd come at them, or discourse them, or have any communication with them. But the Fear of God dispel'd all those things; so that because of them many were made Martyrs for conversing with them, despising this present Life." We have another instance of this at *Gaza*, where the Governour went the middle way betwixt the Times and the Laws (tho rather inclining towards the Times) for having executed a great many Christians, he punish'd but a few of the Heathens. They seem to be punish'd on both sides for the same Crime, the partiality and disparity lies in the numbers: so that the case is thus. The Heathens raise a Riot, and commit Outrages upon the Christians, killing several of them: the other poor Christians make what defence they can to save themselves, but they had as good not; for they shall suffer in great numbers for this Riot, and the mouth of the Law shall be stop'd with a very few of the Heathens that began it. This was the motly Justice of *Gaza*; but when the Case comes to a hearing before *Julian*, he storms and says, "The Governour ought to be hang'd for punishing any of the Heathens at all; for they did but their duty: the *Galileans* were well kill'd; nay, the Work was meritorious, the Heathens not only righted themselves, but their Gods too." Those Christians, who in *Julian*'s time fled into Desarts, and took up their habitation in the Wilderness (as St. *Chrysostom* assures us several did) were certainly in the right: for there, if they made their escape from a Beast of Prey, they were safe for that time, and needed not to fear answering for it; whereas they that rescu'd themselves from *Julian*'s Bloodhounds, only reserv'd themselves for a more infamous Death, and to be executed as Rebels: Just as much Rebels, as the former were Church-robbers; who were executed indeed by a lawful Governour, and in a form of Justice, but not according to Law, nor to satisfy that, but to serve the Times.

Hom. 40. de
SS. Juvent. 86
Max. p. 549.

Greg. Invest. 1.
p. 91, 92.
Soz. l. 5. c. 8.

Ibid.

Orat. 3. adv.
Judæos.

L

A N

ANSWER TO CONSTANTIUS the Apostate.

IT wou'd be endless to confute the gross Errors and wilful Mistakes of which this Book is, for the most part, compos'd: and therefore I shall think it sufficient to shew, that the design of the whole is nothing but Fraud and Imposture; wherein a Christian Emperor is made an Apostate, and worse than he was, only to render the Christians that liv'd under him the more eminently passive. Which may be done, by shewing these two things: First, That this Author has not given a true Character of *Constantius*: Nor Secondly, of the Fathers that liv'd under him.

First, This Author has not given a true Character of *Constantius*, nor indeed has he taken the way to do it. For 1st. He takes a great part of that Character out of *Ammianus*, a bigot Heathen, who had a Hero of his own to set off, by the shadowing and black Strokes which he bestow'd upon *Constantius* and *Jovian*: Which is much the same, as if a man shou'd write the Life of Queen *Elizabeth* out of the Memoirs of the Jesuits. 2^{dly}. He imputes to *Constantius* all those Crueltys, which were acted during his long Reign by any of the *Arians*; tho I am sure, he cannot prove that *Constantius* any way encourag'd very many of them. For on the other hand, when he found his Authority had been abus'd to mischievous purposes, he wou'd never forgive it in his greatest Favourites, as I might instance in *Macedonius*, for whom, upon such an occasion, he had an aversion ever after. Now if you draw together all the ill Humours which are dispers'd in a man's whole Body, and make them settle in his Face, it will certainly make him look very ugly. I grant, *Constantius* had Faults; but withal, they are not so much to be imputed to any Wilfulness in him as to his Weakness, which was continually wrought upon by some subtle *Arians* who were about him, to the disturbance of the Church. However take him with all his Faults, and still he is a Saint to *Julian*; and so the Fathers make him, when they mention both at the same time. When they had an Apostate in earnest, then *Cappa* had never done them any wrong, and then they wish'd for him again. And *Theodoret* gives a very fair account of him, and represents him as a Prince who had a great sense of Religion; giving this for an instance, That he caus'd his whole Army, in one of his Expeditions, to receive the Sacrament of Baptism; and wou'd not allow any Soldier to stay with him, who wou'd not put himself into that good Posture and Preparation for Death. 'Tis true, he dealt hardly with several Orthodox Bishops, and oppress'd them contrary to Law or Equity, particularly *Athanasius* and the other banish'd Bishops: and I must grant this to be true for their sakes. For otherwise there never was such a sort of passive Subjects in the World, and they wou'd be ten times worse than this Author has made *Constantius*; and even as they are, I desire this Gentleman, and Mr. Long, to take notice that I disclaim them, and do by no means propound them as Examples, but shall set down their words as matter of fact only. And with this necessary proviso, that the Sayings of their own Holy Fathers may not be treacherously turn'd upon me, as Mr. Long knows one of *Sozomen's* has been, I come to the

Second

Second Thing, That this Author has not given a true Character of the Fathers under Constantius. He tells us, Pag. 17. The Conduct of all the Fathers that liv'd under Constantius was such, that all the Crueltys which that Apostate Emperor could inflict, did not extort the least misbecoming Expression from them. And, Pag. 37. All their heavy Grievances did not make them remonstrate to the Decrees of their Emperor; they did not make their Pressures just, by impatiently submitting to them. In short, a discovery of the Passive Obedience of these Fathers, was the glorious end of his Book; as that Obedience he elsewhere tells us, is the glorious End of Religion: and had it not been for this, Constantius had never been made an Apostate.

There were about half a dozen Orthodox Bishops who suffer'd Banishment; for I will not reckon Pope Liberius nor Hosius into the number, as our Author does, because they both subscrib'd Heresy. Of all these there are but three that I know of, whose Writings have come down to us, and they are St. Hilary, Lucifer Calaritanus, and Athanasius; some of whose Expressions I shall here set down, and leave it to our Author to justify, that they were not misbecoming.

I shall begin with St. Hilary, who has a little Book intitl'd, *Contra Constantium Augustum*, written in the Emperor's Life-time, notwithstanding the false Title which is now clap'd upon it (for it was written a Year before Constantius's Death, as appears by the Book it self) wherein he calls Constantius Antichrist, and tells him, *He is the cruellest and wickedest of all Men, for he was such a Persecutor as depriv'd those that fell of Pardon and Forgiveness, and those that stuck to their Religion of the Honour of Martyrdom: But your Father the Devil, says St. Hilary, taught you this way of persecuting.* And presently after he accosts him thus, *Thou ravening Wolf, we see thy Sheep's Clothing.* Constantius had said he would have no Words us'd in matters of Faith, which were not found in Scripture, which made him reject the word *quoniam*; but, says Hilary, *I will shew the deceitful Subtily of your Diabolical Contrivance.* And not long after, † Know, says he, that you are an Enemy to God's Religion, and to the Memories of Holy Men (I suppose he means the Nicene Fathers) and are the rebellious Heir of your Father's Piety. If any man pleases to peruse that || Book, he will find much more of the same strain, together with St. Hilary's Reasons for using such Language after his milder and gentler Writings had done no good: for, as he thought Silence his duty before, so now, as he tells us, he thought it his duty to break Silence; and I leave the World to judg, whether he does not speak out.

The next is Lucifer Calaritanus, of whom St. Jerom gives this account. Lucifer Calaritanus * was a Man of wonderful Constancy, and of a Mind prepar'd for Martyrdom; he writ a Book against Constantius, and sent it him to read, and not long after he return'd to Calaris in Julian's Reign, and died in Valentinian's. There is no one Book of Lucifer which bears that Title; but all his little Tracts being directed to Constantius, and written against him, St. Jerom calls them all one Book, and so does Florentius and Lucifer himself, whereas Athanasius calls them Books: which Variety is usual amongst the Antients, as Jerom calls Gregory's two Invectives a Book against Julian. Lucifer's Books in defence of Athanasius, and his other Tracts, have very severe and wounding Expressions in them; but the Book *De Regibus Apostaticis*, and the other *De non parcenda delinquentibus in Deum*, tell us before hand what we are to expect from them, and proclaim themselves afar off. I shall give the Reader but a taste of them: and because Mr. Long says, I only weed the Fathers, I shall desire him to put those few Books into English, which is the best way of convincing the World, that I pick out nothing but the worst. Thus therefore he speaks to Constantius: Emperor, when you saw your self worsted on all sides by the Servants of God; you said, you had suffer'd, and do suffer despicable Usage from us, contrary to the Admonitions of Holy Scripture, &c. If ever any one of the Worshippers of God spar'd Apostates, let what you say of us be true. And in another place, * Pray shew but one of the Worshippers of God that ever spar'd the Adversarys of his Religion. And then he reads him his own Doom out of Deut. 13. 1. If there rise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, saying, Let us go after other Gods: (for the Orthodox always charg'd the Arians with

P. 94. At nunc pugnamus contra Constantium Antichristum.

P. 95. Sceleratissime mortarium, &c. vestem ovium tuarum rapax.

† P. 96. Sed diaboli ingenii tui, &c. intellige te divinæ Religionis hostem, ib.

|| P. 94. Nihil in tempora maledictum, nihil famosum in Antichristi Synagoga scriptum aut locutus sum. * Jerom. Cat. Eccl. Writers.

Biblioth. vet. patr. Tom. 4. Colon. Superatum te, Imperator, a Dei servis, &c. p. 164. E. * Des unum, quæso, qui pepercit, &c. p. 170. D.

Cognoscis
quid pati ius-
sus sis. P. 164.
H. Idolatry) that Prophet, or Dreamer of Dreams, shall be put to death; you see what you are commanded to suffer. And again, Hear what God has ordain'd by Moses, is to be done with you for persuading me to revolt from God; Deut. 13. 6. If thy Brother, the Son of thy Mother, or thy Son, &c. entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other Gods, thou shalt surely kill him, &c. Here it is commanded, that you shall be put to death for inviting me to forsake God. Præceptum te interfici, &c. P. 165. B. He ignorantly says, Lucifer uses me contumeliously; or will you deny that you have invited us to Idolatry? If you think fit to deny it, the Expositions of the Bishops of your Sect, those Fellow-Blasphemers of yours, shall convict you, &c. Do not you perceive what Darkness of Error you have run into? Do not you see which way you may perish?

—Videamus
etiam quid
tempore quo
Contryannus
tuus Antiochus,
&c. sicut &
nos tibi Deo
propitio re-
sistamus.

Si fuisses inter
manus Matta-
thie istius ze-
lantis Deum,
&c. sine dubio
te gladio in-
terficerent, illi
te gladio fue-
rant interfec-
turi. Ibid.

P. 186.

Ibid.

P. 186. F.

And to avoid Prolixity, I will set down but this one Passage more. "Let us see what they did, who remembered that none was to be fear'd but God, in the time when your Fellow-Tyrant *Antiochus* was a Persecutor of our Religion; but first you are to know what he, whom you are like, ordain'd: for so you will be able to understand, that those Servants of God, whom we desire to be found like, did resist *Antiochus's* Sacrilege, even as we, by the Grace of God, may resist you, 1 *Mac.* 1. 43, to ver. 29. of chap. 2. See the place. What have you seen done by us like that Passage, that you are pleas'd to say, *Lucifer* uses me ill? *Mattathias* kill'd with the Sword, not only the King's Officer, but him also of his own Nation, whom he saw rather obedient to the King's Laws than to God's: whereas I, for resisting you and your Party with Words, am judg'd by you to be guilty of Contumelys. If you had been in the hands of that same *Mattathias*, who was zealous for God; or in the hands of *Phineas*, to whom God bears record by *Moses* in the Book of *Numbers*, and shou'd have gone about to live after the manner of Heathens, without doubt they wou'd have kill'd you with the Sword; I tell you over again, they wou'd have slain you with the Sword. And I, because I wound with Words that Soul of yours which is imbru'd with the Blood of Christians, am reckon'd contumelious. Why, Emperor, do not you revenge your self of me? Why do not you please to defend your self from ill Usage, and to be aveng'd of a beggarly Fellow?"

In short, I challenge all the World to shew me such a Book again, written by any man concerning his Sovereign Prince while he was alive, much less sent to him for a Present. And therefore I do not wonder that *Constantius* cou'd not believe that he himself sent it, tho it were brought in his name; as appears by this Letter of *Florentius*, a great Officer at Court, to *Lucifer*: "There was one presented a Book, in your name, to our Lord and Emperor; he has commanded it to be brought to your Sanctity, and desires to know whether that Book was sent by you: You ought therefore to write the certain Truth, and so send back the Book, that it may again be offer'd to his Eternity." To which Letter *Lucifer* returns this Answer: "These are to inform your Religious Prudence, that the Bearer of that Book, whom your Honour mentions to have come to the Emperor in my name, was sent by me."

Athanasius, hearing of this Book sent to *Constantius*, desires *Lucifer* to send him a Copy of it, in these words: "We have advice, that your Sanctity has written to *Constantius* the Emperor; and we wonder more and more, that, living in the midst as it were of Scorpions, you notwithstanding use your freedom of Mind; that by Admonition, or Instruction, or Correction, you may bring those that are in Error to the light of the Truth. It is my request therefore, and the request of all the Confessors that are with me, that you wou'd please to send us a Copy of it, that they may all understand the Greatness of your Soul, and the Confidence and Boldness of your Faith, not only by Hearsay, but from your own Writings." Which accordingly he did send him.

And now this Book is in good hands: for the great *Athanasius*, who has been misled by flying report to think well of it, when he comes to examine it, and finds it so contrary to the Evangelical Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and to the primitive Practice of *ne verbo quidem reluctamur*, which was, not to resist so much as with a word speaking, and of so different a stamp from some

of his own smooth and soft Sayings to *Constantius*, can do no less than anathematize it, or write a Book against it. And yet never trust me more, if he and all his Confessors do not applaud and magnify it beyond all that I have said of the Homilys. "We have receiv'd your Letter, and the Books of your
 "most wise and religious Soul, in which we have plainly seen the Picture of
 "an Apostle, the Boldness of a Prophet, the Magistrery of Truth, the Doc-
 "trine of the true Faith, &c. You truly answer your Name; for you have
 "brought the Light of Truth, and set it upon a Candlestick, that it may give
 "light to all. You seem to be the true Temple of our Saviour, who dwel-
 "ling in you, speaks these things *himself* by you. Believe me, *Lucifer*, you
 "alone did not say these things, but the Holy Ghost with you. How came
 "you to remember Scripture at that rate? How came you to understand the
 "sense and meaning of it so perfectly, if the Holy Ghost had not assisted you
 "in it?"

Well, having gotten such an infallible Interpreter of Scripture as we cannot meet with every day, if his Voucher say true; let us see what he says concerning that Passage of *Titus* 3. 1. with which *Constantius* had rub'd him up for his Behaviour towards him, and had said, that it was the Office of a Bishop, according to *St. Paul*, To put men in mind to be subject to Principals and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every Good-work, to speak evil of no man, &c. "The Apostle, says he, admonishes us to be subject in Good-works, not in evil, &c. I add further, That the Apostle spoke of those Princes and Magistrates, who as yet had not believ'd in the only Son of God, that they by our Humility, and Meekness, and suffering long under Adversity, and all possible Obedience in things fitting, might be won over to Christianity. But if you, because you are Emperor, feigning your self to be one of us, shall force us to forsake God, and embrace Idolatry; what, must we quietly submit to you, for fear of seeming to neglect the Apostle's Precepts?" Does not he tell you as plainly as ever *Plowden* did, that the case was alter'd?

Now suppose this *Lucifer* had afterwards died in a ditch, as he did not, but in his own See, and in the Communion of the Catholick Church; or suppose he had afterwards been a Schismatick, as he was not, but only some of his Friends, who too far espous'd his severe Opinion against re-admitting the *Arian* Clergy into the Communion of the Church; yet this wou'd not have affected his Book: especially since the great *Athanasyus*, who before now has been ballanc'd against the whole World, has laid his hand upon it, and given it his blessing, and made it his own by undertaking so largely for it. But as I said before, I have no further use to make of these Fathers Writings which I have here cited, than only to shew that they run in quite another strain than the Apologys of the Fathers, who liv'd before the Establishment of Christianity, and that they are a compleat Answer to *Constantius the Apostate*. Tho I cou'd name other excellent uses which might be made of them; particularly by those, who think themselves concern'd to stuff out their Sermons with *Dissenters Sayings*. For here they might have them in abundance, and by clusters, without the trouble of gleaning them in Sermons, which were made in the heat of a flaming unnatural War (when bloody things were done as well as said on both sides:) and here likewise they might have such as might be repeated without the breach of the Act of Oblivion, and without renewing such mischievous Heats amongst Protestants, as afterwards produc'd those Sayings.

Having thus defeated the chief Purpose and main Design of this Gentleman's Book, I shall give the Reader two or three Instances of what sorry Materials his Answer to my Book consists; which he had interwoven with every Chapter, and which, if you please, you may call the Under-plot of his Farce.

The strength of his second Chapter about Succession, lies in this Passage, pag. 13. That the Christians in Julian's time were not far Exclafion upon the score of Religion: For not two years after Julian's death, Valens a furious Arian, and bitter Persecutor of those that dissented from him, was peacefully admitted to the Empire, and assisted too by the Army; whom we cannot think in the least inclin'd to favour that Heresy (for they were Jovian's Soldiers) but they knew their duty so

Pag. 186. H.

Pag. 178. D.

Addo illud, quod illorum Principum & Magistratum Apostolus fecit mentionem, &c.

their

their Prince. Now this is inexcusable Prevarication; for he knows, when *Valens* was admitted Emperor, he was neither furious *Arian*, nor any *Arian* at all; nor like to be a Persecutor of the Orthodox, for he was one of them himself, and so continu'd for a good while after. *Theodoret's* words are these: (ὡς ἐκ ἀφελ.) "Valentinian sending for his Brother out of *Paphia* (O that he had never done it!) made him Collegue with him in the Empire, when he had not as yet embrac'd a different Persuasion. *Lib. 4. cap. 5.*" And a considerable time after, *cap. 11.* he gives an account of his turning *Arian*. Upon which consideration, *Theodoret* looks upon his being made Emperor as an ill day's work, and what his own Brother ought not to have done.

Again, He has a pleasant distinction, which I doubt not gives the intelligent Reader as good divertisement, as an Ass's mumbling Thistles gave the Philosopher: *Pag. 16.* *Theodoret* he finds commends the Antiochians for their Zeal, but not for their Rudeness; whereas what he calls Rudeness, *Theodoret* in that place makes the only instance of their Zeal. And *Pag. 23.* he says, *Valentinian* had the Empire, not for striking the Priest, but for his Confession: whereas his striking the Priest, in detestation of that Holy Water wherewith he had sprinkled him, was his Confession, and he suffer'd his Imprisonment upon that account. And when *Theodoret* comes to give a relation of his being elected Emperor, he then remembers this meritorious Act, and says, They chose *Valentinian*, him that struck the Priest. And so again *Theodoret's* Psalms will go down with our Author, because (he says) they were || repeated with David's Spirit. But why were not the same Psalms repeated with David's Spirit the day before, by the whole Church of Antioch? Why were not *Psalm's* Psalms repeated with the same Spirit? Why not *Gregory's* Prayers, &c. with the same Spirit? For all these were taken out of David, and no Looker-on can tell but that they were accompany'd with his Spirit. However, if they were not, it was their fault, who spoil'd good Scripture for want of Devotion, and a suitable Frame of Spirit.

To conclude, he tells us, *Pag. 32.* That *Constantius* might kill *Julian* as a Rebel, and so his Right wou'd fall of course, but he cou'd not disinherit him as such; because God, tho he gave the Power of Life and Death to the Magistrate, hath yet reserv'd the disposing of Kingdoms to himself. Never was any Cause blest with such subtle Advocates! They contend that the Magistrate cannot disinherit, and yet in the same breath they grant he can do that and ten times more: He cannot disinherit directly, and yet he can do it most effectually by the by: He cannot dispose of a man's Fortune, but he can dispose of his Life and Fortune both; and their reason is, because God hath reserv'd the disposing of Kingdoms to himself. But does not this Exclusion by the by more effectually dispose of a Kingdom than a Bill of Exclusion? He that stands only excluded, has still a chance for it; but he that is disabled in this other way, can have none: there is no such bar as that. In a word, the Power of Life and Death does manifestly over-rule all Reversions; and it is a Truth of mathematical Evidence, That the longest Liver will have all.

Answer to the Chapter of Passive Obedience.

Come now to the last Chapter of this Author, which begins with Reflections upon the Behaviour of *Constantius's* Christians, of which he has brought in a very false reckoning, by writing down Passive Obedience for the Sum-Total of the Account: for it is evident that *St. Hilary*, *Lucifer*, and *Athanasius* were not the most obedient Wretches that ever liv'd; but cou'd make shift to use (what our Author calls it) their Christian Liberty in Latin, as well as *Julian's* Christians us'd it in Greek.

The reason which I gave for solving that strange Phenomenon of the Behaviour of *Julian's* Christians, namely that they were illegally oppress'd, is unanswerable. For it is matter of fact, that the Christians were under the Protection of the Laws: their Religion stood unrepeal'd, tho Heathenism was reviv'd; nay, they were under the Protection of *Julian's* own Edicts:

and yet contrary to the Faith of those Edicts, they were harass'd and destroy'd all over the Empire, by Julian's Connivance and secret Encouragement, in a base, underhand, tricking, treacherous way: So that what the Christians suffer'd was the effect of Tyranny and bloody Oppression, and not of any legal Proceedings. And tho' our late blundering Transcribers have not observ'd the different State of Christians, when they had the Laws against them, and when they had the Laws for them, nor their different Behaviour thereupon; yet learned Men in former times have, particularly Robert Abbot, the learned Bishop of Salisbury, in these words: *Atque in hac causa eorum a Veteris Ecclesie ratione distinguenda est, que absque ullo juris sui titulo, mero Imperii placito subiacent; quamvis vero ita se res habuit, cedebantur Christiani non cedebant, qui tamen sub Constantino Principe jure publico armati non tam cedebantur quam cedebant, &c.* When the Primitive Christians had not Law on their side, they took blows, and gave none; but when they had the Law on their side, they were rather for giving blows, than taking them. To say with our Author, that Julian might have made sanguinary Laws against the Christians if he wou'd, is to say nothing. For if our Author has a hundred pound owing to him upon Bond, and because he does not care for the trouble of waging Law, and has declar'd against it; or because he wou'd have the honour of giving up this Bond, and frankly forgiving the Debt, shall thereupon go and steal this hundred pound from his Debtor, and be taken in the Act, and treated as any other Thief; I can say nothing in his behalf: neither can I for Julian, who having the Law in his hand, notwithstanding for much the same reasons persecuted the Christians by stealth, who thereupon presently rais'd Hne and Cry against him.

Julian. Ep. 43.
Ecclesioli Ep. 7.
Artabios

Demi Antich:
dedicated to
King James,
cap. 7. p. 91,
92, 93.

Greg. Orat. 10.
p. 166.

The next thing is, our Author's Discourse about Passive Obedience to no Laws, or Submission to illegal Violence: which having no foundation in Law or Reason, but being contrary to both, all my Answerers have endeavour'd to support with religious Pretences; and to that purpose have quoted ancient Fathers, and modern Divines, and Scripture in abundance: which puts me in mind of Pompey's Theater, as Bishop Jewel tells the story. "There was sometime a Proclamation made in Rome, that for Considerations no man shou'd erect or build up any Theater; and that if any were set up, it shou'd be ras'd and pull'd down. Pompeius built a Theater, contrary to the Proclamation and Order before taken; but doubting lest the next Magistrates shou'd destroy it, he caus'd a place of Religion to be set upon it, and call'd it the Temple of Venus: whereby he provided, that if any wou'd overthrow it because it was a Theater, they might yet spare it for the Temple's sake; for to pull down a Temple was Sacrilege." The very same course is now taken by these men, to erect their new frame of Passive Obedience or Arbitrary Government, call it which you will, (for whether another has right to my Goods, or if he demand them I have no right to keep them, it is all one; whether he has a right of sending the Bow-string, or if he send it I have no right to refuse it, they both come to the same reckoning.) It is prohibited by Law, and therefore the Law wou'd quickly pluck it down; but to prevent that, they clap a *Jus Divinum* upon it, and so the prohibited Theater takes Sanctuary in the Church. I shall therefore endeavour to spoil it of all its religious Pretences, and so leave it to the Law, which knows what to do with a common Nuisance.

* This be sufficiently acknowledged, p. 47. where he blames me for consulting Bracton, &c.

Bp Jewel's
Serm. p. 190.

These Religious Pretences are, first, The Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers. As for what the Fathers say, who liv'd in the old World before the Establishment of Christianity, it does my Answerers no service at all, because it is all foreign, and does not concern the present case. And as for Quotations since Constantine's time, I think I am not in their debt. Which Quotations of mine make the more against this Passive Doctrine, because the Fathers all along liv'd under a more absolute and arbitrary Government; in which case, Men are very apt to take up slavish Principles, as we see it in our Neighbours the French. And therefore, if the Fathers had breath'd nothing but Bondage and absolute Subjection, I cou'd easily have accounted for it; whereas their Dissenters Sayings can never be solv'd by all the Passive Doctors in the world, but must remain unaccountable for ever.

†

Secondly,

Secondly, The next religious Pretences are the Doctrine of the Homilys, and of our eminent Divines, such as Bishop Jewel, Bishop Bilson, &c. where in I very much wonder at the Confidence of these men, for any man that has read the Homilys and Writings of our first Reformers, or indeed any thing of the History of that Age wherein they liv'd, will as soon be persuaded to believe that they were a sort of men who went upon their heads instead of their feet, as that they were for this new-fashion'd Passive-Obedience.

Pag. 74. com-
par'd with
Pag. 72.
Pag. 77.

For, 1. The Homilys of Obedience do no where teach Submission to lawless Violence, but only to lawful Authority; and never require us to suffer Wrongs and Injurys patiently, but expressly in such case, and in that case, when the Laws are against us: and in a word, they direct all our Obedience and Submission to common Authority, for they conclude; "Thus we know partly our bounden Dutys to common Authority, now let us learn to accomplish the same." And the Author of *Jovian* is grievously out, pag. 226. when he makes as if the Subjects of this Realm cou'd suffer no Injury nor Wrong, but in a way of lawless Oppression. For did not Queen Mary wrong and injure both the *Suffolk*, and all other Protestants, when she burnt them alive for being Protestants, tho she burnt them by a Law? And was she not a wrong-Doer, and did she not abuse her Power in reviving that wicked Law? For without that Law, she had had no Power at all to burn them; and if it had been done without a Law, it had not been done by an abus'd Power, but by one assum'd and usurp'd.

Pag. 75.

Pag. 285.

Pag. 310.

Pag. 316.

Pag. 302.

And then as for the Homilys against Rebellion (which is resisting or withstanding common Authority, as the Homily of Obedience defines it) they speak not one word of lying down, and submitting to unauthoritative and lawless Violence: but on the other hand, they propound *David* for an example of Loyalty, and give him the Character of a Person *the farthest off from all manner of Rebellion*; than whom there never was a greater instance of Self-defence. I confess I took it somewhat unkindly to have these Homilys alledg'd against me, when I was doing the very work of them; when I was alienating mens minds from the Popes of *Rome*, against whom these Homilys are particularly level'd, and of whom they give us this Caution: "Wherefore let all good Subjects, knowing these the special Instruments and Ministers of the Devil, to the stirring up of all Rebellions, avoid and flee them, and the pestilent Suggestions of such foreign Usurpers, and their Adherents." When I was endeavouring to render men averse from worshipping the *Babylonical Beast* of *Rome*, who had then lately procur'd the breach of the publick Peace in England (with the long and blessed Continuance whereof, says the Homily, he is foregriev'd) by the Ministry of his disguis'd Chaplains, whispering in the Ears of certain Northern Borderers; upon occasion of whose Rebellion these Homilys were written, wherein they are describ'd, as ready to kill all that shall or dare speak against their false Superstition and wicked Idolatry.

Defence of A-
pol. p. 16.

But, 2. If these Homilys must be urg'd against me, for maintaining that a lawful Defence may be made against illegal Oppression; why are they not likewise urg'd against Bishop Jewel himself, who wrote them? For in the Defence of his Apology, he has these words: "Neither doth any of all these (*Luther, Melancthon, &c.*) teach the People to rebel against their Prince, but only to defend themselves by all lawful means against Oppression, as did *David* against King *Saul*; so do the Nobles in *France* at this day. They seek not to kill, but to save their own Lives, as they have openly protested by publick Writing unto the World. As for us, we are Strangers unto their Case; they themselves are best acquainted with the Laws and Constitutions of their Country, and therefore are best able to yield account of the Grounds and Reasons of their Doings." Now here is a Bishop of a different mind from our Author, for he wou'd have consulted a common Lawyer about a Case of Conscience, and clearly thought *Westminster-Hall-Divinity* to be much better in this case than *Pulpit-Law*.

Why are not these Homilys urg'd against Bishop Bilson? who in his Book of the true difference betwixt Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion, dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, being a Dialogue between *Theophilus* a Christian and *Philander* a Jesuit (so that a Jesuit in that Age was not thought worthy

to be accounted a Christian) has several large Discourses, which do not at all accord with the Passive-Doctrine; tho my Answerers have us'd great force and violence towards him, to get him on their side. The Author of *Jovian* particularly, pag. 229. has strangely wrested him: for what the Bishop, Physician-like, prescribes to the Papists, who had the Laws mortally against them, *Deliverance if you would have, obtain it by Prayer, and expect it in Peace, those be Weapons for Christians*; that Author applies in his old way to those, who (blessed be God) have the Laws on their side, and Deliverance by them already. And so in the next Passage, the Bishop, speaking of the same Case, says, *The Subject has no refuge against his Sovereign, but only to God, by Prayer and Patience*: But this is not the Case of Men who are under the Protection of the Laws, which were made on purpose to be a Defence and Refuge against all lawless Oppression whatsoever; or else, as Chancellor *Fortescue* says, the People would be cruelly cheated:

Afterwards that Author skips over a large Defence of the French Protestants, and of *Luther's* Doctrine (concerning which I may say to him in the Bishop's words, *And this I mean you will hardly refuse, or convert to your purpose*) and sets down a Passage, which I will supply by adding the words which immediately follow in *Bilson*. "Phil. What their Laws permit, I know not;

"I am sure in the mean time they resist. Theo. And we, because we do not exactly know what their Laws permit, see no reason to condemn their Doings without hearing their Answer. Phil. Think you their Laws permit them to rebel? Theo. I busy not my self in other Mens Commonwealths, as you do; neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist to be Rebels: Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the People may plead their Right against the Prince, and not be charg'd with Rebellion. Phil. As when, for example? Theo. If a Prince shou'd go about to subject his Kingdom to a foreign Realm, or change the form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny; or neglect the Laws establish'd by common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own Pleasure: In these and other Cases, which might be nam'd, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their antient and accustom'd Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels. Phil. You deny'd that even now, when I did urge it. Theo. I deny'd that Bishops had Authority to prescribe Conditions to Kings when they crown'd them: but I never deny'd that the People might preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form of their Commonwealth, which they forepris'd when they first consented to have a King."

Lastly, Why do they not urge these Homilys against all the Compilers of them, and the whole Clergy of *England*? who in several Convocations in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, not only maintain'd in words the Justice of the French, Scotch, and Dutch Defences, which the Protestants of those Countrys made for the safeguard of their Lives, Libertys and Religion, but laid down their Purse to help them; and charg'd themselves deeply with Taxes, in consideration of the Queen's great Charges and Expences in assisting them: As you may see in the Preambles of the Clergy's Subsidy-Acts in that Reign.

5 *Eliz. cap. 24*. Amongst other Considerations, for which they give their Subsidy of Six Shillings in the Pound, they have these words: "And finally, pondering the inestimable Charges sustain'd by your Highness, as well of late days in reducing the Realm of *Scotland* to Unity and Concord, as also in procuring, as much as in your Highness lieth, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of *France*, practis'd and us'd against the Professors of God's holy Gospel and true Religion." The first thing in this Passage is the Queen's Assistance of the Scottish Nobility in their Reformation, in which the Queen of *Scotland* resisted them to her power, by bringing French Forces into *Scotland*: which is set down at large in our Chronicles. The Temporality in their Subsidy-Act call this Assistance, "The Princely and upright Preservation of the Liberty of the next Realm and Nation of *Scotland* from imminent Captivity and Desolation." The other thing is the godly and prudent means, for abating Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of *France*. Now History

Chap. 14.
And of this intent shou'd such a Nation be utterly defrauded, then their King might spoil them of their Goods, which before was lawful for no man to do.

Bilson, p. 520.
Edit. 1585.

Stow, p. 640.
5 *Eliz.* c. 27.

Stow, p. 650. tory will inform us, that those were the Forces sent under *Dudley Earl of Warwick* to *Newhaven*, to assist the *Hugonots*, who were then in Arms. We have some modern illuminated Divines, who wou'd not stick to call this the abetting of a Rebellion; but the whole Bishops and Clergy, and amongst them the Compilers of the Homily, call it the use of godly and prudent means to abate Hostility and Persecution, practis'd against the Professors of God's holy Gospel and true Religion: for so that charitable Clergy cou'd find in their hearts to call a parcel of *Calvinists*, who never had a Bishop amongst them, whom some in this degenerate Age wou'd sooner unchurch and destroy, than aid or assist.

Again, the Clergy grant another Subsidy, 35 *Eliz.* c. 12. in consideration of her Majesty's Charges, "in the provident and needful prevention of such intended Attempts, as tended to the extirpation of the sincere Profession of the Gospel, both here and elsewhere." The Temporality's Subsidy-Act at the same time will explain this to us, in these Reasons for their Tax: "Besides the great and perpetual Honour which it hath pleas'd God to give your Majesty abroad, in making you the principal Support of all just and religious Causes against Usurpers——Besides the great Succours in *France* and *Flanders*, which we do conceive to be most honourable, in regard of the ancient Leagues, the Justice and Equity of their Causes."

Chap. 13.

And to the same purpose again the Temporality, 39 *Eliz.* chap. 27. "This Land is become, since your Majesty's happy Days, both a Port and Haven of Refuge for distress'd States and Kingdoms, and a Rock and Bulwark of Opposition against the Tyrannys and ambitious Attempts of mighty and usurping Potentates."

Neither are the Clergy in their Subsidy-Act, 43 *Eliz.* chap. 17. at all behind them, either with their Money, or Acknowledgments. "For who hath, or shou'd have a livelier sense, or better remembrance of your Majesty's Princely Courage and Constancy, in advancing and protecting the free Profession of the Gospel, within and without your Majesty's Dominio, than your Clergy?"

From hence I argue, That if the *French* and *Dutch* Protestants were Rebels, in defending themselves against illegal and destructive Violence, then the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, quite thro *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, by their assisting of them, involv'd themselves in the same Guilt. For it had been utterly unlawful, and a horrid Sin, to assist Subjects in the violation of their Duty and Allegiance, and to turn at least a whole year's Revenue of all the spiritual Promotions in *England* into Swords, to be imploy'd in resisting the Ordinance of God. Those Men must needs have a great mind to partake of that Damnation, wherewith *St. Paul* threatens this Sin, who were willing to purchase it at so dear a rate.

By which it appears, that this modish Passive-Doctrine of submitting for Conscience-sake to illegal Violence, and all sorts of lawless Oppression, is all Madness and Innovation, and a thing wholly unknown to the Compilers of the Homily, who dream'd as little of it, as they did of the late unnatural destructive War which it produc'd. And hereby likewise the Reader will be enabled to judg between me and my Adversarys, who is truer to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, they or I, and who are really guilty of Apostacy from it; they that retain the Primitive Sense of the first Reformers, or they that follow the upstart and new-fangled Opinions of a few mischievous and designing Innovators.

3. The last thing to be answer'd, are the religious Pretences which are fetch'd from Scripture, for the support of this Passive-Doctrine. Before I come to examine the particular Texts which this Author has alledg'd, I shall say somewhat in general concerning the great Impertinency of interesting Scripture in this Controversy, for this reason, because *Christ* meddles not with the Secular Government of this World, as *Dr. Hammond* infers from the Scripture it self, 1 *Cor.* 7. 22. and our Author in his Preface allows that Inference: or, as *Luther* expresses it, because the Gospel doth not bar or abolish any Politick Laws; which Position he always held, and *Bishop Bilson* did believe that it cou'd not be refuted; the Truth whereof I shall prove both by direct Argument, and by parallel Instances.

The true Difference, &c.
p. 517, 518.

(1.) The

(1.) The Scripture does not meddle with the Secular Government of this World, so as to alter it: for to alter Government is to overthrow the just Compacts and Agreements which have been made amongst Men, to which they have mutually bound themselves by Coronation-Oaths and Oaths of Allegiance; whereby the Dutys of Governors and Subjects are become the moral Dutys of Honesty, Justice, and righteous dealing; which no Man will say it is the Work of the Gospel to destroy or abolish.

(2.) If Scripture has made any alteration in the Secular Government of the World, then that alteration is *Jure Divino*, and all Governments which are not reform'd according to it, are unlawful: which if it be said concerning our own Constitution, is Treason; and if it be said of all other Governments in *Christendom*, is very ill Manners: for none of them pretend, much less can be prov'd, to agree exactly with any such Pattern given in the Mount.

In the second place therefore, Christianity has given no new measures of Rule and Government, nor of Obedience and Subjection; but on the other hand, has forbidden Men to remove the old Landmarks, by confirming and reinforcing the known Dutys of Morality in this Case, as it has done in like Cases. It has charg'd Masters to be just to their Servants, and Servants to be obedient to their Masters, whereby it has created no new Right on either side: For Masters were always bound to allow their Servants that which is just and equal, and Servants to yield Obedience; but in what measures or proportions, we must not expect to find in Scripture, for that is left to be determin'd by former particular Contracts, or by the Laws and Customs of every Country. For even those Precepts of absolute Obedience, for *Servants to Col. 3. 22. obey their Masters in all things, and to please them well in all things*, do not alter *Ti. 2. 9.* any of those measures of Obedience, which the Partys themselves shall agree upon, or the usage of every Country does prescribe. For an *English* Servant is not bound to obey his Master in all lawful things, if they be inconvenient, and no part of his Bargain. It is lawful for a Servant to obey his covetous Master, and to please him well, in taking but one half of his Wages in full of all; but I presume he may do better to disobey, and displease him too in that matter, and to insist upon having his whole Due. It is certainly lawful, according to Mr. Long, for an *English* Servant to obey passively; *nay suffering, tho wrongfully, is his calling*: and yet if he refuse to serve in Chains, and to be us'd like a Cally-Slave, and so disobey and displease in that matter, it is no breach of his Christianity: for St. Paul himself cou'd not abide to be smitten *contrary to Law*, tho it were at the command of the High-Priest, *Acts 23. 3.* He presently indeed recall'd his reviling Language, but he did not correct his sharp Resentment of that Injury.

If some Men cou'd find such Texts as these for Subjects, what Iron Yokes, and what heavy Burdens wou'd they not presently lay upon them? and yet they wou'd no more bind *English* Subjects, than these Texts which were directed to *Roman* Slaves, are the duty of *English* Servants. I might instance in several other Relative Dutys in the same manner, if it were needful. Accordingly such Precepts as this, *Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's*, do not alter or destroy the Laws of our Country, but plainly refer us to them; for we know not who is *Cesar*, nor who *Cesar* is, but by the Law of the Land. And the things of *Cesar*, or what belongs to him, are not whatsoever he may demand; for then when we are bid to *render all Men their Dues*, we are as much bound to satisfy their Demands, let them be what they will, and ever so unjust and unreasonable. And as for that new Device in *Jovian*, of learning our Allegiance, or legal Duty from the Notion of a Sovereign, it is a sort of conjuring; for I may as well know the just Sum of Money which one Man owes to another, merely from the Notion of a Creditor.

Having said this in general, I shall now particularly examine those Texts of Scripture, which this Author alledges; he begins with *Rom. 13. 1, 2. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God: The Powers that be, are ordain'd of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. From which Text Epiphanius proves, that the many Magistrates under one King, are ordain'd of God*; and thence our Author infers, *That the Power of Under-*
M 2 *Officers,*

Pag. 52.

Officers, since it is the Ordinance of God, ought no more to be resisted than the King's. Adding this further, *Tho this may seem harsh in an Englishman's ears, who will acknowledg perhaps that the King can do no Injury, and is above the Censure of the Law, yet he knows his Officers are accountable for any illegal Act; and the very Command of the Prince cannot secure them from being impeach'd by the People.* Granting this to be very true, yet I shall still assert that the Inferior Magistrate, who in the Execution of an illegal Act, is not to be repell'd by force. To this I answer, I grant that Inferior Magistrates, rightly constituted, and (duly executing their Office, are the Ordinance of God (for Government wou'd be an impracticable thing without them:) but as you shall see anon, the Text it self carries this Limitation in the bowels of it; for it excludes both the Usurpation of an Office, and the illegal and malicious Exercise of it. If our Translators in this place had render'd the word *Evil Authority*, instead of *Powers*, as they were forc'd to do, 1 Pet. 3. 22. and *Evil Authority*, that is, a just and lawful Power, as they have render'd it in other places, and as it constantly signifies; they had effectually prevented the false Application of this Text. But now it is easy to shelter illegal Commissions, unauthoritative Acts, and all manner of unlawful and outrageous Violence, under the word *Power*; for these are Might, tho they be not Right. However, I shall make short work with this Imposture; for if these things before-nam'd be really contain'd in this Text, under the word *Power*, and by virtue of this Text are forbidden to be resisted, why then let us put them into the Text (which is the surest way of trying the Sense of Scripture) and let us see how they will become the place. And then it runs thus; "There is no illegal destructive Commission, nor outrageous Violence of Inferior Officers, but of God. The Rapines, Burglaries, Assassinations, Massacres, which are committed by inferior Officers, are ordain'd of God: Whosoever therefore withstands these, resists the Ordinance of God." What blasphemous stuff is this, which men dare to affix upon a Text of Scripture, which is no other than the Voice of God approving all lawful Government, and confirming from Heaven those moral Dutys of Subjection, Obedience, and Non-resistance, which were always due to lawful Authority; but you plainly see are not due to illegal Violence, for that is clearly shut out of the Text: the Text it self will by no means admit it, but spues it out. In the same manner you may likewise try, whether usurp'd Power, or those that intrude into the Government, and get into Office by wicked and undue means, be the Ordinance of God.

Pag. 53.

In the next place, our Author quotes St. Peter in these words; *Let's hear St. Peter's Opinion in the Case, 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15. Submit your selves unto every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him—for this is the Will of God, &c. From this 'tis plain that we ought to submit to Inferior Officers for the Lord's sake, as well as Supreme; this subordinate Power being from God, tho not immediately.*

I shall not trouble my self, as our Author does, about the Question, whether the true rendring of this place be, *Submit to every Human Creature*, meaning Divine Creature; or, *Submit to every Ordinance of Man*, as our Translation has it; which, he says, is an improper Translation, and has given occasion to a dangerous Error: for let the lawful Government be of what extraction it will, every Subject must submit to it for the Lord's sake. The present Question, which wants St. Peter's Resolution, is, Whether we are bound to submit to the illegal Violence of Under-Officers? which I suppose will prove to be in the Negative. For St. Peter plainly limits our Submission to such Governors, as are in subordination to the King, and are sent by him, and come on this errand (which it was not over-honest in our Author to conceal) for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well. Whereas it is evident, that the illegal Violence of inferior Governors, crosses the very end of their Institution: besides, they are not in any such Act sent by the King, but come of their own head; and which is more, they do this in contradiction to the King's declar'd Will and Pleasure, which is his Law, and against his Crown and Dignity, as an Indictment does fully set forth such Offences. For I must remember our Author of his Acknowledgment a little before, *That the King's Officers are accountable for any illegal Act, and the very Command of the Prince*

An Answer to Constantine the Apostate.

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Princes cannot secure them from being impeach'd by the People. Now if they may be prosecuted and hang'd by the People, as any other private Malefactor (but by the way, is that submitting to them for the Lord's sake?) why may not a just and necessary Defence be made against them, as against any other Evil-doers? For that very reason, says our Author in his Preface, because it is a Sin to resist any Evil-doer; for our Saviour has commanded us not to resist Evil (*Evil not signifying a thing, but a Person*) *Mat. 5. 39.* and thence he infers that we ought not to damn our selves, to prevent the Violence of a Murderer, tho offer'd to our selves. Pag. 60.

I am much confirm'd in the Truth which I maintain, when I see that no Man can fairly oppose it, without falling into the very dregs of Quakerism, and into those pernicious Principles, which surrender the quiet and peaceable part of Mankind to the Discretion of a few mischievous and blood-thirsty Men, and in effect put a Sword into their hands to slay us. If this be Gospel, *gaudeant Latrones*, 'tis good Tidings, not to the true Man, but to the Thief; to the Cyclops, to the Cannibal, to the hungry *Wolf*, and to the *Martian Lion*; but to all others it is a very hard Saying. But to shew that this Argument may be otherwise answer'd than with a shrug, it is plain, 1. That this Precept of our Saviour requires great Limitation; for else, among other things, a Christian Magistrate himself might not resist an Evil-doer. 2. That it carries a Limitation sufficient for my present purpose along with it. For all the Instances in which our Saviour forbids Resistance, are matters of a light nature, as Dr. Hammond expresses it. And the bearing of such tolerable Evils and Inconveniences, is no peculiar Duty of Christianity: for any wise moral Man wou'd rather take a slap on the face patiently, than turn such a ridiculous Battery into a Fray and Bloodshed; and rather receive two slight Injurys one after another, than revenge the first. For I shall here take occasion to inform our Author, that Revenge never was a natural Right, as he affirms, p. 57. but a Sin against the Light of Nature; and that the necessary Preservation of a Man's Life or Livelihood, or the Moderation of a just and unblamable Defence, does mightily differ from Revenge.

And as our Author wholly wrests our Saviour's Doctrine; so, in the next place, he wilfully misrepresents his Case, as every man knows who has read the four Gospels. For he was not set upon in an illegal manner, but apprehended by lawful Officers, who had a Warrant from the Sanhedrim, the supreme Court of Judicature, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal amongst the Jews, and were aided by the Roman Guards for fear of a Resene; or, as the Chief-Priests and Elders express'd it, lest there shou'd be an Uproar among the People; and in opposition to this Authority, St. Peter drew his Sword, and wounded Malchus, a Servant or Officer of the High-Priest, *Mat. 26. 51.* Dr. Hammond there says, *He was the chief Officer, or Foreman of them that had the Warrant to apprehend our Saviour.* So that if ever Sword was wrongfully drawn, and in opposition to lawful Authority, St. Peter's was; and therefore was deservedly charm'd into the sheath again. This being so, we cannot admit one Syllable of our Author's Inferences. Pag. 55.

I shou'd now confute his Answers to my five Propositions; but every ordinary Reader will be able, from what I have already said, to do it himself.

I quoted *Bracton*, to prove that the Prerogative is bounded by Law, and made no further use of his words; but I shou'd have been asham'd of such an Inference as our Author makes, when from these words of his own citing, *Rex habet Superiorem Deum, item Legem, per quam factus est Rex, item Curiam suam, viz. Comites & Barones*: he infers, that there is no more Power allow'd to the Law, than there is to the Earls and Barons; who can only morally oblige the King's Conscience, when he is persuaded their Counsels are just. What their Power is in *Bracton*, I need not say, for *Bracton* is an Author sufficiently known; and what it is in the *Mirror*, that very antient Law-Book, need not be told the World: but any man may as well infer from this Passage, that there is no more Power allow'd to God than to the Earls and Barons; which absurd Inference is enough to shew the Weakness and Folly of his. Pag. 61.

In the next place he tells me, that I have forgot the Service of the Church, if I do not constantly thank God for the Example of the Theban Legion. I do thank

+

God

God for this, that the Service of our Church is purg'd from such Popperys and Legendary Storys, or else I wou'd never have declar'd my Assent and Consent to it: But when I thank God for the marvellous Confirmation, which the seven Sleepers have given us of the last Resurrection, I shall then remember to do as much for the Example of the *Theban Legion*. For tho I admitted it as a Case to be argu'd upon, as I wou'd any feign'd Case of *John-a-Nokes* and *John-a-Stiles*, and shew'd that it was not our Case; yet when it is obtruded as matter of Religion and Devotion, I must take the boldness to call it a Fable. And I have very good reason to believe it to be so, when *Eusebius*, the very Father *Fox* of the Primitive Church, who liv'd in *Maximian's* Persecution, and wrote many years after, has not one word of it, nor any of the voluminous Fathers of the fourth Century; but *Eucherius*, who liv'd about a hundred and forty years after the thing is said to be done, is the first Author who is quoted for it. So that *Maximian* not only cut off this feign'd Army of Martyrs, but bury'd them under ground for a hundred and forty years; and then they rose up again, as the py'd Piper's Children did in a fat Country. And our Author easily confirms me in the belief that it is a Romance, when he here tells us, that *Eucherius* made that brave resolute Speech to the Emperor; for many a true word is said by mistake.

Pag. 65.

As for our Author's Performance, I leave that to the Judgment of the world; and so he might have done my *Comparison of Popery and Paganism*, without endeavouring to slur what he cannot answer. But tho I have forgiven him all his Abuses of me, yet I cannot his reviling the Homilys, when he calls what they say against Popery, *the old Elizabeth way of Railing*. And I hope all they that have subscrib'd the Homilys, *as godly and wholesome Doctrine, and fit for these times*, will never endure them to be run down by pretended Church-of-England Men, and Vipers in her bosom, both as unseasonable and ungodly; as what is now out of fashion, and as what according to them, ought never to have been in.

And thus I have answer'd what I thought material in this Author, and have consulted the Reader's ease as well as my own, in passing over the rest of his Book; of which I must needs say, That I never saw so great a number of Falsifications in so small a Volume in my whole life: whereby I perceive that the design of these men is not in the least the Service of Truth; but their business is to impose upon the World, to blind and inflame Men at once: just as the *Philistines* did by *Sampson*, they put out his Eyes, and then made him grind in a Mill. And therefore the just Suspicions which I otherways have, that this Author is a known Papist, are not at all remov'd by his pretending to be of our Church; for he that will write a hundred Untruths, will certainly write one more.

A N

ANSWER TO JUVIAN.

Answer to the Preface.

IT has been the extreme Felicity of this Author, to give such a pregnant Title to his Book, as does alone in effect answer *Julian*. For as we learn from the beginning of this Preface, *Julian* proves that the Empire was Elective: Secondly, *Julian* proves the Christians to have been quiet and peaceable under *Julian*: Thirdly, proves the *Amianthus* Zeal to have been Abusefulness: and Fourthly, proves that *Julian's* Army in *Persia* were Christians. But how if *Julian* proves not any one of these particulars, but directly the contrary?

For first, the Election of *Julian*, after *Constantine's* Family was extinct, does by no means prove, that that Family did not inherit the Empire; but it proves the contrary, if the Historians say, that the Army elected *Julian*, and on the other side say, that the Army and Senate proclaim'd and recogniz'd the Sons of *Constantine* to be the Emperors of the *Roman*, but never talk of their electing them.

Neither does *Procopius* prove that Family not to be extinct in *Julian*: For pretended Kindred, and much more impudently pretended Kindred, is not Kindred. A House in *Cilicia*, from which *Procopius* descended, was not the *Flavian* House; no more than a man, who liv'd all his life in the quality of an Under-Writer, or Clerk, was a great Man, and of the Blood; or than a sorry Pen-and-Inkhorn Fellow, as *Themistius* describes him, can be said to make a great figure in the times of *Constantine* and *Julian*. I thought very innocently, a man might be allow'd to say, That the Line Male of the House of *Tork* ended in

Richard III. without telling the world a long impertinent Story of *Samuel*, and *Perkin Warbeck*; but now I see, that upon such an occasion, unless a man writes the Memoirs of such Impostors, and Vagabond Landlopers, he shall be represented by our Author as an Impostor himself. However, I regard it the less, because I had not more diversion in reading heretofore the Tragi-Comedy of this Impostor, than I have now in our Author's management of him: To see *Julian's* Cousin *Procopius* standing by himself at the bottom of a Genealogy, just like a Cypher, without Father, without Mother, and without Descent; where the Noble *Algernon's* Cousin might as

*Constantinus perinde est
necesse est. Amian.*

*Τὸν δὲ Κωνσταντῖνον
οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
ἐκείνου ὡς ἐκείνου. Them.
Orat. 9. p. 205.*

*Ἐν ἱστορίᾳ δὲ μὴ
δικαιοῦ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ὡς
ἐκείνου τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον
ἐκείνου. ὡς ἐκείνου
ἐκείνου. Eccl. p. 194.*

See the Genealogy in *Jovian*, p. 41.

well

well have stood, if the Herald had so pleas'd. But after all, if this famous *Procopius* must needs be brought into Play, he is clearly on my side: For his setting up for Emperor, under pretence of being of the *Constantine* Family, is a strong proof that the Empire was look'd upon as Hereditary; as *Perkin Warbeck's* Imposture did suppose the Kingdom to be so here.

Neither, lastly, does the passing by of *Varroianus*, the Infant-Son of *Jovian*, signify any thing; when *Edgar Atheling* was set aside thrice, and several other *Saxon* Princes were put by for their Minority. Whereas on the other hand, *Valentinian* being made Emperor at four years old, is a greater argument that the Empire was Hereditary, than the setting aside ten at that Age is to prove the contrary.

Secondly, *Jovian's* quiet Behaviour is no proof that *Valentinian*, as much a Confessor as he, behav'd himself quietly, when he struck the Priest; nor that all the other Christians behav'd themselves quietly under *Julian*, when they did not: particularly the generous and zealous *Cesareans*, as *St. Gregory* calls them, who destroy'd the Temple of *Julian's* great Goddess *Fortune* in his Reign, and made her unfortunate in a fortunate time. For which *Julian* was enrag'd at that whole City, and gave his own Heathens there a severe Reprimand, for not hazarding themselves to defend their Goddess; but they durst not, for the Christians in that City were too many for them. Now on the other hand, how if *Jovian* himself was as generous, and as zealous a Christian, as any of them? For tho he had laid down his Commission, and was cashier'd for not sacrificing, and obeying the Commandment of the wicked King; yet *Julian*, in his Expedition for *Persia*, by Necessity of the approaching War, had him amongst his Commanders, as *Socrates's* words are. I have been often puzzled, to imagine what that Necessity shou'd be, and have sometimes been inclin'd to think that *Julian* stood in need of him for his Conduct, to command some part of his Army, who indeed, for his Abilities, was fittest to have commanded in chief. But that cannot be; for the great *Jovian* was but a Pike-man in that Expedition, and was not entrusted with any Command, so much as that of a Sergeant; and was no more than a common Foot-Soldier, when he was chosen Emperor. And therefore *Julian* cou'd not be without him, nor leave him behind him, upon some other account; and whether that were, lest in his absence he shou'd go and live at *Cesarea*, which was close by *Naxianzum*, where old *Gregory* dwelt, or upon what other account, I desire to be inform'd by our Author.

Thirdly, *Jovian's* being libel'd and abus'd by none but the Heathens of *Antioch*, for making a dishonourable Peace with the *Persians*, which Reproach the Christians always wip'd off from him, and justly laid it upon *Julian's* Rashness, or for his being a Christian (which is undeniably true, as *Baronius* has already prov'd it in *Jovian's* Life, and as I cou'd further prove, if it were worth the while) does by no means prove, that the Christians of *Antioch* abus'd him as well as *Julian*, and consequently wou'd have abus'd any body. Whereas it is evident, both from the *Misopogon* it self, and from the express Testimony of *Theodoret*, that the Instances of the *Antiochian* Christians hatred to *Julian*, did proceed purely from the height of their Christianity, and their fervent Love to Christ. It is too much in reason to tell men a story, and to find them ears too; but I will do it for once, as to this story of *Theodoret*. Lib. 3. c. 22. The words were these: "That the *Antiochians*, who had receiv'd their Christianity from the greatest Pair of Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, and had a warm Affection for the Lord and Saviour of all, did always abominate *Julian*, who ought never to be remember'd; you have his own word for it: "For, for this reason he wrote a Book against them, and call'd them the "Beard-baters." Now the same Men, that deriv'd their Christianity from the chiefest Apostles, and had a great love for our Saviour, were the men that cou'd not endure *Julian*, and against whom, for that reason, he writ his *Misopogon*. So that, according to *Theodoret*, that Book was caus'd by their hatred to *Julian*, and their hatred to *Julian* was caus'd by their love to Christ, and their love to Christ proceeded from their pure and primitive Christianity: And let our Author find any new ways of shuffling, to call this Zeal Scurrility, if he can.

And; Fourthly, *Jovian* is so far from proving *Julian's* Army in *Persia* to be all Christians; or almost all Christians (as my divided Answerers say) or Christians at all, that it is demonstrable from his Election, that they were Heathens; for he therefore refus'd the Empire, because they were Heathens. He refus'd it at first, when he was chosen by the Army, in the absence of the Commanders: and afterwards, when the Commanders had agreed to the Army's choice, and had set him upon a high Stage, and given him all the Titles of Majesty, calling him *Cesar* and *Augustus*; still he refus'd it, not fearing the Princes nor Soldiers altering their minds for the worse, but told them plainly, "I cannot, being a Christian as I am, take the Government of such men, nor be the Emperor over *Julian's* Army, which is principled in a wicked Religion; for such men, being left destitute of God's Providence, will become an easy Prey and Sport to our Enemys. The Soldiers having heard these words, cry'd out with one voice: O King, let not that Doubt trouble you, neither do you decline the Government of us, as a wicked Government; for you shall reign over Christians, and Men bred up in the true Religion: For the elder amongst us were bred under *Constantine*, and the rest under *Constantius*; and the Reign of this Man, who is now dead, has been short, and not sufficient to establish Heathenism in the minds of those that have been seduc'd." Now this is a Demonstration, that *Julian's* Army were profess'd Heathens: for it is nonsense to say that *Jovian*, who was so well acquainted with the Army, and was all along with it in that Expedition, did not know what Religion the Army profess'd. Or I wou'd fain know what danger he was in, for declaring against Heathenism in a Christian Army, that *Theodoret* shou'd say, "This brave Man using his accusom'd Boldness, *Παύροια*, (that is, says our Author, p. 105. confessing Christ boldly in the midst of his Enemys, in apparent danger of Torture or Death) not fearing the Prince's or Army's alteration for the worse; said, I cannot, being a Christian, take upon me the Government of such men." It may indeed be demanded, why the Army, knowing his Religion as well as he knew theirs, shou'd nevertheless chuse him for their Emperor? But all the Ecclesiastical Historians furnish us with this ready Answer, That the Army was in miserable straits and perplexity, and had been all lost, without a man of his matchless Courage and Conduct to head them: And then their own Declaration shews, that they were Heathens only upon liking, and had not been such long enough to contract an Aversion to that Religion in which they were bred.

For my part, I never read of any other profess'd Christians in *Julian's* Army in *Persia*, besides *Jovian* and *Valens* (for I can assure our Author, that *Valentinian* was not there, unless he march'd like an Elephant, with his Castle on his back, for he was then in prison for striking the Priest) except we shou'd likewise add him, whom *Libanius* and *Sozomen* talk of. But when *Jovian* had thus resolutely declar'd himself, the Army likewise declar'd themselves Christians; and gave him a very good reason, why he shou'd not distrust their sudden Conversion. They were such Christians, as we have in great plenty at the end of every one of the Primitive Persecutions; who turn'd Heathens to save themselves, and when the danger was over, immediately return'd to the Church again. Which was the worse in these Christians, I mean *Jovian's* Christians, and *Julian's* Heathens; because, as St. Jerome observes, "*Julian's* Persecution was a winning Persecution, rather leading than driving men to Heathenism." However, this is less to be wonder'd at in an Army, when we have seen the same Unsteadiness and Volubility in Universities, Clergy, and Convocations; who, to the reproach of this Nation, without so much as *Julian's* Persecution or *Jovian's* Declaration, have been Papists or Protestants, as their Princes were inclin'd; and have made more haste to turn to and fro, than these Soldiers did.

This plain Matter of Fact, which I have therefore set down the more at large, does evidently shew the Falshood of that Assertion, That *Julian's* Army in *Persia* was for the most part Christian. It may be, my Answerers fell into this mistake, if it be not wilful, by jumbling together the beginning and latter end of *Julian's* Reign. For our Author might easily see, that *Gregory* mentions

Invest. 1. p. 75. mentions the Remnant of more than seven Thousand, which had not bow'd the knee to Baal, before Julian had made any Edict against the Christians in any kind, so much as to call them *Galileans*; before he had insar'd them with his Donative, and us'd many other Arts of corrupting them; or made his Edict of cashiering the Christians. And it is intolerable false Reasoning, to conclude that the State of Affairs in the end of Julian's Reign was the same that it was in the beginning: For, as Gregory observes, in the beginning of Julian's Reign, Christianity was the establish'd and prevailing Religion; and therefore for Julian to attempt to alter and disturb it, was no other thing than to shake the Roman Empire, and to hazard the whole Commonwealth: and that afterwards the Empire was actually fill'd with Sedition, Confusion, and Fighting, on that account.

Ibid. p. 80.

Chrysost. adv. Judæos, Orat. 3.

But now let us take a view of the face of things in the latter end of his Reign, at which time he had set the Jews on work to repair their Temple at Jerusalem; but Fire came out from the Foundation, in such a wonderful violent manner, as kill'd many of them, and forc'd them all to desist. "These things did not happen, says St. Chrysostom, in the Reign of godly Emperors, but at a time when we were in a miserable low condition; when we all went in danger of our Lives; when the common Freedom of Mankind was taken from us, when Paganism flourish'd; when the Christians either hid themselves in their Houses, or were fled into the Wilderness, and were not to be seen in publick: then these things happen'd, that no manner of impudent pretence might be left the Jews, and that they might not be able to say, that the Christians came upon them, and put a stop to the work." No, alas! they were not in a condition to disturb any body, if they had had ever so much mind to it. Impudence it self cannot say, that the Christians were able to hinder the Jews in this work: That is the Father's reasoning in this place.

Julian. Ep. ad Bostrenf.

Invest. 2. p. 123

In Psal. 124.

You have seen already, what Strength of numbers the Christians had in Julian's Army; and as for what Force of Arms and Ammunition they had out of the Army, appears fully by Julian's Edict a considerable time before: wherein he charges all the Christian Laity in the Empire, not to be persuaded by their Bishops to take up stones, and disobey the Magistrate. Truly, a very dangerous Magazine! Can any thing be more plainly said, to shew that the Christians were disarm'd, and naked, and defenceless, even to contempt? And that they might well complain, with Gregory, that they had neither Arms nor Ammunition, nor Wall, nor Weapon, nor any Defence left them, but their Hope in God, as being depriv'd and retrench'd of all human Aid: that is, as our Author explains this Passage, p. 178. They had Walls, and Weapons, and human Aid; and they had them not: Not that they wanted Strength and Numbers, but by the Principles of their suffering Religion they cou'd not use them. Now they never had them to use, contrary to the Principles of their Religion; why then does Gregory say, they had them not left? It seems they once had them, in the same sense in which they now wanted them. Did ever any man complain that he wanted Bread; meaning, that he had a Peck-Loaf standing by him, but wanted a Stomach or inward Principle of eating? If a thousand Transcribers interpret Authors at this rate, I shall beg all their pardons. As for that indefinite Speech of St. Austin, that Christian Soldiers serv'd under Julian, it is very true, if they did so in any part of his Reign, or if to the number of two serv'd under him; and therefore proves nothing in this matter: for *Christiani Milites* is either Units, or Tens, or Tens of Millions. And when our Author tells me how many they were, and when they serv'd under him, I will give him a further Answer.

Christ. Subject. Oxon. 1585. p. 515.

The next thing he touches upon in his Preface, is, That the Roman Empire was not entail'd (he shou'd have said, unless it were entail'd by the Law of Nature, or else he uses Eusebius very uncivilly) from whence he concludes, That it was either great Ignorance, or great Deceitfulness in me, to assert it to be Hereditary. I desire to know which of the two it was in Bishop Bilson, who asserted it almost a hundred years before I did, in these words: "The Roman Empire it self, from Constantine the Great, and before, till the time of Otho the Third, that is, seven hundred years and upwards, went by Succession;

"Succession; save where the Right Lines fail'd, or Sedition disturb'd the Heir." Where he likewise matches it with the Hereditary Kingdoms of England, France, Spain, Scotland, and others. And further, I desire to know at what time afterwards the Empire began to be Hereditary, if it were not so in Constantine's Family, where there was an uninterrupted Succession of Five, from *Herculeus Maximianus* to *Julian*? But besides such an Instance of uninterrupted Succession, which is a great rarity in Kingdoms that are undoubtedly Hereditary (which, tho it be matter of Fact, is no proof of Right) the express Testimony of *Eusebius* is so full and convincing, that it descended from Father to Son, like any other Patrimony, that I needed not to have added other Proofs; for I see that alone cannot be answer'd. I was not in the least concern'd to prove, that the Empire descended in a right Line from the twelve *Cæsars* down to *Constantine*; and therefore our Author needed not to have writ his long impertinent History of broken Succession, which I confess I did slight when I heard of it, but not so much as now I see it: for who wou'd go to use such a deceitful Medium, as a History of broken Succession, to prove an Empire to be Elective? I am sure, if our Author consider that Argument better, he will not abide by it.

Without thinking my self bound therefore to follow him in his Knight-Errantry, quite thro a Succession of three hundred years (which in the first Constitution of it was Hereditary, as he confesses, and quotes *Dio* for it, p. 9. and was propagated by Adoption in the *Julian* Family, to the Emperor *Nero*; and afterwards, when it was broken, was often piec'd again by Adoption, which still shews the nature of it to be Hereditary) I shall prove, with all the clearness and brevity I can, that the Empire was hereditary in *Constantine's* Family, both as to matter of Fact, and matter of Right.

*Εροτομένης
ἰσοδυσίαν αἰς
διαδοχὴν τῶν
παραγυμένων,
as the Law of
the same Em-
pire says.*

First, They were not elected either by the Senate, or the Army, who only declar'd, recogniz'd, or proclaim'd the new King to be Emperor, *τὸν νέον βασιλέα αὐτοκράτορα ἀνγορεύον.* *Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. 1. cap. 16.* *Γραῖζεν, lib. 4. cap. 68.* *ἀνυδάω, cap. 69.*

Secondly, During that Family there was no Interregnum. At *Chlorus's* Death *Eusebius* says, *Οὐ μὲν ἀβασίλευτο ἡμεῖς ἡ ἀρχή.* *Vit. Const. lib. 1. c. 16.* And afterwards says, there was not an Interregnum, no, not for a minute; *οὐδὲ χρόνον βραχυτάτου χρόνου.*

Thirdly, They were either Testamentary Heirs, or Heirs at Law to the Empire, all lawful and undoubted Heirs: *Constantius Chlorus*, as the adopted Son of *Maximian*; *Constantine*, as eldest Son to his Father; *Constantine's* Sons, as Testamentary Heirs; and *Julian*, as Heir at Law.

I shall in a few words clear the Titles of *Constantine* and his Sons, and especially of *Julian*; which is the only one that I needed to insist upon.

First, of *Constantine*: *Eusebius* says, that the Throne descended to him from his Father, as a Patrimony. *Socrates* says, he was declar'd King in his Father's stead; the very word which is us'd to describe the Jewish Succession. *Eumenius* says, he was his Father's lawful Successor, and undoubted Heir.

Vit. Const. l. 1. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Εὐς τὸ πᾶν.

Secondly, *Constantine* being possess'd of the whole *Roman* World, which indeed was too large for the Government of one single Person, wisely divided it amongst his three Sons, and made them Heirs by Testament. *Theod. Socrat. Ruffin.* He left them Heirs, he made them Heirs, he wrote them Heirs. And accordingly *St. Ambrose* * calls *Constantius* (who surviv'd the others, and had it intire again) the Heir of his Father's Dignity.

*|| Pan. 8. Successorem legitimum, neque enim erat dubium, quin ei competere hereditas quem primum Imperatori filium facta dedissent. * Epist. 13.*

Thirdly, *Julian* was Heir at Law: He had the Empire by Blood and Birth; it fell to him by ordinary Right. And if *Jovian* had been elected Emperor while *Julian* was living, he had been injur'd, and shou'd have had wrong done to him, as I shall make appear by these following Testimonys.

1. *Julian* was lawfully possess'd of the Empire after *Constantius's* Death, but not before; for tho he were chosen Emperor by the Army in *Constantius's* lifetime, yet that Choice only made him an Usurper. So *Ruffinus* tells us, *lib. 1. cap. 27. Post quem (scil. Constantium) Julianus presumptum prius, deinde ut legitimum, solus obtinuit Principatum.*

2. This lawful Title was a Title by Birth and Blood. So *Themistius* a Senator, and the Governour of *Constantinople*, in his Speech to *Jovian*, speaking of

Δεξιμότης τῶν
ἀρχῶν ἐστὶν
οὐκ ἄλλω
τῶν ἐκ γένος
ἐξουσίαν.
Themist. p. 277
Lib. 22. ad init.

of the *Constantine* Family, and *Julian* especially, tells him; "You having received the Empire (meaning by Election) have maintain'd it better than they who receiv'd it in a way of Succession, by Birth and Blood." And this, I doubt not, is what *Ammianus Marcellinus* means by *ordinaria jure*, where he says, "That when *Julian* had news of *Constantine's* death, he, and his whole Army after him, march'd merrily for *Constantinople*: for they saw that the Empire, which they were going to take away by force, with the apprehension of the utmost hazards, was now unexpectedly granted in the ordinary way of Right." That is, by *Constantine's* death, it was *Julian's* of course: for as for that flim, that *Constantine* nam'd *Julian* his Successor with his last breath, it is so ridiculous a Falshood, that the meanest Sutler in *Julian's* Army was not silly enough to believe it, when it was so notorious that *Constantine* was coming to advance him the other way.

3. This ordinary Right by Birth, as he was the sole Heir of the *Constantine* Family, was so just a Title, that if *Jovian* had been elected Emperor, while *Julian* was alive, he had been injur'd by it, and shou'd have had wrong done him. So the same *Themistius*, in the same place where he tells *Jovian*, "That the Empire was before owing to him for his Father's Vertue; but at *Constantine's* death he defer'd to take the Debt, that he might not be thought to usurp upon the last of the *Constantine* Succession, and was reserv'd till now, so as to receive his Father's debt, without doing wrong to any body." It seems *Julian* had been wrong'd, if he had been put by his Succession; therefore he had a right to it, and the setting him aside had been a proper Exclusion. And yet *Gregory* and *Basil*, who did not wear one Beard, and *Constantine* on his death-bed, thought the whole Christian World much more wrong'd, in that he was not set aside. Q. E. D.

To answer forty of our Author's trifling Objections at once, such as, Whether the Law of Nature be for Primogeniture and Gayelkind too? &c. I affirm,

First, That there never was a Succession in the world, that was not alterable, and which might not be directed and govern'd either by the Prince or People, or, as it is here, by both. The Jewish Succession, which was establish'd by God himself in the Line of *David*, was not so establish'd, as to exclude the Peoples governance and disposal of it. A clear instance you have of this, 2 *Chron.* 36. 1. and 2 *Kings* 23. 30. Then the People of the Land took *Jehoahaz*, the Son of *Josiah*, and made him King in his Father's stead in *Jerusalem*. *Jehoahaz* was the younger Brother, and yet the People of the Land excluded his elder Brother, to make him King. And tho he were the younger Brother by about two years, the Scripture approves the Title and Birth-right, which the People of the Land gave him; for it allows and records him to be the First-born, 1 *Chron.* 3. 15. And the Sons of *Josiah* were; the first-born, *Johanan*; the second, *Jehojakim*, &c. This *Johanan* is the same with *Jehoahaz*, as all Commentators are agreed; such variety of Names being very usual in Scripture for the same Person.

Secondly, That the Government of the Succession in the *Roman* Empire, was in the hands of the Emperor; which is the reason that *Gregory* blames *Constantine* alone, and neither Soldiery nor Senate, for *Julian's* succeeding to the Crown. And,

Thirdly, That in all Hereditary Kingdoms the Succession has been variously order'd and dispos'd upon occasion, and that justly, by those who had the Government of it. And therefore *Chlorus* might do as was most fit, to give his Empire to his eldest Son alone; and yet *Constantine* do as well, to divide his larger Empire amongst his three Sons. Both which ways of inheriting, according to the Fathers, were still by Divine Right. We have a plain instance of this likewise in the Articles of *Philip* and *Mary's* Marriage, in the united Kingdoms of those two Princes.

I shall add, by way of Supercrogration, that the Empire (after *Jovian's* untimely and sudden Death) went on again in a way of Hereditary Succession, first in *Valentinian's*, and afterwards in *Theodosius's* Family. *Gratian*, and *Valentinian* the younger, succeeded *Valentinian*, as his lawful Heirs. So *Symmachus*, Præfect of *Rome*, expresses it: *Eum Religionis statum petimus, qui divo parenti*

Themist.

p. 274.

Τὸ δεξιμότης
τῆς Κωνσταντίνου
ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ
ἐκ γένος.

Primo Mar.

Parl. 2. c. 2.

Apud Ambros.
Ep. 11.

parenti vestro culmine servavit Imperium, qui fortunato Principi legitimos successit Heredes. One of them was Emperor when a Child; but it was all one for that: for as St. Ambrose says by Theodosius's youngest Sons Arcadius and Honorius, who likewise succeeded their Father, *Nec moveat etas, Imperatoris perfecta etas;* no body is to mind their Age, for an Emperor is always at age. The Descent of the Imperial Crown took away all Defects. And St. Ambrose exhorts the People and Army to pay the same Duty to these Minors, as they wou'd to Theodosius himself, or rather more; and tells them what Sacrilege it wou'd be to violate their Rights: *Plus debemus defunctis, quam debuistis viventibus.* *Etenim si in liberis privatorum, non sine gravi scelere minorum jura temerantur, quanto magis in filiis Imperatoris?*

Concio in
Obit. Theod.

In a word, if the Empire were not Hereditary, in that period of it which my Discourse led me to speak of, and for a long time after, the Christians as well as the Heathens have not only impos'd upon the World; but, which is far worse, have mock'd God in their Prayers. Firmicus prays the great Sun and Stars, together with the most High God, to make the Government of Constantine and his Sons perpetual; and grant, says he, that they may reign over our Posterity, and the Posterity of our Posterity, in a continu'd Series of infinite Ages. Sozomen prays, that God wou'd transmit Theodosius's Kingdom to his Childrens Children. To which Prince, Cyril Archbishop of Alexandria says, "The Queen, glorious in having Children by you, gives hope of Perpetuity to the Empire." Now from any one of these Expressions, it is plain the Empire was not Elective; for every one knows, that the present King's Children, in an Elective Kingdom, are farthest off from succeeding: whoever succeeds, they shall not, for fear they shou'd alter the Constitution of the Kingdom, and make it Hereditary. It is indeed otherwise in the Empire of Germany, but there is a peculiar reason for it: None but the House of Austria, which has so large Hereditary Dominions and Countrys, and so situate as to be a Bulwark against the Turk, being capable of defending and preserving that Empire.

Lib. i. cap. 4.

Dedicat. Hist.

De recta fide,
ad Theod.

After all, to shew how much our Author is mistaken, in thinking the stress of my Argument lies upon this Assertion, That the Empire was Hereditary in Julian's time (which nevertheless I desire him to confute, if he can, in fourscore pages more) I do assure him, that the Conclusions which are drawn from his own Premises, will serve my turn as well.

Our Author says, pag. 51. *That the Cæsarship only made a man Candidate, and Expectant of the Empire;* or, as he expresses himself afterwards, *it was a Recommendation to the Augustus-ship.* Tho by the way, *Candidate* or *Expectant* is not the English of Spartianus's Latin, which he there quotes: for design'd or appointed Heirs of the Imperial Majesty are more than Candidates; and Eusebius, who understood the Roman Empire and Language better than any modern man, opposes those two words to one another: *Sacrum illud palatium, non Candidatus Imperii, sed Designatus intrasti.* However, to take the Character of a Cæsar at the very lowest, he was recommended to the Empire, and stood fairest for it. And because the Empire had generally gone that way, he might plead Custom, tho not a strict Right; and at the least, was next to the Chair. Nevertheless the Christians were for setting aside one that had these Pretensions to the Empire of the Roman World, merely because he was not of their Religion; they wou'd not have a Heathen to reign over them. Now I did not go to ask their Opinion concerning the 13th of Elizabeth, and half a dozen Acts of Parliament more; or whether our King and Parliament have not equal power to exclude a Popish Successor, as Constantine had to degrade a Pagan Cæsar? Of which I never doubted, nor dare our Author deny it. But my Inquiry was, Whether Paganism was a sufficient bar to hinder a man from an Empire; and whether it unqualify'd him from reigning over Christians? And their answer was, as I have faithfully reported it, That it was a great Sin in those who cou'd prevent such a Person's coming to the Crown, if they did not do it. And whether an Act of Parliament cannot govern the Norman Entail, we will never ask the Fathers. To conclude, if my Comparison of Popery and Paganism hold true, which this Author has been pleas'd to grace and fortify with his Approbation; then the

Case

Case of Conscience is thus resolv'd by the Fathers: That it is not only just to prevent a Popish Successor; but that it is a very great Sin in those who can legally prevent him, unless they do it.

Again, If *Julian's* Title were not a Right of Inheritance, but lay in the Choice of the Legions; then *Julian* was already lawful Emperor, while he was in *France*, as well as *Gordianus*, *Philip*, *Decius*, p. 37. and others in other places of our Author. And yet *Julian* durst not then own himself a Pagan, tho he had been so for ten years; but, as *Ammianus* confesses, went to Church a long time after, to curry favour with the Christians, and to avoid impediments. It seems he was afraid, even then, that the Christians wou'd put a spoke in his Cart; and was so apprehensive of meeting with some dangerous rubs from them, that he slavishly dissembled his Religion.

Utque omnes,
nullo impedi-
ente, ad suum
favorem alli-
ceret, inhaerere
cultui Christi-
ano fingebat,
&c. Lib. 21.

The next thing in the Preface worth observing, is, our Author's taking offence at my general way of speaking concerning the Behaviour of the Christians under *Julian*, that I say *they* and *their*, when only particular Persons are mention'd.

I answer, Where I have made a general Inference from the Behaviour of particular Persons, either those Persons were Fathers themselves, who by common construction are Representatives, and deliver to us the Sense of the Church; or else the thing which is done by them, is commended and applauded by the Fathers, which is the same thing as if they had done it themselves. But a great part of the Instances which I give, are the general and publick Acts of great numbers in the Church, a Congregation, a City, or the like; not to mention what was done by the whole Church. And therefore these Instances ought not to be level'd with those which our Author produces in Queen *Mary's* days, of things which were done, but not own'd; and which, as we use to say, no-body did: For our Author might have had the Reward of twenty Marks, and Thanks, if he cou'd have inform'd who it was that hang'd up the Cat. And as for *Wyat's* Rebellion, it was upon account of the *Spanish* Match, and Religion was only pretended, as our Author's own Quotation from Mr. *Bradford* does acknowledg.

I shall overlook the rest, till I come to his Discourse about the Bill of Exclusion; where, in the first place, we meet with a subtile Defence of the Addressers: For it was not the Popish Successor, as Popish, but the Succession, which they promis'd to maintain. I like the Distinction very well, only our Author applies it by the halves; for I wonder he does not say, that they made this Promise too, not as Protestants, but as Addressers. But it seems, the *Suffolk-Protestants* did thus maintain the Succession of Queen *Mary*. They did so, but the Case was very different; for then there was no possibility of a Bill of Exclusion: Queen *Mary*, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, was actually Queen; and yet they gave her no assistance, but upon her promise to maintain the establish'd Protestant Religion: Which Promise was so well and truly perform'd, that we may well be excus'd from trusting any Popish Prince, as those poor men did, who afterwards had the opportunity of seeing their Error, from the Vantage-ground of a Pillory, and by the Fire-Light in *Smithfield*.

As for Archbishop *Cranmer's* disclaiming and recanting his being concern'd in setting up King *Edward's* Will against an Act of Parliament; it manifestly makes for me, and shews what Authority *Cranmer* ascrib'd to an Act of Parliament, which gave Queen *Mary* all her Title, after he himself had been the greatest instrument of rendring her Illegitimate, by causing her Mother's Marriage to be declar'd null and void from the beginning. Tho I might well have taken no notice of it, because our Author is pleas'd to do the same by Bishop *Ridley's* Sermon at *Paul's-Cross*, where he put by the appointed Preacher, only to have an opportunity of telling the People, what reason they had to put by Queen *Mary*. Wou'd that brave Martyr have been against a Bill of Exclusion, who was so zealous for Exclusion without a Bill?

Presently after, we have Objections thick and threefold, against the Bishops Reasons in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, recorded by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*. He will not allow the Bishops by any means to be the Authors of them, that so he may take the greater liberty in vilifying, and speaking his pleasure of them: just as p. 236. he dissembles his knowledg of a Book to be my Lord *Hollis's*, which

to my knowledg he knew to be his as well as I, only that he might the more safely persist in calling it Impious and Treasonable. And because he appeals to me, whether I think the Bishops of the Church of *England* cou'd pen such a Popish or Presbyterian Piece? I answer, 1. That I do verily believe they did pen that Piece; and further, that there were few others in those days, who were able to pen so learned a Piece. And, 2. I will join issue with him when he pleases, that it is neither a Popish nor Presbyterian Piece, but worthy of the zealous Prelates of that Age, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Homilys, to which all the Clergy of *England* have subscrib'd; which is more than can be said of Dr. *Hicker's Peculium Dei*.

First, There is no ground in the world to suspect, but these Arguments were part of the Reasons presented to the Queen in Parliament, because the Title says they were; and it is manifest that they are all in the same strain, and of a piece: and further, Sir *Simon* says, that then (which was above fifty years ago) there were written Copys of them remaining in many hands; at which time it was very easy, if they had been forg'd, to have discover'd it.

Secondly, This Paper of Reasons ought not to be call'd *Anonymous*; for in the body of it, the Bishops are nam'd as the Authors of it, whereby the certain Authors of a Book are better known, than by a Title or Inscription.

Thirdly, There is nothing in those Reasons, but what was fit for Bishops in Parliament to urge; I say, in Parliament, where there was full Authority to have enacted all their Conclusions, but had been very improper to urge to a Judge at an Assizes: which very different Cases I am afraid the *Peculium* doth not distinguish. In short, those Reasons are foully misrepresented by this Author, and render'd as only fit to proceed from a *Scotizing Presbyterian*.

Suppose now I shou'd do the same by *Jovian*, and with more justice say, it was a Book written by the Priests in *Newgate*; as not believing that a Book, which manifestly carries on *Coleman's* Design, and is made up of the very Doctrine of his Declaration for dissolving the Parliament, cou'd come from a Minister of *London*. This wou'd not be well taken; therefore our Author must pardon me, if it raises my Indignation, to have a Bench of as Reverend Bishops as ever were in the world, treated in the same manner. And I do again renew my Promise, that if he will please to print the Reasons of that Parliament at large, as I desir'd the Reader to peruse them at large, and add a Confutation of the Bishops Arguments, it shall not want an answer.

Is it a Popish Piece, because it was for having a Law to put an Idolater to death? Why then our Homilys are Popish too, for commending the Christian Iconoclast Emperors, who punish'd Image-worshippers and Image-maintainers with death. Or a Presbyterian Piece? Truly that is very notably guess'd. What! because it talks of Godly Bishops, where it says, "We see not how we can be accounted godly Bishops, or faithful Subjects, if in common peril we shou'd not cry and give warning?" A *Scotizing Presbyterian* wou'd as soon have talk'd of black Swans.

Well, but according to our Author, from excluding the next Heir to the Crown out of the World, there is no Consequence at all to excluding him from the Crown. I thought there had, but this it is not to be skill'd in Jewish Learning: For, he says, a rebellious First-born amongst the Jews might be put to death, but not disinherited. This is the prettiest Argument in the Book, if it were true; but it is like the rest, and notoriously false. For his own *Selden*, whom he quotes for such a Saying as *Pax est bona*, in the twenty fourth Chapter of the very same Book, shews him several ways how the First-born, or only Son, or any Son might be disinherited, and defeated of his Succession. I see every body has not a *Petavius* to direct him. However, a man that cou'd but read the *English* Translation of the Bible, might know that a Jewish Father had power to disinherit, because *Deut. 21. 15*. that Power is restrain'd in one particular Case. *Grotius* upon the place gives the reason of that Restraint: says he, "The Father might for just cause transfer the Right of the First-born to a younger Brother; but the Law took away that Liberty from a man who had two Wives together, where there was danger it might be done upon light and trifling occasions." And truly the Case of a Hebrew Heir had been very hard, if it had been Neck or nothing; if he might

might by the Law have been put to death for that, for which he might not be disinherited. Tho, by the way, the Rabbins say, That Law of putting a Son to death was never practis'd, no more than that of Retaliation, an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth.

But how if the House of Lords did not think the Bill of Exclusion unlawful?

He falls and invidiously says, that I challenge the House of Lords, the three Estates of Scotland, &c. to give but one Reason to prove a Bill of Exclusion to be unlawful. I did not look so high, nor think of those great Persons; but of those whom I have often convers'd with, and who, according to the Character I there gave of them, have furiously reproach'd three successive Houses of Commons upon account of that Bill: And I am afraid I shall have occasion to call upon them for their Reasons, even after this Author's performance. I always meant those men who have misled too many and too great Persons into a belief, that a Bill of Exclusion is against both Law and Conscience; that it is such Injustice, as ought not to be done to save the World from perishing: And after they have asserted this, and laid it down for Gospel, are not able to say one wise word in defence of it; and till they do, I am sure all the world will give me leave to follow them with this reasonable Demand.

Sir Simon D'Ewes Journal, p. 165.

Christ. Subject. p. 536.

Journal, p. 164.

1. His first Argument is, *That an Act of Exclusion is void, because it tends to the Disherison of the Crown.* This is so far from being true, that an Act of Parliament, which shou'd deny the King and Parliament a Power of governing the Succession, wou'd be a proper Act of Disherison of the Crown, because it wou'd destroy one of the greatest Prerogatives of the Crown, and devest the King of such a Power as is part of his Crown, and which alone in many cases can secure the whole to him. According to what Serjeant *Mannwood* affirm'd in Parliament, 13 Eliz. "That as for the Authority of Parliament (in determining of the Crown) it cou'd not in reasonable Construction be otherwise; for whosoever shou'd deny that Authority, did deny the Queen to be Queen, and the Realm to be a Realm." The truth of it is, it tears up the very Foundations of our Government: For as Bishop *Bilson* has express'd it, *The Foundation of all the Laws of our Country is this; That what the Prince, and most part of her Barons and Burgeses shall confirm, that shall stand for Good.* But to come to the point, this unalterable Norman Entail, whence is it? It was certainly made with hands, tho all the Roman Emperors had not the Art of making one. Now I assert, That the King in his Parliament, whenever he pleases to call one, has all the Power upon earth, and full as much as ever was upon English ground; and consequently can govern this Norman Entail, as shall be most for the preservation of his Majesty's Sacred Person from Popish Plots, and of this Protestant Realm from the Hellish Power of Rome. And to deny this, were to disherit and disable the Crown;

and as Mr. *Mounson*, in the 13th of Eliz. expresses it, were a horrible Saying. As an Appendix to this first Argument, first he asks a thread Question, *If the Acts of Henry VIII. about Succession were valid, by what Authority was the House of Suffolk excluded, and K. James admitted to the Crown, contrary to many Statutes against him?* If our Author will shew me but one of those many Statutes whereby King *James* stood excluded, I will yield him the Cause. In the mean time, I wonder a man shou'd offer to make Acts of Parliament no more than waste Paper, when he knows nothing of them; and to talk of the House of Suffolk's Exclusion, when it was never included, nor ever had any Title or Pretensions to the Crown: and above all, to be so very absurd, as to quote the Recognition of the High Court of Parliament, 1 Jac. cap. 1. where King *James's* Succession is own'd for lawful, when at the same time he is invalidating all Acts of Parliament, which limit and determine of the Succession. For as the same Mr. *Mounson* argues, "It were horrible to say, that the Parliament hath not Authority to determine of the Crown; for then wou'd ensue not only the annihilating of the Statute 35 Hen. 8. but that the Statute made in the first Year of her Majesty's Reign, of Recognition, shou'd be laid void; a matter containing a greater Consequent than is convenient to be utter'd." So that if our Author disables Acts of Parliament, which limit and bind the Descent of the Crown, he likewise disables that Act of Recognition. Our Author's Partner, Mr. *Long*, has urg'd this Act of Recognition 1 Jac. more strongly than any one Argument in his Book besides; for because

because it was made since the 13th of *Elizabeth*, he opposes it to that, and gives it all the Power of a last Will. To which I shall only say thus much, That the very same Recognition to a tittle, might have been made to King *James*, tho *Mary* Queen of *Scots* had been still living, and had only stood excluded by Act of Parliament: For, as Mr. *Long* may see by the Act before the Common-Prayer Book, 14 Car. 2. the Law can make great numbers of men as if they were dead, and naturally dead, before their time; yea, tho many of them had a *Jus Divinum* to preach, as being Episcopally ordain'd, and were descended in a right Line from the very Apostles.

Secondly, Our Author quotes two Authoritys: the one says, *A Bill of Exclusion, if it shou'd pass, wou'd change the Essence of the Monarchy, and make the Crown Elective*; or, as another ingenious (but I am sure very scurrilous and irreverent) Pen saith, it wou'd tend to make a Foot-ball of the Crown, and turn an Hereditary Kingdom into Elective. The same Answer will serve them both; namely, That an Act of disinheriting from the Crown, does own, and proclaim, and prove the Kingdom to be Hereditary. And further, I wou'd be glad to know in what part of the Globe that Elective Kingdom lies, where the very Essence of it is this, that the present Possessor of the Crown shall have power in declaring or disabling his Successor.

II. His next Argument is from the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, wherein a Minister of *London* especially ought to have us'd no Sophistry, because Oaths are sacred Things, and ought not by false Glosses and Interpretations to be turn'd into Snares, to entangle the Consciences of those who hereafter shall be desirous to secure the Protestant Religion; and withal, to involve three successive Houses of Commons in the Guilt of Perjury, only for discharging their Consciences to God and their Country. And because our Author, after he has done thus, stands upon his Justification, and calls his way of arguing plain and honest, and says, *he is not conscious of the least Sophistry in it*; I shall endeavour to make his Sophistry stare him in the face. I shew'd him before in my Preface, by the most convincing Proof that cou'd be produc'd, that by the Heirs and Successors mention'd in these Oaths, are meant Kings and Queens of this Realm of *England*. And if the old Oath of Allegiance at Common Law, which I there quoted, had not expressly said so; yet Common Sense wou'd have taught us the very same: for Allegiance sworn to a Subject, must needs be Treason. And therefore, as I there argu'd, it is a Falshood of very dangerous consequence, to say, that any Person besides his Majesty has now any interest in those Oaths, or can lay claim to any part of them. Our Author had done well to have answer'd that Argument, before he had fallen to new-vamping of old baffled Fallacys; which I shall now examine.

By the Oath of Supremacy (as he says true) we are sworn, to our power to assist and defend all Jurisdiction, Privileges, Prebeminencys, and Authoritys, granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and lawful Successors, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Now one of these Jurisdctions, granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and lawful Successors, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, is this; That the King, with and by the Authority of the Parliament of *England*, is able to make Laws and Statutes, of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof. And therefore I ask, if they be not the perjur'd Persons, who by asserting an unalterable Succession, endeavour to destroy this Jurisdiction, Privilege, and Authority, which they are sworn to maintain? But our Author's honest way of arguing, is to have four Terms in a Syllogism: as thus, We are sworn to defend the Rights of Supremacy vested in the King; Ergo, We are bound to defend an unalterable Succession, which is contrary to the Rights of this Supremacy. Again, We are sworn to defend all Privileges belonging to the King's Heirs and Successors, that is, Kings and Queens of *England*: Ergo, We are sworn to defend all the Privileges belonging to such as are neither Kings nor Queens, but Subjects of *England*; and if they be excluded, never can be Kings or Queens of *England*. And therefore to our Author's first Question I answer, No Subject can possibly have undoubted, transcendent, and essential Rights, Privileges,

Privileges, and Preheminences, united to the Imperial Crown of *England*: for if so, then the Imperial Crown of *England* is united to his Rights; which I wou'd desire our Author to take heed of affirming, for we can have but one Sovereign, as there is but one Sun in the Firmament. To his second Question, I answer: By lawful Successors, is meant Kings and Queens of *England*, which have not been always *next Heirs by Proximity of Blood*; witness *Henry 7. Q. Mary*, and *Q. Elizabeth*, who cou'd not be both Heirs in that manner to *Edward the 6th*. And further, I say, that the Oath of Supremacy only binds us to the King in being, and not to the whole Royal Family, otherwise we shou'd have a great many Sovereigns at once; and it is made in our Author's Phrase, *for the Beboof and Interest of the Crown*, and not for the *Beboof* of him who may never be concern'd in it.

In the next place, we have these words: *Some indeed have said, with our Author, that the Oath of Supremacy is a Protestant Oath, and so cou'd not be understood in a sense destructive to the Protestant Religion; which is a mere shift, and proves nothing, because it proves too much.* Sir, I think it was much more a shift, to find out a way to drive on the Pope's Interest by an Oath, which does most solemnly renounce him; and under a pretence of unalterable Succession, of which there is not the least shadow in this Oath, but the direct contrary, to abandon this Protestant Kingdom to the Hellish Tyranny of *Rome*, which we are sworn to oppose, and all Protestants will oppose, even under a Popish Successor, if any such can be in *England*; and let *Dr. Watson* prove it, if he can, to be no less than resisting the Ordinance of God. But methinks it had been time enough to offer to prove that, after the Pope's Power had been re-establish'd by a Law, and not to go about it now, when it is Treason to endeavour to reconcile men to the Church of *Rome*. Thus much the Oath of Supremacy proves, which is not *nothing*, nor a jot *too much*. And further, it proves, that we are bound, in order to the keeping out the Pope's Power, which we have utterly renounc'd, humbly to beg of his Majesty to foreclose a Popish Successor, who will infallibly let it in. I am sure, this way of assisting and defending the Jurisdictions and Authoritys of the Crown is *in our Power*, and so is within the compass of our Oath; and therefore we are treacherous to the Crown, and false to our Oath, as well as to God, and to our Religion, if we will not do so much for any of them as this comes to. And I do seriously and earnestly recommend this Consideration to all that have taken the Oath of Supremacy, and especially to the Clergy of *England*, who have taken it several times over.

As for our Author's saying, *That moderate Papists will take the Oath of Supremacy*; I shall only say this to it, Let him shew me a man that has taken this Oath, and prove him to be a Papist, and I will prove him perjur'd.

Again, he says, *As these are Protestant Oaths, they bind us the more emphatically to assist and defend the King against the Usurpation of the Pope, who pretends to a Power of deposing Kings, and of excluding Hereditary Princes from the Succession.*

Answ. We are bound emphatically to renounce all Power of the Pope, and therefore this among the rest; but we are bound to assert many Instances of that Power to the King, which we deny to the Pope, of which I have prov'd the Power of excluding a Popish Prince to be one: Which if the Pope himself exercises upon Protestant Princes, where he but pretends to be Supreme; he is a Wretch if he complains, or any body for him, that the like is done by them who really are Supreme. This, in short, is your *plain and honest Arguing*: We are sworn to deny the Pope's usurp'd Power; *Ergo*, we are sworn to deny the King's just and lawful Power, which by the same Oath we are bound to maintain.

In the next Paragraph, our Author *protests to all the World*, that he has sworn Allegiance and Supremacy to Subjects, or to the unalterable Succession, or to I know not what, for he is not very clear. But as for all others, who have taken no such rash and unlawful Oath, they need *no Absolution* from it; and consequently, *there had not been such a World of Popery in the Bill of Exclusion upon that score*. And therefore I desire our Author not to trouble his head about it; and he may speak to the great Man, whom he quotes for that notable Observation, to do so too. If he himself has been so forward, as to swear beforehand to a Subject, he has done it in his own wrong, and he knows how by

Repentance to disengage himself from a rash, void, and unlawful Oath; for he ought to have sworn only to our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, and to his Highness's Heirs, and lawful Successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm of England, and other his Dominions depending on the same.

I never in my Life read any thing of that kind with greater pleasure, than his Conclusion of this second Argument; to see a man bewildred, and confounded, and lost in his own Sophistry. I took notice in my Preface, of an Abuse in common Speech, where men that are only in possibility of being Heirs, are call'd Heirs, next Heirs, &c. In which absurd and dangerous sense some weak men have taken the Heirs and Successors mention'd in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and thereupon were against a Bill of Exclusion. I then prov'd it, and therefore had the confidence to call it a *deceitful Prejudice*; and must now add, that it is a very *silly Prejudice*, because every Bill, Bond, Release, and almost any other Writing, that passes in common Intercourse among men, wherein Heirs are mention'd, is sufficient to correct it: for where men are concern'd to speak properly, Heirs are always understood to be those who actually inherit. Now as in a Covenant, I promise to pay *A. B.* and to his Heirs, the yearly Rent of, &c. without promising one farthing to his eldest Son, or without being bound that his eldest Son shall be his Heir after his death, or without being oblig'd not to express a desire that *A. B.* wou'd disinherit his eldest Son, if he have given manifest proof that he will utterly ruin the Estate and Family: So it is in these Oaths, with this difference, That it wou'd be only the Absurdity and Inconvenience of paying my Rent twice over, to take Heirs for *possible Heirs*, in this lower and more familiar Instance of a Covenant; whereas it wou'd involve us in Treason, to take Heirs in that sense in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. But this unconscionable man will have them taken in both senses in these Oaths: Heirs and Successors, in the very same place, shall signify Subjects, and not Subjects, but Kings and Queens: Heirs shall stand for those that actually inherit, and not for them, but for those that may, and may not inherit, and in case of Exclusion never shall: And lawful Successors shall stand for such as lawfully succeed their Predecessors, and in the self-same place shall stand for unlawful Successors, a sort of Successors before their time.

In one word, Heirs and lawful Successors, in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, must either signify Kings and Queens (as the Oath of Allegiance at Common-Law expounds it self, which the Lawyers call, *Benedicta expositio ex visceribus cause*, a blessed Exposition out of the bowels of the Cause) or else they must signify Subjects; for it is contradictory, and Transubstantiation-Nonsense, to say they signify both. If they signify Kings and Queens, then we are no ways bound to any Person under that degree by those Oaths; and they have been very unfairly as well as mischievously urg'd against a Bill of Exclusion. If any man say, they signify Subjects, then this grievous Inconvenience unavoidably follows, That we have promis'd *from henceforth*, that is, from the time we were sworn, and so onwards, *to bear them Faith and true Allegiance*; which I suppose, no Minister of London, nor Minister of State in England will think fit to affirm.

III. And now comes his third Argument, attended with a marginal Superfætation of little sucking Arguments, such as *Dei Gratia* *, *Dieu & Mon droit*, &c. all equally concluding against a Bill of Exclusion. The main Argument, for which he quotes Coke upon *Littleton*, of Tenures, is this: *The Inheritance of our Lord the King is a direct Dominion, of which none is the Author, but God alone.* The King holds of none but God; *He has no superior Lord*, as Coke explains himself in the same place; the Crown is no *Norman Fee*: *Ergo*, the King cannot bind and limit the Succession. I thought he cou'd the sooner for that; for what shall hinder him from disposing of his own, for the welfare, and with the consent of his Kingdom, who have a greater Interest in their King than our Author is aware of?

From the aforesaid Principle, he gives us to understand that the Wise and the Learned infer this Conclusion, *That it wou'd be Usurpation, without a manifest*

* Quære, Whether *Dei Gratia*, written with the very same Letters and Syllables in the Stile of the King of Poland, and of the Duke of Venice, does also prove an hereditary, and which is much more, an unalterable Succession, in those two Countrys?

Revelation from God, to preclude any Person of the Royal Family from succeeding to the Crown. The Learned may do much; but I will go upon his Errand a hundred Miles an end, who will shew any other man how to infer that Conclusion from that Argument. But for all that, they shew themselves neither learned, nor wise, in calling for a manifest Revelation from God for a Bill of Exclusion, because that may occasion others to demand a manifest Revelation for any Papist's Right to succeed in a Protestant Kingdom; where, by the Laws of that Kingdom, if he be reconcil'd to the Church of Rome, he has

* Bishop Eilfon, p. 420. Extreme Folly and Prexy be just Causes to remove Princes from bearing the Sword. Margin. And in the Text thus: As if the Right Heir to any Crown be a natural Fool; or be that is invested in the Crown, wax mad, and run besides himself: In either of these two Cases, any Realm, by publick Consent and Advice, may chuse another.

not a Right to live: A manifest Revelation to shew, why a natural * Fool or Madman, who cannot help it, may be put by the Succession, as not fit to govern; but a Papist, who is more dangerous and destructive to a Protestant Kingdom than both of them, and that by his own Fault too, may not be prevented: In a word, a manifest Revelation to shew, how a publick Enemy, as every Person who is reconcil'd to the Church of Rome is in the eye of the Law, can possibly be the Fountain of Justice and Mercy, which is the true Notion of an English King. These things do stand more in need of a manifest Revelation to clear them up, than a Bill of Exclusion does; which is as manifestly lawful, as that the King and Parliament have power to make a just and necessary Law.

Besides, where was the Wisdom of our Author, or his Friends, in demanding a Revelation from God for a necessary Alteration of the Succession, when they themselves cannot pretend to one for the Establishment of it? Since it is an undeniable Maxim, both in Law and Reason, that *Things are dissolv'd, as they be contracted*; and an Obligation only by word of Mouth, needs not Hand and Seal to discharge it. For by these unreasonable Demands, which are contrary to the known Laws of the Kingdom, they put men upon Enquiries nice and unprofitable: As how, and for what cause the Monarchy of England came to be Hereditary? And whether a Popish Prince does not perfectly overthrow that excellent Constitution, and disinherit himself? This is laid down for a known and acknowledg'd Truth, in the Reasons of the House of Commons, 14 Eliz. against Mary Queen of Scots. Queen Elizabeth was contented to disable the Queen of Scots, as a Person unworthy of any Hope or Title, Preheminence or Dignity within this her Land: and the Law so to run, that if any shou'd enterprize to deliver her out of Prison after her Disabling, either in her Majesty's Life, or after the same, to be convicted immediately of High Treason; and her self assenting thereunto, to be likewise adjudg'd as a Traitor in Law. This the Commons in their large Answer represent both as needless, and as insufficient: "Whereas it is said, that it standeth to very good purpose, to proceed only in disabling of the Scottish Queen for any Claim or Title to the Crown; we take it, by your Majesty's favour, that such an especial disabling of the Scottish Queen, is in effect a special Confirmation of a Right that she shou'd have had; *quia privatio presupponit habitum*. And further, we do take it for a known Truth, that by the Laws and Statutes of this Land now in force, she is already disabled; and therefore it is to small purpose, *rem altam agere*."

Sir Simon d'Ewes, p. 216.

And now I have done with our Author's Arguments, as they are his; for as they are Scotch or Newmarket Positions, I have nothing to say to them. Only it wou'd be worth our Author's pains, and he may get the addressing part of the University to help him, to reconcile this Scotch Act, which makes such a brave shew in his Preface, with the History of Succession in Scotland; lest, while he is so industrious to serve the Interest of a Popish Successor, he be found overthrowing the Titles of all the Kings of Scotland for these three hundred Years, not excepting his present Majesty's Title to that Kingdom, no nor the Expectations of that very Person to whom he is so much devoted. The History in short is this:

* Genealogy of the Kings of Scotland, in Sir Tho. Murrat's Collection of Statutes, printed at Edinburgh, 1681. p. 230.

Robert Stuart, the hundredth King of Scotland, and first of the Family of the Stuarts, had a Concubine * nam'd Eliz. More, the Daughter of Sir Adam More, by whom he had three Sons, and two Daughters; and himself marrying Eufemia, the Daughter of the

Earl

†

Earl of Ross, took care to marry *Elizabeth More* † to one *Giffard*, a Nobleman in the County of *Louthien*. By *Eufemia* he had Issue, *Walter* and *David*, Earls of *Arbol* and *Strathern*; and *Eufemia*, who was afterwards marry'd to *James Duglass*, Son to the Earl of that Name. The Queen † *Eufemia* dying, and *Giffard*, the Husband of *Elizabeth More*, dying much about the same time, the King marrys *Elizabeth More*, his former ** Concubine, and presently ennobles the Sons which he had by her, creating *John* Earl of *Carrike*, *Robert* Earl of *Menteith*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Bucquhane*. † Nor was he content with doing so much for them, but he also obtain'd from a Parliament at *Seane*, that (the Children which he had by *Eufemia* being past by) these shou'd come to the Crown in their Course.

No man will offer to say, that the Children of *Elizabeth More* were made inheritable by that after-Marriage: for, besides the apparent Insufficiency of it for that purpose, what need was there then of obtaining an Act of Parliament to make them so, and to set by the Children of *Eufemia*? Now, if no Law, or Act of Parliament, made, or to be made, can alter or divert the Right of Succession, according to the known Degrees of Proximity in Blood; what then becomes of the *Seane* Act? But if an Act made at *Seane*, can set aside three Persons at once, with all their numerous Descendents, for no fault nor forfeiture at all; why might not an Act made at *Westminster*, have done as much for one single Person alone, especially when that *Westminster* Act wou'd have been in some respects as favourable as an Act of Grace? If our Author can tell why, he shall be a greater Oracle to me than the great *Apollo*.

There is nothing betwixt this, and the end of the Preface, worth answering, which has not already been answer'd, unless it be that Passage where he withdraws his general Approbation of what I had written against Popery, as rashly given, because I seem to deny that the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ. I desire our Author to make but one Business of it; and at the same time to withdraw his hearty Subscription to the Homilys, which do more than seem to deny it, especially in the second part of the Homily for Whit Sunday; for that whole Sermon is spent in shewing, first, what the true Church of Christ is, and then in conferring the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together; and lastly, in concluding, that because the Church of Rome is not the true Church of Christ, and the Bishops of Rome, and their Adherents, are not in the Church, therefore they have not the Holy Ghost, tho they have for a long time made a sore Challenge thereunto; but by their Practices make it plain to all the World, that they have the Spirit of the Devil. It affirms, and, which is more, proves, That the Church of Rome is not a true Church, nor has been these nine hundred Years, and odd. So that our Author must go a great way back to seek his true Church of England, in his true Church of Rome.

I wonder in my heart what those Gentlemen mean, who pretend to be the only Sons of the Church of England, and yet make nothing of blowing up whole Homilys at once, and are continually disgracing all the Protestant Principles of our glorious Reformers with one odious Name or other; and above all, are so very desirous to have it believ'd, that the pretended Church of Rome, but real Synagogue of Satan, is a true Church of Christ; which they are no more able to make out, than to prove the Devil to be a true Angel of Light. For instead of being a Catholick Church, it is a plain Catholick Apostacy, as the Protestation of Archbishop *Usher*, and the rest of the Irish Bishops, Novemb. 1626. does justly term it.

† Appendix to K. Alsted's Life, dedicated to the King.

‡ Sanderson's Life of King Charles, p. 230, 231, &c. concerning the Descent of the Earl of Strathern.

** Rerum Scoticar. lib. 9. fol. 96, 97.

†† Nec hac munificentia contentus, Comitibus ad Scenam indictis obtinuit, ut præteritis *Eufemia* liberis, in Rege creando gradus ætatis observarentur. Holinshed's Hist. of Scotland, p. 245.

Sanderson's Life of King Charles, p. 66.

An Answer to the Book.

HAVING now done with the Preface, before I return an Answer to any part of the Book, I shall set down the Substance of it; whereby the Reader will be enabled to judge what parts of it do require an Answer. The Design of my Book was to shew, that the Primitive Christians would have been for a Bill of Exclusion; which I prov'd, by shewing how much they were against a Pagan Successor, both by their hearty Wishes he had been fore-clos'd, and by their Uneasiness under him when he was Emperor.

Our Author answers the former of these Proofs, by endeavouring to shew that the Empire was not Hereditary; which I have already consider'd in the Preface. And as for the other Proof, which was the Behaviour of the Christians towards Julian when he was Emperor, it is all matter of Fact; and therefore, tho our Author wrangles, and raises many Cavils about it, some of which I shall examine anon, yet he cannot disprove one syllable of it. Now this Argument concludes *a fortiori* thus: Would not the Christians have petition'd at least for Julian's Exclusion, when he was a Subject, seeing they spent so many Prayers and Tears for his Destruction when he was Emperor? Would that whole Church, which leap'd for joy, and triumph'd at his untimely and violent Death, have scrupled his Exclusion? Would they have thought Julian wrong'd, in being bar'd from succeeding to the Empire, who thought themselves wrong'd and injur'd, in that Constantius did not kill him, instead of making him Caesar? Which Julian himself represents as the Sense of the City of Antioch.

The Behaviour of the Christians was so very rough towards Julian, that I cou'd not ascribe it wholly to his being a Pagan; but shew'd, that his illegal Oppression and Tyranny was also the cause why they pursu'd him with so much hatred. The Substance of our Author's answer to this is, That Julian cou'd not oppress them illegally, if he wou'd, because it was his Royal Pleasure to have the Christians suffer after this manner; and his Will, according to Gregory, was an unwritten Law, and much stronger than the written ones, which were not back'd with Power and Authority. Yes, that is Gregory's Complaint, and the very illegal Oppression against which he exclaims, That when the Christians were under the Protection of the publick Laws and Edicts, yet they were destroy'd by dumb signs and private hints, and oftentimes upon a mere presumption of the Emperor's pleasure. And whoever will please to read Jacobus Gothofredus's *Ulpianus, sive de Principe legibus soluto*, will see how much our Author has perverted and misapply'd all the Shreds of Civil Law, which he has made use of upon this occasion. In short, our Author grants, that the Christians were highly provok'd against Julian; but then he says, p. 182. *The main ground of their Displeasure against him was this, That he wou'd not formally persecute them, nor put them to death enough.* As for the word *formally*, we find that explain'd p. 133. *He put them not to death formally as Christians, but accus'd and condemn'd them for other Crimes.* Now this is one instance which I gave of his illegal Oppression and Tyranny, that seeing it did not stand with his conveniencies to enact sanguinary Laws against Christianity, he found out ways of putting the Christians to death, upon false and pretended Crimes of Sacrilege and Treason: So that tho they died merely for their Religion, yet they had not the honour of dying for it; but suffer'd under the Character of the greatest Malefactors, and both they and their Reputation were murder'd at once. This indeed was a just cause of their Displeasure against Julian: but I cannot say with our Author, that they were displeas'd at him, because he did not put them to death enough; for I thought he had given them their belly-full of that. Does Gregory call him Dragon, Murderer, common Cut-Throat, or as the Scholiast renders it, Bloody Devil, for this, because he did not put them to death enough? Were there no Halts nor Precipices in the Roman Empire, but must Heaven and Earth be mov'd against

Julian

+

Πολύμαχος,
Schol. οὐκ ἐστὶν
ἀδύνατος.

Julian for this, because he wou'd not put them to death enough? I can only say, 'Tis very much!

This Discourse about *Julian's* illegal Oppression of the Christians, and their Behaviour thereupon towards him, led me to speak of the Duty of Passive Obedience, or suffering for our Religion, which I asserted to be our Duty only then, when the Laws are against our Religion; and shew'd, that Christianity does not oblige us to submit to illegal Violence, but to defend our selves against it. I found a necessity for the true stating of this Duty, because the Doctrine of Passive Obedience has been so handled of late, as to tempt Oppression and Tyranny into the World, by pressing it upon mens Consciences as a necessary Duty, that they ought to submit to the most Arbitrary Oppression, and illegal destructive Violence. I shew'd, that by this Doctrine, in the case of a Popish Successor (which is no impossible Case, witness the Expedient at *Oxford*) we shou'd be ready bound hand and foot, to invite the Popish Knife; it wou'd expose a whole Protestant People and Nation at once, and give them but one Neck, which a Popish Successor, by the Principles of his Religion, is bound to cut off. In defence of this Doctrine our Author spends the Remainder of his Book; to which, as being a matter of the greatest consequence, I shall immediately apply my self, and consider the Arguments which he has brought for it.

That I may avoid all Obscurity in an Argument of this weight and importance, wherein the Lives of all *English* Protestants and their Posterity are concern'd; I shall,

1. Shew how far this Author and I are perfectly agreed.

2. State the Difference betwixt us.

We are both agreed,

(1.) That the King's Person is sacred and inviolable by Law.

(2.) That inferior Magistrates, acting by the King's Authority according to Law, may not be resisted.

And therefore neither the King's Person, nor his Authority, are any ways included in this Controversy.

But in the second place, it is somewhat more difficult to state the Difference betwixt us; for never was there such a *Proteus* of Passive Doctrine as this is. Nevertheless, by tracing him carefully quite thro this Argument, I find his Sense to be this: That by the Imperial Laws, or Laws of the Prerogative, in case the Forces of a Popish and Tyrannical Prince do outrage and murder the Liege People of *England*, contrary to the Political Laws, that is, the Common and Statute Laws, which declare the fundamental Propriety that the People of *England* have in their Lives, Libertys, and Estates, those Forces may not be resisted; for they who in their own defence do resist them with Arms, may be legally hang'd for it in this World, and (without Repentance) will be damn'd for it in that which is to come.

And yet this Author, pag. 274. asserts, That the Laws of all Governments allow every man to defend his Life against an illegal Assassin; and he that doth not so when he can, dies not like a Martyr, but a Fool. Now Forces thus employ'd are no other than illegal Assassins. But it may be, the Damnableness of resisting lies in resisting them with Arms? No, it is not that: for our Author in the same place says, *Contra Sicarium quilibet homo est miles*; Any man is a lawful Soldier against a Cut-Throat; that is, may use a Sword against him, and not only a Switch. Neither is it their being call'd the King's or Sovereign's Forces, which makes them irresistible: for p. 280. he allows, that a man may defend himself against an Assassin sent by the King's Order; because, says he, the King's Law, which is his most Authoritative Command, allows us (as I suppose) that Benefit. And therefore it remains, that the Damnableness of resisting them lies in this, that they are Forces, and murder in Troops; so that tho any man is a lawful Soldier against a Cut-Throat, yet no man is a lawful Soldier against Cut-Throats: and indeed this last particular is the only thing, wherein our Author has not been pleas'd to answer himself.

Now in opposition to our Author, I hold, That if the Sovereign cannot authorize one single Person to do an Act of illegal Violence; much less can he authorize Forces, or great numbers of men, to do such illegal Acts: And that

that there is just the same Reason, Law, and Conscience, a thousand times over, to resist a thousand Murderers, as there is to resist one.

His Conclusions, I confess, are very terrible to Flesh and Blood; but I take comfort, when I look back upon the Principles from whence he infers them, which are absurdly false, and so far from supporting that Battery which he raises upon them, that they fall with their own Weakness, Rottenness, and Incoherency. His Principles are, an unlimited, boundless, sovereign Power; two Tables of Laws, which break one another; some Preambles of Statutes, which he stifles, and will not suffer to speak out; and a false pretence of the Sovereign's Honour.

First, He begins with the Notion of a Sovereign, p. 200. by which all the world may see, that he no more understands what an *English* Sovereign is, than I know what *Prester John* is. Does not every body know, that the very same Titles of Power and Office have a several Notion in several Countrys? As, to compare great things with small, a Constable in *England* is conceiv'd under another Notion than a Constable in *France*. And so tho an *Affyrian* King were conceiv'd under the Notion of Absoluteness, *Whom he wou'd, he slew; and whom he wou'd, he made alive; whom he wou'd, he set up; and whom he wou'd, he pull'd down;* and his Will did all: Yet this is quite contrary to the Notion of an *English* King; as *Bracton* tells us, *Non est Lib. 1. cap. 8. enim Rex, ubi dominatur Voluntas, & non Lex:* Where Will governs, and not the Law, the Notion of a King is lost. Nay the Laws of King *Edward*, confirm'd by *William the Conqueror*, and sworn to be kept by all succeeding Kings in their Coronation-Oath, have these words: *Rex autem, quia Leges Edovardi Regis, quas confirmavit Gulielmus Bastardus. De Regis Officio, cap. 17. Vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum & populum Domini & regat, & ab injuriis defendat, &c. Quod nisi fecerit, nec nomen Regis in eo constabit, verum nomen Regis perdit.* These, I hope, are better Authoritys in this matter, than *Sam. Bochart*, our Author's *French* Oracle, who, like a Foreigner as he was, fetch'd his Notions of our Government from the Motto of the King's Arms, *Dieu & mon droit.*

Pag. 201, 202. I need not trouble my self in examining our Author's Scheme of Sovereign Power, or the Rights of the Sovereign, which is full of Equivocation and Fallacy; witness the last particular of it, where he attributes to the Sovereign the whole Legislative Power: Which methinks he might have left out, as well as he has done another main Branch of the Sovereign Power, which Writers of Government call *Universale & eminens Dominium*, or a Power of laying Taxes upon the Subject. But therein our Author had reason; for if he had but mention'd that Right of Sovereignty, every *Englishman* who had ever read a Subsidy-Act, or Mony-Bill, wou'd immediately have discover'd the fraudulent Contrivance of that whole Discourse.

And because our Author writes, as if he were better study'd in the modern *French* Monarchy, than in the *antient, equal, happy, well-pois'd, and never enough to be commended Constitution of this Kingdom*, as King *Charles the First* calls it; I shall take this occasion to set down these few words of that wise Prince concerning it: "There being three kinds of Government amongst Men, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; and all these having their particular Conveniencys and Inconveniencys, the Experience and Wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this out of a mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as human Prudence can provide) the Conveniencys of all three, without the Inconveniencys of any one." But we have some little People risen up amongst us, who with a dash of their Pen will new-mould the Government; endeavouring, as much as in them is, to dissolve this excellent Frame, and to change it into an Absolute Monarchy. The establish'd Constitution does not agree with the new Models they have seen abroad, nor with the new Notions they have got by the end: and therefore, tho it be the Product of the long Experience, of the deepest Insight, and of the united Wisdom of a whole Nation; yet it must give place to new Inventions, and submit to be regulated by an Epistle of a *French* Author. The two Houses of Parliament, which have a joint Authority in making Laws, as the King expressly says; *In this Kingdom the Laws are jointly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons:* as also every Act that is made,

Answer to 19
Proposit. p. 96.

Ibid. p. 97.

made, in the very enacting of it, tells us, shall, by the new common Laws of Sovereignty, only perform a ministerial part, of preparing Bills and Writings, and finding a Form of words for the Sovereign alone to enact. And so likewise the Prerogatives of the King, which are built upon the same Law of the Land, upon which is built the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject, and which is the most firm and stable bottom in the world, shall, in this new and treacherous way, be founded upon a floating Notion of Sovereignty; which is but a Notion, any farther than it is supported by the Law of the Land. And therefore, if any man wou'd know for certain what the King's Prerogatives are, he must not take his Information from Notions of Sovereignty, which are as various as the Faces of the Moon, but from the Law of the Land, where he shall find them granted or belonging, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm: amongst which this is not the least, *That the King can do no Wrong; The King is God's Lieutenant, and is not able to do an unjust thing.* These are the words of the Law, says Judg Jenkins. Consequently he cannot overthrow the Laws, nor is he able to authorize any Forces to destroy his Liege Subjects; for this wou'd be the highest Wrong and Injustice: And therefore Forces so employ'd, act of their own heads; and upon their own wicked heads let their own mischief fall.

K. Charles's
Message from
Nottingham,
Aug. 25.

Works, p. 41.

And yet our Author is pleas'd to call such Wretches, so employ'd, the *Sovereign's Forces, and his Armys*, p. 203, 221. against which we must not, upon pain of Damnation, defend our selves. I appeal to all the Lawyers of England, whether the Law will own any number of men to be authoriz'd by the King, in outraging and destroying his Liege People; or whether it be not a great aggravation of their Crime, to pretend a Commission from the King, to warrant such illegal and destructive Violence? But this Author, who is resolv'd to be an Advocate for Bloodshed and Oppression, will shelter an Association of Murderers under his common Laws of Sovereignty; and if they ravage and destroy in the King's name, which doubles the Crime, will make that their Protection: And lastly (which is the great Cheat that runs thro his whole Discourse) to make them irresistible, he shrouds and covers them under the name of the Sovereign. For it is plain, that in his Answer to my five Propositions, p. 204, 205. and generally throout the following Chapters, by *Sovereign* he means *such Forces of the Sovereign*; for he bears me witness, p. 221. that I acknowledg'd even a Popish Sovereign to be inviolable, as to his own Person. I know that deceiving men for their good, has heretofore been excus'd as a pious Fraud; but I am sure, that such foul practice as this, to ensnare mens Consciences, and to cheat them out of their Lives, is an impious Fraud; and as such, I leave it with the Author of it, and pass to the

Second Thing, His Distinction of Imperial and Political Laws. Common Law we know, and Statute Law we know; but who are ye? I confess, I have heretofore seen something not unlike that distinction in *Aesop*, where there was a Political Law or Compact, fairly made betwixt the Lion, the Fox, and the As; but while the As was proceeding by the Measures of that Law, of a sudden the Imperial Lion-Law broke loose, and tore him in pieces. It concerns us therefore to examine, upon what foundation this dangerous Distinction is built; and if it prove to be false and groundless, the good People of England have little to thank this Gentleman for.

Pag. 210. we have these words: *Thus the Learned Chancellor Fortescue grants De Laudibus the King of England to have Regal or Imperial Power, altho it be under the Restraint and Regulation of the Power Political, as to the Exercise thereof.* That Distinction in the last Clause is false, as I shall shew anon. From that perverted Passage of Chancellor Fortescue, where he speaks of Regal and Politick Dominion, I doubt not but our Author, or some body for him, fram'd his new Distinction of Imperial and Political Laws, and contriv'd them into two contradictory Tables; by one of which the Subjects Rights and Propertys are secur'd and establish'd, and are all overthrown by the other.

The Lord Chancellor Fortescue is the first English Lawyer that us'd the terms of Regal and Politick Government, which he owns to have borrow'd from Thomas Aquinas, in his Book *de Regimine Principum*, dedicated to the King of Cyprus;

Cyprus; by which Phrase that old School-man express'd a mix'd and limited Monarchy: For any man that pleases to read those Books, will see that *Aquinas* understands by Regal Government, an Absolute Monarchy; and by Politick Government, such Governments as the Commonwealths of *Rome* and *Athens*; and by Regal and Politick, a King ruling by a Senate, and prescrib'd Rules of Law. And that Chancellor *Fortescue*, in his Dialogue with the Prince of *Wales*, makes no other use of the Phrase than *Thomas Aquinas* did, will sufficiently appear, by setting down his Discourse at large; wherein I desire the Reader's patience, because I intend it as a Specimen of this Answerer's Faithfulness in quoting his Authors. In which Discourse, that great Lawyer sometimes calls this Government Regal and Politick, sometimes a Politick Kingdom; but what he means by it, is best express'd in his own words.

" Chap. 9. You stand in doubt, *Most Worthy Prince*, whether it be better
 " for you to give your mind to the study of the Laws of *England*, or of the
 " Civil Laws, because they throughout the whole World are advanc'd in
 " Glory and Renown above all other human Laws: Let not this Scruple of
 " mind trouble you, *Most Noble Prince*; for the King of *England* cannot alter
 " nor change the Laws of his Realm at his pleasure. For why? he governeth
 " his People by Power not only *Royal*, but also *Politick*. If his Power over
 " them were *Royal* only, then he might change the Laws of his Realm, and
 " charge his Subjects with Tallage and other Bardens, without their consent;
 " and such is the Dominion which the Civil Laws purport, when they say,
 " *The Prince's Pleasure hath the Force of a Law*. But from this much differeth
 " the Power of a King, whose Government over his People is *Politick*: For
 " he can neither change the Laws without the consent of his Subjects, nor yet
 " charge them with strange Impositions against their wills. Wherefore his
 " People do frankly and freely enjoy their own Goods, being rul'd by such
 " Laws as they themselves desire; neither are they pill'd by their own King,
 " or by any body else. Like Pleasure also and Freedom have the Subjects of
 " a King ruling by Power *Royal* only, so long as he falleth not into Tyranny.
 " Of such a King speaketh *Aristotle*, in the third Book of his *Politicks*, saying,
 " *That it is better for a City to be govern'd by a good King, than by a good Law*.
 " But forasmuch as a King is not ever such a man, therefore *St. Thomas*, in
 " the Book which he wrote to the King of *Cyprus*, of the *Governance of*
 " *Princes*, wisheth the State of a Realm to be such, that it may not be in
 " the King's power at pleasure to oppress his People with Tyranny; which
 " thing is accomplish'd, only when the Power *Royal* is restrain'd by a *Pol-*
 " *itick Law*. Rejoice therefore, *Most Worthy Prince*, and be glad, that the
 " Law of the Realm wherein you are to succeed is such; for it shall exhibit
 " and minister to you, and your People, no small Security and Comfort.
 " With such Laws, as saith *St. Thomas*, shou'd all Mankind have been go-
 " vern'd, if in *Paradise* they had not transgress'd God's Commandment:
 " With such Laws also was the *Synagogue* rul'd, while it was under God only
 " as King, who adopted the same to him for a peculiar Kingdom; but at the
 " last, when at their request they had a Man-King set over them, they were
 " then, under *Royal Laws* only, brought very low.

" Chap. 10. Then the Prince thus said: How cometh it to pass, good
 " Chancellor, that one King may govern his People by Power *Royal* only, and that
 " another King can have no such Power? Seeing both these Kings are in Dig-
 " nity equal, I cannot chuse but much muse and marvel, why in Power they
 " shou'd thus differ." Of which difference in Authority over their Subjects,
 the Chancellor in the next Chapter promises to shew the reason, which is
 grounded upon the different Originals of those Kingdoms. And accordingly,
 Chap. 12. he shews, that an Absolute Monarchy is founded in the forc'd Con-
 sent of a subdu'd and enslav'd People: and Chap. 13. That a Kingdom of *Pol-*
 itick Governance is founded in the voluntary Consent of the Community.
 And after he has illustrated the first Institution of a Politick Kingdom, by
 shewing how it resembles the Formation of a natural Body, he thus proceeds
 in the 13th Chapter.

" Now you understand, *Most Noble Prince*, the Form of Institution of a
 " Kingdom Politick, whereby you may measure the Power, which the King
 " thereof

thereof may exercise over the Law and Subjects of the same. For such a King is made and ordain'd for the defence of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodys and Goods, whereunto he receiveth Power of his People; so that he cannot govern his People by any other Power. Wherefore to satisfy your Request, in that you desire to be certify'd, how it cometh to pass that in the Power of Kings there is so great diversity: surely in mine opinion, the diversity of the Institutions, or first Ordinances of those Dignitys, which I have now declar'd, is the only cause of this foresaid difference, as of the Premises by the Discourse of Reason you may easily gather. For thus the Kingdom of *England*, out of *Brute's* * Retinue of the *Trojans*, which he brought out of the Coasts of *Italy* and *Greece*, first grew to a Politick and Regal Dominion. Thus also *Scotland*, which sometime was subject to *England*, as a Dukedom thereof, was advanc'd to a Politick and Royal Kingdom. Many other Kingdoms also had thus their first beginning, not only of Regal, but also of Politick Government. Wherefore *Diodorus Siculus*, in his second Book of antient History, thus writeth of the *Egyptians*: The *Egyptian* Kings liv'd at first not after the licentious manner of other Rulers, whose Will and Pleasure is instead of Law; but as it had been private Persons, they were bound by the Law: neither did they think much at it, being perswaded, that by obeying the Laws they shou'd be happy. For by such Rulers as follow'd their own Lusts, they thought many things were done, whereby they shou'd incur divers harms and perils. And in his fourth Book thus he writeth: The *Ethiopian* King, as soon as he is created, he ordereth his Life according to the Laws, and doth all things after the manner and custom of his Country, assigning neither Reward nor Punishment to any man, other than the Law made by his Predecessors appointeth. He reporteth much the same of the King of *Saba*, in *Arabia Felix*; and of certain other Kings, which in old time reign'd happily.

Chap. 14. To whom the Prince thus answer'd: You have, good Chancellor, with the clear light of your Declaration, dispel'd the Clouds where-with my Mind was darken'd; so that I do most evidently see, that no Nation did ever of their own voluntary mind incorporate themselves into a Kingdom, for any other intent, but only to the end that they might enjoy their Lives and Fortunes (which they were afraid of losing) with greater security than before. And of this intent shou'd such a Nation be utterly defrauded, if then their King might spoil them of their Goods, which before was lawful for no man to do. And yet shou'd such a People be much more injur'd, if they shou'd afterwards be govern'd by foreign and strange Laws, yea, and such as they peradventure deadly hated and abhor'd. And most of all, if by those Laws their Substance shou'd be diminish'd, for the safeguard whereof, as also for the security of their Persons, they of their own accord submitted themselves to the Government of a King. No such Power for certain cou'd proceed from the People themselves; and yet, unless it had been from the People themselves, such a King cou'd have had no Power at all over them. Now on the other side, I perceive it to stand much otherwise with a Kingdom, which is incorporate by the King's sole Power and Authority; because such a Nation is subject to him upon no other terms, but that this Nation, which was made his Kingdom by his Will and Pleasure, shou'd obey and be govern'd by his Laws, which are nothing else but the same Will and Pleasure. Neither have I yet, good Chancellor, forgotten that, which in your Treatise of the Nature of the Law of Nature, you have learnedly prov'd, that the Power of these two Kings is equal; while the Power of the one, whereby he is at liberty to deal wrongfully, is not by such Liberty augmented: as to have Power to decay and die, is not Power, but because of the privations which are added to it, is rather to be call'd Impotency and want of Power; because, as *Bortius* saith, Power is not but to do Good. So that to be able to do Evil (which the King who rules Regally is more at liberty to do, than the King that has a Politick Dominion over his People) is rather a Diminution than an Increase of his Power: For the Holy Spirits,

" which are now establish'd in Glory, and cannot sin, do in Power far excel
 " and pass us, who have a delight and pleasure to run headlong into all kind
 " of Wickedness."

Regnorum
amborum, fol.
30. a. Reges
ambo, fol. 28. a.
Horum duo-
rum Regum,
fol. 35. a.

Cap. 33. fol.
78. a.

Cap. 37. fol. 88. a.

Cap. 35. fol. 82. a.

Cap. 36. fol. 86. a.

It is plain to any attentive Reader, that throout this long Discourse, *For-*
tescue speaks but of two sorts of Kingdoms, an Absolute Monarchy, and a Li-
 mited Monarchy; the latter of which he sometimes calls a Politick Govern-
 ment, and sometimes he calls the very same Regal and Politick, to distinguish
 it more expressely from an Aristocracy or Democracy.

But I will prove this beyond contradiction, by some other Passages in *For-*
tescue, where he tells us, that some of the former Kings of *England* wou'd fain
 have chang'd the Laws of *England* for the Civil Law, and did all they cou'd to
 shake off this Politick Yoke of the Law of *England*, that they also might rule, or ra-
 ther rage over their Subjects in Regal wise only; and for this end, endeavour'd with
 might and main to cast away their Politick Government. This is what our Author
 wou'd have, and very agreeable to his Hypothesis: for then the Regal or Im-
 perial Power had been discharg'd of the Politick Clog, and had govern'd all
 alone; and the Notions of Sovereignty and Passive Obedience had been as clear
 as the Sun. But then in some other unlucky places, the same *Fortescue*, speak-
 ing of the self-same thing, says, That those former Kings of *England* wou'd
 have parted with their Law Politick and Regal too, and wou'd fain have chang'd
 them both for the Civil Law. It seems they were as weary of the one
 as of the other, which cou'd not possibly be help'd, because they were all
 one.

And now I appeal to all the World, whether here be any Foundation for a
 Table of Imperial Laws, which can at pleasure destroy the Lives, Libertys
 and Propertys of the Subject? And whether, on the other side, according to
Fortescue, the Safety and Security of the People be not the supreme Law of a
 Regal and Politick Kingdom?

But because our Author is mighty troublesom with his Imperial Laws, and
 Imperial Power, and boundless Power, and such like terms of his own coining,
 which is a presumption at least, that what he writes is not Law, but his own
 Dreams, which no terms of English Law can expresse; I shall tell him from
 these Passages of *Fortescue*, That the greatest Power the King of *England* has,
 is this, that he can do no Wrong; That he cannot authorize any man, or num-
 ber of men, to destroy his Subjects contrary to Law; consequently, that all
 such illegal destructive Acts, tho attempted in his Name, are inauthoritative,
 and do neither bind any man's Conscience, nor tie any man's Hands from using
 those Remedys, which the Laws of God and Nature, as well as the Common
 and Statute-Laws of the Land, do allow to be us'd against all evil-dispos'd per-
 sons. I shall tell him likewise from these following Authoritys, and many
 more which might be produc'd, that his Assertion of an absolute unbounded
 Power in the King, which is limited only in the Exercise of it, is perniciously
 false: For the Law gives the King his Power and Dominion, says * *Bracton*. We hold
 only what the Law holds, saith Judg || *Jenkins*. The King's Prerogative, and the Sub-
 ject's Liberty, are determin'd, and bounded, and measur'd by a written Law, what they
 are: We do not hold the King to have any more Power, neither doth his Majesty claim
 any other, but what the Law gives him. Accordingly, King *Charles* the First ac-
 knowledges, † that his Prerogatives are built upon the Law of the Land; which in
 another place he declares, are the justest Rule and Measure for them.

* Quod Lex
attribuit ei, vi-
delicet domi-
nationem &
potestatem.
Lib. 1. cap. 8.
|| Works, p. 131.

† Declarat. to
the Ministers
and Freehol-
ders of the
County of
York.

I shall add but one remarkable Passage more, out of the King's Answer to
 both Houses concerning the *Militia*, Feb. 28. 1641. " And his Majesty is wil-
 " ling to grant every of them such Commissions, as he hath done this Parlia-
 " ment to some Lords Lientenants by your Advice; but if that Power be not
 " thought enough, but that more shall be thought fit to be granted to these per-
 " sons nam'd, than by the Law is in the Crown it self, his Majesty holds it rea-
 " sonable, that the same be by some Law vested in him, with Power to transfer
 " it to these persons, which He will willingly do."

Now this is Demonstration: If the Law be the Measure of the King's Power,
 then he has no Power beyond the bounds of the Law; and whatsoever is pre-
 tended in the King's Name beyond those Bounds, is void, and carries no man-
 ner of Authority with it. Whereas to say, the King's Power is absolute and bound-

boundless, is to say, the Government is absolute and arbitrary, and requires absolute and unlimited Subjection. For it is nonsense to say, that boundless Power can be limited in the Exercise of it: for boundless Power, which has in it the whole Legislative Power, can at pleasure make a Law to take away that Limitation; and he that is limited only by his own pleasure, is not limited at all. And again, that is not Power, which cannot be exercis'd; and therefore a Fountain full of boundless Power, which cannot be brought into Act, is a Fountain full of inauthoritative Authority, or full of Emptiness. Pag. 110.

So much for our Author's Fountain, Pipes and Channels. We have his other Illustration of a boundless limited Power in these words: "To be confin'd in the Exercise, doth not destroy the Being, nor diminish the Perfection of Sovereign Power; for then the Power of God himself cou'd not be Sovereign, because there are certain immutable Rules of Truth and Justice, within which it is necessarily limited and confin'd." I answer; As God exercises no Power which is inconsistent with Truth and Justice, so he has no such Power in him in the Root or Being; for it is all Imperfection and Weakness: And that he neither exercises, nor has any such Power, is not to be imputed to any intrinsecal Limitation or Confinement, but to the infinite and illimited Perfection of his Nature. And if such a miscall'd Power, or possibility of doing wickedly, be found in the Creature, it is because he is a Creature, it proceeds from Finiteness and Defect. Pag. 111.

And to shew our Author, how much more Light there is in a few plain words, than in his Similitudes and Illustrations; I say, it is self-evident, that a man has no more Power in any kind than he can exercise: A man has no more natural Power, than he can naturally exercise; he has no more moral Power, than he can morally exercise; he has no more Civil or Legal Power, than he can legally exercise: For to say he has more Power than he can exercise, is to say, he can do more than he can do. And therefore an Ocean of our Author's boundless lawful Power of doing what cannot lawfully be done, will not fill an Egg-shell, and is such a New-nothing as even Children will despise.

Before I pass from this Distinction of Imperial and Political Laws, I must say somewhat to a Heap of Authoritys, which we have, p. 208, 209. to prove that the Realm of England is an Empire, that the Crown of it is an Imperial Crown, and that one of the Saxon Kings stil'd himself, *Basileus, Imperator, & Dominus*. Well, what of all that? The Realm of England is an Empire, has an Imperial Crown, and is as independent upon any Foreign Realm, as the Empire of Turkey; therefore the Freemen of England are as very Slaves as any are in Turkey, and under Imperial or Bowstring Law. If that be your Consequence, I will give you your whole Life's time to make it good. But Edgar stil'd himself *Basileus, Imperator & Dominus*: And *Carolus Rex* signifies a great deal more than all those three Titles did. I am asham'd to see Rolls of Parliament quoted for such poor Trifles: for it is plain by all the Remains which we have of the Saxon Times, by History, by the Saxon Laws, by King Alfred's Will in *Affer Menevensis*, and by the *Mirrou*, that the Saxon Kings were far from being absolute Emperors, having no other Power than what was limited and restrain'd by Law, and Rules of Right; as is largely set down in the *Mirrou*, p. 8. *Eslierent de eux un Roy a reigner sur eux, & gouverner le Peuple d' Dieu, & a maintenir & defendre les persons & les biens en quiet per les Rules d' droit; & al commencement ilz fieront le Roy jurer que il mainteindroit la sancte foy Christian ove tous son poyar, & sa people guideroit per droit, sans regard a ascun person, & serroit abbeissant a suffre droit come autres de son people.* And p. 9. in case the King did wrong to any of his People, that he might not be Judg and Party too, *Convient per droit que le Roy ust Compaignions pur Oyer & Terminer aux Parliaments trestouts les breves & plaints de torts de le Roy, de la Roigne, & de lour Infans, & de eux especialment de que torts len ne poit aver autrement common droit.* K. Edward's Laws, cap. 17. de Officio Regis, confirm'd by the Conqueror, and sworn to by all succeeding Kings. Testam. Alfredi. Et mecum tota nobilitas West-Saxonice gentis pro recto jure consentiunt, quod me oportet dimittere eos ita liberos, sicut in homine cogitatio ipsius consistit.

And for this purpose, as well as to make Laws for the good Government of the People, it was ordain'd in King Alfred's time for a perpetual Usage, that a Parliament shou'd meet twice a year at London, and oftner, if need were, as you have it, p. 10. And you have a great many particular Laws, which were made in those Parliaments, p. 15. Amongst other things it was ordain'd,

ordain'd, that all Plaintiffs shou'd have Writs of Remedy in the King's Court: *Aussi bien sur le Roy ou sur la Roigne, come sur autre del peuple, & chescun injury, forsque en vengeance de vie & de membre, ou pleint rien lieu sans brief.* And in the last place, to avoid prolixity, this Book, speaking of the Abusions of the Common Law, that is, Practices which are Frauds to the Law, and repugnant to Right, pag. 282. hath these words: *La premier & la souveraigne abusio est que le Roy est oustre la ley, ou il duist * ceste subject; sicome est contenu in son serement.*

* Vid. Leg. Esre.

2. *Abusio est que ou les Parlements se duissent faire par le Salvation des Almes de Trespassors, & ceo a Londres & deux foies per An, la ne se font ils ore forsque rarement, & a la volunt le Roy pur aides & cuilets de tresore, &c.* Vid. Abusio 153. p. 308.

I hope this pure old French, of which Chancellor Fortescue says the modern is but a Corruption, will inform our Author what Power a Saxon King had, and what *Basileus, Imperator & Dominus* signify'd.

I come now to the next Head, to examine some Preambles of Statutes, which he either quotes to no purpose, or else mangles them; in the same manner as Scripture was once quoted to our Saviour, and for the self-same end, namely, to teach Men to tempt God and Danger at once.

His first Collection of Preambles, pag. 212, 213. consists of Declarations, that the Crown and Realm of England is not in subjection to the Pope: which make nothing at all to our Author's purpose, but very much against it, if he did not stifle them with *Et cetera's*, and long Strokes. For the Truth of which I refer the Reader to those Statutes, and shall only set down 25 H. 8. cap. 21. for I am not at leisure either to transcribe the Statute-Book, or to winnow all our Author's Chaff.

He says, pag. 212. *The Parliament directing their Declaration to the King, enacted and declar'd,* "That this your Grace's Realm, recognizing no Superior under God, but only your Grace, hath been, and is free from Subjection, &c." Now the following words are these: "To any man's Laws, but such as have been devis'd, made and ordain'd within this Realm, for the Wealth of the same, or to such other, as by Sufferance of your Grace and your Progenitors, the People of this your Realm have taken at their free Liberty, by their own Consent, to be us'd amongst them, and have bound themselves by long Use and Custom to the Observance of the same; not as to the Observance of the Laws of any foreign Prince, Potentate, or Prelate, but as to the Custom and antient Laws of this Realm, originally establish'd as Laws of the same, by the said Sufferance, Consents and Custom, and none otherwise. It standeth therefore with natural Equity and good Reason, that all and every such Laws Human, made within this Realm, or induc'd into this Realm, by the said Sufferance, Consents and Custom, your Royal Majesty, and your Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, representing the whole State of your Realm in this your most High Court of Parliament, have full Power and Authority, not only to dispense, but also to authorize some elect Person or Persons to dispense with those, and all other human Laws of this your Realm, and with every one of them, as the quality of the Persons or Matter shall require; and also the said Laws, and every of them, to abrogate, annul, amplify, or diminish."

Now our Author, it is possible, may find out of these words an unalterable human Law of Succession, or that the King has the whole Legislative Power, or that there are Imperial Laws ordain'd within this Realm, which are not for the Wealth of the same, but may destroy the Political Laws at every turn: And so may any body else make the same Discoverys, who is resolv'd beforehand to do it.

His other Collection is, p. 218, 219. not one of which concerns the present Question; no, not that wherein he triumphs, and slavishly brags, *That the very Doctrine of the Bowstring is declar'd by Act of Parliament.* 'Twere better the Doctrine of the Bowstring were about his Neck, tho his Name were Legion. I see that if the whole Nation were enslav'd, we have some of the Brood of Cham amongst us, who wou'd rejoice at it, and make themselves as merry with it, as Nero was at the Flames of Rome, and wou'd dance after his

his Harp. But such impotent Malice, and poor-spirited Insolence, is below an *Englishman's* Indignation; and therefore I shall calmly desire our Author to look over again that Declaration, 13 Car. 2. cap. 6. and to tell me, in which Clause, Word, or Syllable of it he finds the Doctrine of the Bowstring declar'd. For my part, I have read it very often over, and cannot see any more in it than this, *That it is unlawful for both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, to raise or levy any War offensive or defensive against the King*; which was always Treason for any Subjects to do. But was ever a legal Defence against unauthoriz'd illegal Violence of Subjects, call'd by the name of levying War against the King? Shew me that in any authentick Book of Common Law, in any Statute, or in any Resolution of all the Judges in England, and I will be as passive as any man.

Before I go any further, I must not forget a Passage which more nearly concerns me, p. 221, 222. wherein I am tax'd for going contrary to my Declaration and Acknowledgment, order'd by the Act of Uniformity: *Wherein I have abhor'd that traitorous Position, of taking Arms by the King's Authority against his Person, or those that are commissioned by him.* Upon which he adds: *It was apparently the Design of the Three Estates in this Act, to secure the Nation of such Ministers, as wou'd preach up the Doctrine of Non-resistance without distinction.* But if it were, they are very much disappointed; for our Author himself, who is as good at Indistinction and Confusion in other matters as any man, does not preach the Doctrine of Non-resistance without distinction, but handles it with the Subtlety of a Schoolman. For he grants, p. 280. that one who is sent by the King's Order to assassinate or destroy his Subjects, is not commissioned by the King, for he may be resisted by the King's Law, which is his most authoritative Command: But great Numbers or Forces so employ'd, may not be resisted. So that his Doctrine is this: That if twenty men come, one by one, with the King's Order to do an illegal and destructive Act, they are not commissioned, and may be resisted; but if the same Number come together, Rank and File, with the same Order, and upon the same Errand, then they are commissioned, and may not be resisted. Is this preaching up the Doctrine of Non-resistance without distinction? Or rather, is it not making a silly distinction without a difference? Again, in the same place he has Distinction upon Distinction, in these words: *The Doctrine of Passive-Obedience allows a Man to resist, or use the Sword to defend his Life, when the Laws [from which I except all Laws destructive of the King's Crown and Regality] authorize him so to do.* This is preaching up and preaching down the same Doctrine in the same breath, upon a wicked supposition, that the Laws of the Land, which protect the Subject, are destructive of the King's Crown and Regality. Now on the other hand, all faithful Ministers of the Church of England preach Obedience to the Laws, and Non-resistance of those who are commissioned by the King, without distinction, and without deceiving the People to their destruction, and telling them those are commissioned by the King, whom the Law declares are not commissioned, nor can be commissioned, as no man can be to destroy lawful Subjects.

Such illegal Commissions are declar'd by *Magna Charta* to be null and void, and so we ought to account them, as you may see by the following words: "And for this our Gift and Grant of these Libertys, and of others, con-
tain'd in our Charter of Libertys of our Forest, the Archbishops, Bishops,
Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freeholders, and other our
Subjects, have given unto us the fifteenth part of all their Moveables: And
we have granted to them on the other part, that neither we, nor our
Heirs, shall procure or do any thing, whereby the Libertys in this Char-
ter contain'd, shall be infring'd or broken. And if any thing be pro-
cur'd by any Person, contrary to the Premises, it shall be had of no force
or effect." So that what St. Paul says of an Idol, may be fitly apply'd to a Commission contrary to Law: *For we know that an illegal Commission is nothing in the World.* And accordingly we find in Acts of Grace, that Men who act upon such Commissions, do stand in as much need of Pardon as other Men, and had the benefit of the Act of Oblivion in the first place, as you may see by the Particulars which are there pardon'd. "First, all and all manner of
Treasons,

Chap. 37.

Toties emptæ
& redemptæ
libertates.

12 Car. 2. c. 11.

" Treasons, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, Felonys, Offences, Crimes;
 " Contempts and Misdemeanors, counsel'd, commanded, acted, or done,
 " since the first of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1637. by any Person, or
 " Persons, before the 24th of *June* 1665 (other than the Persons hereafter
 " by name excepted, in such manner as they are hereafter excepted) by virtue
 " or colour of any Command, Power, Authority, Commission, or Warrant,
 " or Instructions from his late Majesty King *Charles*, or his Majesty that now
 " is, or from any other Person or Persons, deriving, or pretending to derive
 " Authority, mediately or immediately, of or from both Houses, or either
 " House of Parliament, or of or from any Convention or Assembly, call'd or
 " reputed, or taking on the name of a Parliament, &c. be pardon'd, releas'd,
 " indemnify'd, discharg'd, and put in utter Oblivion."

His fourth and last Principle, upon which he builds his false Passive-Obedience, is a false Pretence of the Sovereign's Honour; concerning which he says, pag. 279. *The Laws are more tender of our Sovereign's Honour, as he is God's Minister, than of his Subjects Lives.* As if the King's Honour, and his good Subjects Lives, cou'd ever stand in such a dangerous Competition, that one of them must of necessity destroy the other; and as if the Laws of *England* had provided, that the Lives of the People of *England* shou'd be sacrific'd to the King's Honour. Has our Author been abroad to fetch home *pour ma Gloire*, and to render it into this *English*? He might have had sounder and safer Notions at home, out of Judge *Jenkins*, whom he often quotes to no purpose. Pag. 134. we have these words: " The Gentleman says, *We do not swear* (meaning in the Oath of Supremacy) *that the King is above all Law, nor above the Safety of his People.* Neither do we swear, says Judge *Jenkins*, but his Majesty and we will swear to the contrary, and have sworn, and have made good, and will by God's Grace make good our Oath to the World, that the KING is not above the Law, nor above the Safety of his People: The Law, and the Safety of the People, are his Safety, his Honour, and his Strength." And accordingly it has been always declar'd in Parliament, to be the Honour and Glory of the Kings of *England*, that they were Kings of Freemen, and not of Slaves; whereby they have been enabled to do greater things, and to make a larger Figure in the World, than Princes of five times their Territorys. But this Author has pick'd up quite contrary Notions, and thinks it a Dishonour to the King, if the generous People which he governs, be not Slaves to every parcel of Criminals, who, *against the King's Crown and Dignity*, shall wickedly destroy them in his Name.

Judge Jenkins
 Works, p. 134.

I have now done with every thing that looks like an Argument in this Discourse of Passive-Obedience: for as for the following Chapter, there is nothing new in it; he only chews the Chud upon his Notions of Sovereignty, and rings Changes upon his Imperial and Political Laws. And then in the 12th Chapter, after he has bound us hand and foot, and prepar'd us for the Popish Knife, he has the face to tell us, That notwithstanding this Doctrine of Non-resistance or Passive-Obedience, we shall be secure enough of our Lives, Propertys and Religion, under a Popish Successor. For after he has given us the *Security of God's Care and Providence*, which we always forfeit, unless we take care of our selves; and the *Security of a Popish Prince's Conscience*, against which we desire Counter-Security; and the *Security of a Popish Prince's Honour*, which is to be fainter for extirpating the pestilent Northern Heresy, and for driving all Protestants and their Religion out of the World; and the *Security of the Political Laws*, which he has prov'd to be Bankrupt, and not half so good Security as a Broomstaff: In the last place, to our unspeakable Comfort, he tells us that the Imperial Laws cannot be put in execution: *For in such a violent Undertaking, all good Men wou'd withdraw from the Service of the King, and the Bad durst not serve him.* So that, according to our Author, a Popish Prince will be left to do his Work all alone; for no Popish Cut-Throats, no *Irish* Ruffians, no Forces can be had, for Love or Money.

Now People may take this Security which our Author offers them, if they please; they may have their Throats cut with a Feather, if they have a mind to it: But for my part, I must acknowledg my own Infirmary, I cannot swallow such gross shams, I cannot believe incredible things, upon any man's Authority

thority whatsoever, not tho he deliver them with all the seeming Gravity and Seriousness, as if he were saving a Soul.

To our Author's Conclusion in praise of a Martyrdom, I have only this to say, That there is a time for all things; and God be thank'd, that that Discourse is very impertinent. As it wou'd have concern'd us, so it wou'd have edify'd us more, if *Magna Charta*, and all the Laws which establish the Protestant Religion, had been repeal'd; but for all that, I hope they will stand, when he, and his Invention of Imperial Laws are forgotten. The Discourse is a good Discourse; but methinks it wou'd have look'd more in earnest, if it had been dated, as the last Page of it was, *e carcere*: for considering all Circumstances, I am no otherwise affected with it, than I was with the precious Passive-Doctrine, and the good Protestant Religion of our good Church, in *Coleman's* Declaration for dissolving the Parliament. If by the Providence of God, in some such Calamity as a casual Fire, I fall into Poverty, and a fellow-Sufferer with me bids me possess my Soul in patience, and comforts me with Considerations proper for such a Condition, telling me, that our blessed Saviour himself had not where to lay his head; and that the Apostles, of whom the World was not worthy, nevertheless had no certain Dwelling-place in it, and yet were contented in that low Condition; I shall look upon him as an Angel from Heaven. But if a Company of us be travelling near *Shooters-Hill*, with all that we have in the World, and the whole Subsistence of our selves and Family about us; and a Gentleman well mounted and accouter'd, shall come and preach up to us the Advantages of Poverty at a strange rate, telling us likewise, that by our Saviour's Precept, and the Apostles Example, we ought not to carry Mony in our Srips; and that in case we be set upon, to be rifled of all we have, we are by no means to defend our selves, but, like the Primitive Christians, whom the Apostle commends, to take joyfully the spoiling of our Goods: I believe this kind of Discourse wou'd look very suspiciously to all of us, and (God forgive me for it if I wrong'd him) I shou'd hardly take him for a true man, but for the Confederate of some mischievous Gang hard by, who, as a famous Captain of them heretofore us'd to say, *wou'd ease us of our Unchristian Incumbrance, and send us lighter to Heaven*. And I shou'd think not one jot the better of him, but much the worse, for his abounding with Scripture, and applying it in that manner.

Having in the beginning of this Discourse made mention of our Author's Cavils, which he has rais'd against matter of Fact, I shall here give the Reader a taste of them. Our Author may call them my whole Store, as he speaks, p. 109. with which Passage I shall begin; and in answer to a Heap of Falsifications, I shall tell him the very words of *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, to which I refer'd, and which they spoke publicly, and for which they were accus'd, and which *Theodoret* calls admirable Expressions: *For thou hast deliver'd us*, said they, *to an unrighteous Emperor, such an Apostate as is not again upon the face of the Earth*, chap. 14. but three or four Lines before what he himself quotes out of the same Chapter, to sham us; which too much discovers the Man. As for the Soldiers, who were trepan'd into sacrificing, of whom I said, that they did not spare *Julian* in the least, of whom our Author discourses, pag. 111, &c. *Theodoret* says this concerning them, *They went to Court with their Outcries, exclaiming against the Juggles and Fallacys of the Tyrant; insomuch, as the Historian adds, that they made Julian mad*.

But because these Soldiers did not form themselves into a Posture of Defence against such a lawless Tyrant as *Julian*, our Author threatens, pag. 114. that they, together with *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, shall be the thundring Legion for the time to come; and the musty Theban Legion, as he calls it, shall be laid aside, and give place to this. Now suppose these Soldiers had been a Legion compleat, into what Posture of Resistance cou'd they have form'd themselves, to have beaten eleven Legions? for a Roman Army consisted of twelve. But this terrible Legion wherewith we are menac'd, which, because it did not confound *Julian*, must ruin us, consists of a dozen or fourteen men at the most (for they all rose up from one Table) and together with *Juveninus* and *Maximus*, are sixteen men effective; so that we have just 6650 Faggots. For Fallacys, and for false Musters, I never yet knew our Author's Match.

Julian. Ep. 27.
 Ελαβοντο ὅ
 ὡς πρὸς παρρη-
 σίας ἀποτι-
 λασθαι τὴν αἰ-
 δω καὶ ἀπο-
 θέναι.

It wou'd be tedious to shew, how he shuffles with the Storys of *Mari* Bp of *Chalcedon*, the Nobleman of *Berea*, and *Publia*, which cannot be parallel'd in any other Age (for *Julian's* Reign, tho very short, and yet much too long, did happen in a certain Age of the World.) The first of these made a hard shift to go to Court, on purpose to tell *Julian* his own very publicly; whether, I am well assur'd, some other men wou'd have gone crouching with their bale Mains. The other, besides disinheriting his Son for turning to the Emperor's Religion, told the Emperor to his face, that his Son was a Villain, and hated of God for it, and had imbrac'd a Lye instead of the true Religion. So that *Julian* might well complain to his dearest Brother *Libanius*, of his ill Usage at *Berea*: which cut him to the heart, as you may see in his Letter to *Libanius*; where he says, that he had some talk with the Senate about Religion, but to no purpose, for they behav'd themselves impudently towards him; and wonders, by the Gods, that some men shou'd be asham'd of Vertue, and others again shou'd pride themselves in Sacrilege and Sottishness.

And then as for *Publia's* counting *Julian* fit to be despis'd and derided, and picking out proper Psalms for him, and watching for Opportunitys of bestowing her Blessings upon him, it cannot be match'd by all Antiquity. For I do not wonder, that in the midst of Agonys, or upon the sight of a Martyr's being put to death, the Zeal of some former Christians did break forth into such like Expressions. But all these that I speak of, were in cold blood; and *Julian* was so far from provoking them, that they were fain to whet their own Zeal themselves.

According to our Author, p. 127. the Psalms of the *Antiochians*, at which *Julian* was so inrag'd as he never was in his life, and cou'd not contain himself, did only wish *Julian* what they themselves counted the greatest Happiness in the world, namely, his Conversion to Christianity, and that to be wrought by no harsher Penance than a Deboist, which every Fresh-man at *Cambridge* has often undergone, upon much smaller accounts; and which, the Learned say, comes from our Author's Hebrew word, *נבז*. But I must crave leave to inform our Author, that the word *confounded* (and so the word *asham'd*) in *David*, signifys much more than being put to the blush; for it implies some very great Evil, some astonishing Calamity, and terrible Rebuke. And therefore these words are frequently put together, *Let them be confounded and perish*. Psal. 71. 1. Ver. 13. & 83. 17. Confusion is oppos'd to Deliverance and Safety; and, Psal. 53. 6. which is the mildest acceptation of the word, *Thou hast put them to Confusion*, is as much as, *Thou hast broken their Bones*. But it may be our Author, when he says the last Verse of *Te Deum*, which is taken from the first Verse of the 25th or 71st Psalm, *O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded*; prays only that he may never blush: which I am apt to think, or else we had had none of this Stuff.

Again, pag. 139. the joint and publick Prayers, the Common Prayer of a whole City, in their Cathedral Church, for *Julian's* Destruction, must not be call'd their Prayers. That's hard! when old *Gregory* himself, being a Bishop, might write *We*; and yet *πανόμοιος*, and words of Multitude must not be call'd *They*. Further, if the Practice of the purest Church in that Age, a Church that was call'd the *New Jerusalem*, and *Noah's Ark* in those Days, and which *Nazianzen* says, was like *Bethlehem*, the *Metropolis* of all the World, must not pass for the Practice of the Church; then there is no such thing in Antiquity as the Practice of the Church, and it is in vain to talk of it.

In the same page, our Author puts me in great hopes, that he wou'd shew me a Prayer for *Julian's* Conversion, by saying, that he cou'd produce one Example; and by upbraiding my wilful Blindness in missing such a Barn-door, when I was so near it. But I was grievously disappointed, when I found that this Example was *Sozomen's* account of *Dydimus's* Prayer and Fasting: for there is not one word or syllable in *Sozomen*, of *Julian's* Conversion or Repentance; neither do I know by what Authority he forges and foists words into Authors at his pleasure. But on the other hand, the miraculous Answer of *Dydimus's* Prayer is a strong proof that he pray'd for *Julian's* Destruction: For it was at that time, in a very wonderful manner, reveal'd to him, that

+

Julian

Orat. 19.
 p. 297.

Julian was that day kill'd; and he was bid to tell the news to *Athanasius* the Bishop, who, I suppose, was another that contributed to *Julian's* destruction, as well as the two *Gregorys*, and the Church of *Nazianzum*: and as the Historian adds, immediately upon this he fell to eating, as if his Fasting had now attain'd its end. And further, the whole Design of that Chapter in *Sozom.* lib. 6. *cap. 2.* *men* is to shew, that *Julian's* Death and Destruction was from God, because he laid waste his Churches. Upon which account the Prophets and Apostles enter'd into a Consultation against him, as you have it in the first Vision of that Chapter; and two of their number going out in all haste, as it shou'd seem to dispatch him, return'd the next night to the Assembly, with an account of his Death. And I had not room in a little Book for all those Storys, or else the Reader shou'd have had 'em.

As for *Valentinian*, our Author says, p. 116. That if he had shak'd the holy Water off his Clothes, it had been all one, and he had thereby own'd his Religion, as well as by striking the Priest. Now *Valentinian* the Confessor not only shook the holy Water off, but tore off that part of his Clothes upon which the holy Water fell, and said he was polluted by it: And yet that did not serve his turn, but he struck the Priest too before *Julian's* face, which *Julian* reseated as a high Contempt, and punish'd him thereafter. And it lies upon our Author to prove, that ever *Valentinian* excus'd himself, and beg'd the Emperor's pardon.

The next thing, in the same page, is the Instance which I gave of old *Gregory's* Behaviour; against which our Author raises such a multitude of little Exceptions, as will not all of them amount to one real Objection. However, in answer to them I say, that *He*, the Person in controversy, is *Julian*. For besides that *Elias Cretensis* renders *ἐκείνῳ*, *Impius ille*, and there is no Construction in words, if it be understood of any other Person, as every School-boy knows; there is likewise a Transubstantiation-Solecism in our Author's way of rendring it: For then the Captain (being included in *ἐς*) must lead himself, and march at the Head of himself; which, tho it goes down in the Mass for Mystery, will never pass in an Author for Sense. Again, *παρὰ πρæσβυτέρων* is fallily render'd, with the Emperor's Orders, for it signifies with peremptory Commands, *Jussis*, or in an imperious way he demanded the Church. But above all, his rendering *ἐκείνῳ*, to be ill, shews the depth of his Grecianhip; for according to his own Quotation of *Phauarimus*, *ἐκείνῳ* is to suffer a beating, or to be beaten passively. So that if our Author will have *πίδας ἐκείνῳ* signify to be beaten on the Feet, or drub'd, instead of kickt, I shall not contend; provided he will first agree the matter with *Billius*, who renders it *calcibus casus*, and with the only *Elias Cretensis* we have, who renders it *pedibus contusus*, to whose Authority I purposely and expressly refer'd my self, knowing I had to do with captious Persons; and provided he will let the English word *kick'd* serve to express a contemptuous beating, because in this Country the way of setting a man upon his head, and beating the Soles of his feet, is not so well understood. And as on these conditions I will not fall out with him upon this one Criticism, so he has reason to take this Concession kindly; for I do assure him, that I will not make him such another again, nor hate him one syllable in my whole Book besides. Lastly, as for the *Uncanonialness* and *Eccentricity*, as our Author calls it, of *Gregory's* Intentions in this Passage, let both the *Gregorys*, and the Church of *Nazianzum*, who thought it a great part of the old man's Praises, look to't; I am no ways concern'd.

In the same Chapter, p. 122. he finds a Plot against the Chaplains, and the Government, in rendring *ἐκείνῳ*, Chaplain. It is always render'd *Ædituus* in Latin, which *Gouldman* says, is the Prelate of the Temple or Church, the Parson. Now as from *Ædes* comes *Ædituus*, so from Chappel comes Chaplain; and that was the very reason of my chusing that word, which I did the rather, because *Julian's* Temple of Fortune was but a Chappel, and stood within the Palace. There is likewise in the same Chapter, p. 124. somewhat that is like the Letter from *Leghorn*, from on board the *Van-Herring*; but that being a mysterious sort of Writing, is out of my way, and therefore I shall say nothing at all to it.

Our Author's frequent Inconsistences and Contradictions won'd fill a Book. The Roman Empire, he says, was Elective; and yet, p. 9. in the fundamental Constitution

stitution of it, it was decreed by the Senate to Julius Cæsar, and the Sons of his Body. P. 222. He calls this an Atheistical Principle, That all Power is radically in the People: and yet it seems it was otherwise at Sparta; for, p. 240. he tells us, The Kings of Sparta had only the Exercise of the Sovereign Power, but not the Sovereign Power it self; that was radically and originally in the People: And so in the same page, The Magistrates in Switzerland derive their Power from the People. Now I thought, that what was really Atheism in one Country, wou'd never prove to be good Divinity in another, but must be Atheism every where.

But because our Author is pleas'd to call this an *Atheistical as well as an Illegal Principle in England*; I shall here set down the words of Mr. Hooker, as great a Man perhaps as ever England bred; whose Book has been deservedly recommended by several Kings, and admir'd by all men, and who does not use to be charg'd with broaching atheistical and illegal Principles. *Eccles. Pol. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

"All publick Regiment, of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate Advice, Consultation, and Composition between men." And after a large Discourse to that purpose, he has these words: "That which we spake before concerning the Power of Government, must here be apply'd to the Power of making Laws whereby to govern; which Power God hath over all: and by the natural Law whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful Power of making Laws to command whole Politick Societys of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire Societys, that for any Prince or Potentate, of what kind soever, upon Earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by expresse Commission, immediately and personally receiv'd from God, or else by Authority deriv'd at first from their Consent, upon whose Persons they impose Laws, it is no better than mere Tyranny."

It is wonderful to see what a Dust he raises about the Pursivant, p. 276, 277, &c. which yet may be all lay'd by one word, and by only saying, That *Brownlow's* Reports were writ for those that understood the word *Homicide*, which amongst other things is Chance-medly, or *Se defendendo*, as well as Man-slaughter. And in this very Case, *Simpson's Case*, which you have over again in *Coke's 4th Part Inst. of Eccles. Courts*, p. 333. with more exactness of Circumstances; my Lord Chief Justice *Coke* says expressly, it was *Se defendendo* in *Simpson*. And yet how many Reflections does our Author load me with, upon occasion of that ignorant Mistake, just as he has done in many other places of his Book! But it wou'd be hard indeed, if one man's Honesty and Integrity were to be all forfeited by another man's Ignorance. There is, I confess, in that large abusive Discourse, one material Question, which he puts to me in these words: *Will he make the Law the compleat and adequate Rule to walk by?* Which I shou'd answer my self, but I will get Bishop *Hall* to do it better for me, in these words:

Resolutions of Practical Cases of Conscience, Dec. 2. Case 1. Dalton, p. 244. "What then if the Thief, after his Robbery done, ceasing any further danger of Violence, shall betake himself to his heels, and run away with my Mony? In such a case, if the Sum be so considerable, as that it much imports my Estate, however our municipal Laws may censure it (with which, of old, even a killing *Se defendendo* was no less than Felony of Death) my Conscience shou'd not strike me, if I pursue him with all my might, and in hot chase so strike him, as that by this means I disable him from a further escape, for the recovery of my own; and if hereupon his Death shall follow, however I shou'd pass with Men, God and my own Heart wou'd acquit me."

See the same Case, p. 100, 101.

Sir, you see the Bishop is so far of your mind, that he does not think the Law a compleat and adequate Rule to walk by: for he wou'd have exceeded and transgress'd the Law, in defence of his own Right; nay, he wou'd not have thought himself hinder'd by his Clerical Character, but with his own Episcopal Hand, whether the Law had given him leave or no, wou'd have slain a Thief, running away with his Purse. And yet *Simpson* must make a narrow escape, by Repentance and his Neck-verse, from Hell and the Gallows, for struggling to rescue himself from a Man-catcher, who was running away with his Person.

Our Author's Law, and Casuistical Divinity are so well match'd, that it is pity they shou'd ever be parted; of both which I shall take my leave at present, because I intended a little Book, and not a Folio.

A SECOND
Five Year's Struggle
AGAINST
POPERY
AND
TYRANNY:

BEING
A Collection of PAPERS

PUBLISH'D

By *SAMUEL JOHNSON*

During his last Imprisonment of Five Years and Ten Days.

WILLIELMO HENRICO,
REGI MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ
MAXIMO,
TYRANNIDIS DOMITORI,
LIBERTATUM BRITANNICARUM
STATORI,

REFORMATÆ RELIGIONIS
COLUMINI COLUMNÆQUE,
Hos durissimi Quinquennii Labores

D. D. D.

MAJESTATIS SUÆ

Subditus

Quam maxime Fidelis

SAMUEL JONSONIUS.



The PREFACE.

I Have little to say in behalf of the following Papers, unless it be this, That they are all of a piece; and that they have impartially oppos'd all the Enemies of our Country, in whatever Shape I met with them, either of a Church-of-England man, a Jesuit, or a Regulator. I may add likewise, that they were not written out of harm's-way, but in the Enemy's Quarters, with so great Danger as well as Difficulty, that I liv'd for many Tears together only from Term to Term. But no man ought to count his Life dear to him in the Cause of his Country; for he that is bound to love one Neighbour as himself, must in proportion love ten Millions of Neighbours so many times better than himself. It is also plain to every body, that I did not therefore write these Pieces to make this Collection of them; but that on the other hand, I have this unexpected Opportunity of collecting them, because I heretofore writ them. For in those dark times neither Man nor Angel cou'd possibly foresee this Happy Day; because tho' if God in much Mercy had taken away the Late Tyrant and Present Rebel, yet according to the Doctrine of an unalterable Succession (that awful Circle of Chalk, which has stunn'd so many Bigots) we shou'd never have been without a Popish Successor to the World's End. For, as it appears by the late artificial Prince of Wales, the Papists had found out an everlasting way of putting new Lives into the Lease, and so Popery and Slavery were to have gone on in *Secula Seculorum*.

But waving all other things, my Intent in writing this short Preface is, to pay a due Debt of Acknowledgments to those Persons both of Honour and great Worth, who supported me in so excessive a Charge as these Papers were; as also to give my publick Thanks to all those, who hazarded themselves in assisting me to disperse them. And tho' they are fit to serve their Country in some more easy and profitable Employment, yet I am sure they are too generous to seek it at the Hands of those, who have been voted the Betrayers of the Nation; but will rather rest contented with the Interest they have in the Hearts and Affections of their Country, and will sit down with that honourable Proverbial Question on their side, Why is not Mr. Wallop made a Judg?

THIS

THIS following Discourse was publish'd, when a Sermon against Popery was become a great Rarity, on purpose to stir up the Clergy against the Common Enemy; to which end it was address'd to them by a very respectful Dedication.

The Epistle Dedicatory to the Clergy.

Men, Brethren, and Fathers:

* Artic. 14.

† Artic. 22.

|| Artic. 31.

I Presume with all humility, to offer this small Discourse, rather to You, than to any other Patrons; because being level'd against the Church of Rome, the implacable and mortal Enemy of the Protestant Religion, it is a service to you in the first place; and therefore has an immediate right to your Acceptance and Encouragement. The Protestant Cause against Popery is a very good one in it self; but besides you have so many and so strong Engagements to it, that whenever a Defence of it is recommended to your Patronage, it comes to its own, and therefore I hope will be receiv'd by you. It is a great part of the Doctrine of the Church of England, to say that we are not Papists; and very many of the thirty nine Articles are wholly spent in condemning and renouncing * the Arrogant and Impious Doctrines; † the fond, and vain, and unwarrantable Inventions; || the blasphemous Fables and dangerous Deceits of that false Religion. I have endeavour'd to justify that Doctrine of our Church, by giving some further Reasons, why we are not Papists; and by shewing that we can never be made Papists, but by putting out the eyes of the Nation.

My Design both in preaching this Sermon heretofore, and in publishing it now, was partly to prevent, as far as in me lay, the Ruin and Destruction of those many Millions of Souls which are now your Charge; and will certainly perish, if ever they come under the Conduct of the blind Romish Guides: and partly, to free my self from the Blood of our miserable Posterity, which will undoubtedly be requir'd of this Generation, if Popery return again in our days, after it has been so long cast out.

Popery is the worst Religion, or pretended Religion in the whole world; for she puts out the Understandings of those of her own Communion, and tears out the Hearts of all others: whom she cannot deceive, she will destroy. Upon which account she is the common Enemy of Mankind, and of us in particular, whom she has threaten'd with utter Extirpation, and has given it us under the hand of her Secretary Coleman. Now I can as soon believe Transubstantiation to be true, as believe that we are bound to encourage and assist her intended Cruelty against us, by meeting it half-way, and by vowing our selves Sacrifices to it. On the other hand, unless we use our best endeavours both against Popery and all those treacherous Inlets which make a way for it, we do but mock God when we pray against it; and particularly, when we say that excellent Prayer against the Popes of Rome, which our own Church has put into our mouths.

The second
Part of the
Sermon for
Whitsunday,
p. 286.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth defend us from their Tyranny and Pride, that they never enter into his Vineyard again, to the disturbance of his silly poor Flock; but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the World. And he of his great mercy so work in all mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preach'd, truly receiv'd, and truly follow'd in all places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist; that like scatter'd and dispers'd Sheep, being at length gather'd into one Fold, we may in the end rest all together in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be Partakers of Eternal and Everlasting Life, thro the Merits and Death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

A



S E R M O N

Preach'd before the

Lord Mayor and Aldermen

A T

GUILDHALL-CHAPPEL, on *Palm-Sunday*, 1679.

MAT. XV. latter part of the 14th Verse.

And if the Blind lead the Blind, they shall both of them fall into the Ditch.



THESE Words are spoken of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, as appears plainly by the Context; who tho they were perversly and stupidly ignorant, yet undertook to be the only Guides and Instructors of the People: and they again were so simple and besotted, as to put themselves under their Conduct and Direction.

And now what good can come of such senseless doings? Our Saviour here tells us what the effect of it will be, *They shall both of them fall into the ditch*, and ingulph themselves together in Perdition. And this is so certain, that in another place, *Luke 6. 39.* he appeals to the common Sense of Mankind, whether this be not likely to prove the last issue of such a course: he wou'd fain know how it can be otherwise; *Can the Blind lead the Blind? Shall they not both fall into the ditch?*

In handling these Words I shall consider,

- I. Why our Saviour calls these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, *blind Guides*.
- II. Why he calls the People, their Followers, *blind*.
- III. The *Danger* of both *Partys* engag'd in this senseless Course.

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I. Why

A Second Five Year's Struggle

I. Why our Saviour calls the *Scribes and Pharisees, blind Guides*.
 And the Reasons of it may be refer'd to these two Heads:
 1. Because their Doctrines were contrary to Reason and common Sense.
 And therefore he often calls them *Fools and Blind*.

2. Because they were contrary to the Holy Scriptures: *They made void the Commandments of God thro their Traditions*.

1. Because their Doctrines were contrary to Reason and common Sense. What will Heathen wou'd not have scorn'd that idle Conceit, that washen Hands cou'd contribute to a man's inward Sanctity? And yet this was the standing Tradition of the Elders, that none must eat with unwashen Hands; that so the Hands might not defile the Meat, nor the Meat the Man. And they were so careful to have this Practice duly observ'd, that they came on purpose to our Saviour, to complain of his Disciples for their scandalous Neglect in this point, and to challenge him for suffering them in it: As you have a full account in the beginning of this Chapter; together with our Saviour's sense of this out-side and superficial Religion, which is so far from the Heart. And upon this occasion it is, he here calls them *blind*.

Another Instance of this, was their senseless Distinctions about the Obligation of Oaths, *Mat. 23. 16, 17. Wo unto you, ye blind Guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the Temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the Gold of the Temple, he is a Debtor, i. e. bound to take care of his Oath, and make it good. Ye Fools and Blind; for whether is greater, the Gold, or the Temple which sanctifies the Gold?* These were profound Casuists indeed, to determine so awkwardly and absurdly, and quite the wrong way, in Subtiltys of their own making.

2. Because their Doctrines were contrary to the Holy Scriptures, they made void the Commandments of God thro their Traditions. Our Saviour shews us how they transgress'd the fifth Commandment, and made it of none effect thro their Traditions, in the fourth Verse of this Chapter. And so he shews in other places, how they had evaded and eluded the other Commandments, by their false Glosses and Interpretations. They taught men how to supplant Justice and Honesty, by pretences of Piety; and to break the Tables of the Law one against another. They were very punctual in little Observances, about paying Tithe of Mint, Anise, and Cummin, which it is very disputable whether God did command or no; but in the mean time, made no conscience of the more weighty and substantial things of the Law, Judgment, Mercy and Faithfulness. Which makes our Saviour call them again, *blind Guides, which strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*, *Mat. 23. 24*.

II. And yet, in the second place, these blind Guides were taken for no less than *Infallible*, by their blind and ignorant Followers. For they had swallow'd down all their false and absurd Doctrines, without any Scruple or Examination: insomuch that it was a great part of our Saviour's business, both in his Sermon upon the Mount, and elsewhere, to undeceive them in these matters. The People had captivated their Understandings and Belief to the Dictates of these men, to such a degree, that it was laid down as a Rule amongst them, *That if a Scribe said their right Hand was their left, they were bound to believe him*. The Scribes and Pharisees, it seems, had gain'd such an absolute Empire and Dominion over the Minds of the People, that they thought it their duty rather to distrust their own Sense and Reason, than what their Teachers deliver'd, tho it were ever so apparently false.

What has been said concerning these Jews, with whom we are less concern'd, is enough to put you in mind of certain Priests and People in the world, who exactly agree with this Character, and seem to inherit the very Spirit and Temper of these men. And to be plain, it is in the Romish Religion where this odd Scene has been acted over again, and the Blind have led the Blind for several Ages together. The blind Guides of that Church have affronted the Reason of Mankind, and voided the Holy Scriptures more effectually, than ever the Scribes and Pharisees did; and all their Dictates have been follow'd with as blind an Obedience by the People.

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First,

First, Their Doctrines and Traditions, as the Pharisees were, are contrary to Reason, and the common Sense of Mankind. Prayer in an *Unknown Tongue*, is certainly a most unreasonable and contradictory thing. It is making their Requests known unto God, for that is the *English* of Prayer, when they do not know them *themselves*. It is the performance of a reasonable Act, without the help of the Understanding. In a word, it is the truest *Sacrifice of Fools*. Now, this is impos'd upon the generality of Christians, as *C. Peronne* tells us, for Uniformity-sake, that the Mass may be said alike in all places; that *Latin* may be kept up in the world, to prevent the ill sounding of old and obsolete Words in vulgar Tongues; and for such-like Reasons, which are as vain and ridiculous, as the Practice they are brought to justify.

Reply to King James.

The Doctrine of Merit and Superrogation, is a false and insolent Doctrine at the first sight; whereby they teach, that our great Creator may be put into debt, and owe vast Arrears to one of his own Creatures: That some particular men may have Goodness enough, and to spare; and may help out others with the overplus. And upon the Stock of these Merits, is rais'd the Fund of Roman Indulgences; whereby the Pope does make large abatements of the number of mens Sins: and whereas they owe for hundreds or thousands, can, with the unjust Steward, *bid them sit down and write Four score*.

It wou'd be endless to rip up the Absurditys of a Purgatory-Fire, which is to refine mens Souls: *Souls*, I say, for it is plain that their *Bodys* are then lying in the grave. Of Auricular Confession, where a man unlades himself of all his Sins, by whispering them into the Priest's ear. Of praying to Dead men, who cannot hear us; and for Dead men, who are past help. Of worshipping Images, and expecting great Good from them; concerning which, what *David* says, is the Verdict of mere natural Reason: *They that make them, are like unto them; and so are all they that put their trust in them*. As very Stocks and Stones as what they worship. *Psal. 115. 8.*

Of Transubstantiation, where men must renounce all their five Senses at once, and where Absurditys, Repugnancys, and utter Impossibilitys lie upon heaps. A Doctrine that lies so cross to a man's Understanding, as if it were fram'd in spite to our reasonable Facultys. But so much the better: for now we are able to demonstrate the Falshood and Impossibility of it; and if it had not been so very absurd, it had been the harder to confute. But now that it is so point-blank contrary to the most evident and certain Truths we have either in the Mathematicks, or in Philosophy, we are able to bring this Controversy to a short and speedy issue. For if Transubstantiation be true, it has the good luck to be the *only* Truth in the world, and there is never another beside.

And after all, the Doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility keeps a very good decorum with the rest. For tho he has, by his Authority, spread these false and absurd Doctrines over a great part of the World; and tho they seem to be very unreasonable; yet they are really true, because he that delivers them, is out of a possibility of erring: he alone cannot err; and all others, without some of his assistance, cannot but err. But it is very hard to believe, that one single Man in the world is *more* than a man, and that all the rest are *less* than men. That if he place himself in his Chair, he cannot err if he wou'd; and that others lie under as fatal a necessity of erring, if they be left to themselves, without his guidance and direction. And it is still the harder to believe it, because these Oracles have been found contradicting each other. So that besides their Infallibility, they must have another Privilege beyond all other mortal men; and that is, to contradict one another, and yet be both in the right.

Secondly, Their Traditions and Doctrines are contrary to the Holy Scriptures. Their Prayers in an unknown Tongue are directly contrary to the fourteenth Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. Their Worship of Images is so plain a Breach of the second Commandment, that themselves seeing how irreconcilable they are, and that they cannot both stand together, have wisely let slip that Commandment out of their Catechisms. And so it were as easy to shew you concerning the rest. The Sacramental Elements are call'd *Bread* and *Wine* in Scripture, even after Consecration. But instead of particular Instances, the Pope's Infallibility, and sole Prerogative of interpreting

preting Scripture, is that which undermines the whole Gospel all at once. For it makes the Scripture but a Stale, and gives the Pope's Interpretations all the Authority, which of right belongs to the Scripture. So that as *Belarmine* says, If the Pope call Vertue Vice, or Vice Vertue, he is to be believ'd and obey'd. And this indeed is a short and compendious way, of making all the Commandments of God of none effect; for men must observe them no longer than the Bishop of *Rome* thinks fit. And thus much for the first thing; which was, to shew how contrary the Doctrines of the Romish Priests are both to Scripture and Reason, and consequently that they have as much right to that Title of *blind Guides*, or more, than ever the Scribes and Pharisees had.

The Second thing is to shew you, That they are attended by as blind and ignorant Followers. And this is notorious to the world; for Ignorance is industriously cherish'd among the common People, to make them the better Catholics: according to that Proverb, which has been a long time current among them, that *Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion*. There is a kind of Contract of Error made betwixt them: The Clergy are loth to have the People examine things; and the People, on the other side, are as ready to take things upon trust, that they may not be at the pains of examining: and so they have right the Nuncio's Blessing, *Si Populus vult decipi, decipiat*; if the People are willing to be deceiv'd, let them.

Nay, they have enslav'd themselves to such Principles, as will for ever keep them low and ignorant, and which cut off all Inquiry after Truth. For they are made to believe, that it is a mortal Sin to doubt of any part of their Religion: and then it is another mortal Sin, not to confess this to the Priest; who questionless will take care to keep them from staggering, and effectually prevent their Apostacy from the Church.

The Holy Scripture, which is the best means of instructing them better, is either lock'd up from them in an unknown Tongue, or at least the free use of it is deny'd to them. And yet they take this Injury so patiently, that most of them are really and heartily perswaded that it is for their good, and that they are thereby the farther remov'd from all danger of falling into Heresy.

In his Letter
to Casaubon.

They content themselves with that short Creed, To believe as the Church believes; with an implicit Faith, that is, with a Belief in another's keeping: Or, as Cardinal *Perron* explains the thing, It is to believe with the Faith of the Church, or adhere to the Church which believes such things. By the Faith of which Church, says he, they live, as long as they continue in its Communion; as Children live by the nourishment of the Mother, all the while they are in her Womb. Which is the fittest resemblance in Nature that can be found out for them.

De Sacr. Eucharistia,
Sect. 25.

By virtue of this Faith, all the *Embrios* of that Religion do believe, that all these absurd Doctrines are contain'd in Scripture: nay, that *Transubstantiation* it self is in the Apostles Creed. For the *Trent* Catechism says expressly, That it is not lawful for any of the Faithful to doubt, but it is comprehended in these two Articles; *I believe in God the Father Almighty, and I believe in the Holy Catholick Church. The Father Almighty is able to effect and bring it to pass, and the Holy Catholick Church tells us, he does effect and bring it to pass: and there it is.* Now if this be not blind Belief, I wou'd fain know what is.

III. The third Thing I propounded was, to shew you the *Danger* of both *Partys* engag'd in this senseless Course: *If the Blind lead the Blind, they shall both fall into the Ditch.* And I shall chuse this way to do it.

First, By laying open before you what a great Fault it is in the *Priests*.

Secondly, In the *People*. And then your selves may easily judg of the Danger.

First, What a great Fault it is in the *Priests*.

And that (1.) in advancing Doctrines contrary to Reason and common Sense; whereby they go about, as much as in them lies, to extinguish that great Light which God has set up to enlighten every man that comes into the World. Reason is the only thing we have to trust to, in the last issue and

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result

result of things. And our very Belief of Divine Revelations, must finally be resolv'd into it; or else we shall very ill comply with St. Peter's Advice, *to be ready to render a Reason of the Hope that is in us.* It is that which lays in us the foundation of all Religion, I mean a true Notion of God; it teaches us due Apprehensions of him, and to conceive rightly concerning him. It instructs us, that we receiv'd our Being, and all our Facultys from him; that we cannot be deceiv'd by them, in those things which we evidently and distinctly perceive; and that to think otherwise, wou'd be to reflect upon God. Nay, it teaches us, that Omnipotence it self cannot make a clear Conception to be false: it can indeed make something out of nothing, but it can't make something to be nothing.

These, and such-like Principles of Reason, are the Rock upon which all Religion stands; and if any man will go wisely and orderly to work, he must be satisfy'd in these things, before he can think of Revelation. As for our reasonable Facultys, we know whence we had them, and are assur'd that God has spoken to us by them: But as for any Revelation, we know not whence it is, till we have try'd and examin'd it; till we see how it agrees with our natural Notices of God; till we find that it is worthy of God, and becoming his Holiness, Wisdom, Goodness and Truth: for then it bears God's Mark and Supercription upon it, and carries along with it one great Evidence that it came forth from God. When a Reveal'd Religion, and the Reason of Mankind, do perfectly correspond, and bear witness to one another; it is a sign they both proceed from one Author, and were both given us by the same hand. If a Doctrine, which pretends to come from God, does teach us over again the first Principles of our Creation, and the Eternal Laws of Heaven and Earth, and nothing at all contrary to them, who can reasonably doubt but this is the very Mind and Will of him who made the World?

However, this is an undeniable Consequence on the other hand: If any pretended Revelation contain in it things contrary to Reason, such as we are able to prove false; it cannot come from God, it is immediately convicted of Fraud and Imposture. For whatsoever is false in Philosophy, can never be true in Divinity. If natural and supernatural Truths cou'd be suppos'd to cross one another, we shou'd be bound to Contradictions and Impossibilitys, we shou'd be engag'd at once to believe and disbelieve the same things; and in the self-same instance, to act both as reasonable and unreasonable Creatures.

Therefore when men first teach what is contrary to Reason, and then vilify and disparage it, as that which *savours not the things which be of God*; as that which is *purblind*, and sees little or nothing in matters of Religion; as that which is *stark blind*, and sees nothing at all: what do they but undermine the Foundations of all Religion, and eclipse that *common Light* which discovers God to the World, and that bright Star which leads all wise men to Christ; and in a word, take the ready way, not to leave a Christian or a reasonable Man in the World?

2. It is likewise a great Fault, to teach Doctrines contrary to the Holy Scripture. For it is to unteach the People what God has taught them: it is to set them free from those Obligations which God has laid upon them, and to make them the Servants of men: it is the presumptuous entitling of God to their own Errors and Falshoods, and saying, *The Lord hath spoken it*, when he never said it, neither did it ever come into his mind.

It is an unspeakable Injury to our blessed Saviour, to misrepresent his Holy Gospel, and to make him be thought the Author of an absurd, and senseless, and loose, and cruel Religion. It is enough to alienate the Minds of those, who only know Popery, and the dark side of our Religion, from Christianity it self; and to make them take up the Resolution of *Averroes*, *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum Philosophis*: As long as the Christians worship what they eat, let my Soul be with the Philosophers.

It deceives men in matters of the greatest consequence, in the weighty Concerns of their Soul, and of Eternity; wherein, of all other things, it is the most horrid and barbarous to impose upon them. In a word, it is the shreudest Ill-turn, under pretence of the greatest Charity; it is destroying men, in the way of making them happy; it is poisoning the Sacrament, and it is the Blood of Souls.

And

And the Badness of this Practice will further appear, by considering the Motives which draw men to it. And in some Points of Popery, it is visible that it is *Covetousness*, making Merchandise of Souls for filthy Lucre sake. And indeed, no Gain can be so foul and dishonest, as that for which men sell Truth, and the everlasting Interests of men.

In other Points the Motive is *Reputation*; which is so plain in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, that one of their own Writers cannot forbear enlarging upon the great Honour which it derives upon the Clergy, by giving them such a Privilege, as if all the learned Clerks, that ever liv'd since the beginning of the World, shou'd have study'd to raise, advance, and magnify some one State of Men to the highest pitch of Reverence and Eminency, they cou'd never (without special Light from Heaven) have thought of any thing comparable to this. That is, they can make their Maker: *Sacerdos est Creator sui Creatoris*.

The Sweets of Government, and the extreme and accursed Pleasure of having a spiritual Dominion, and reigning over the Minds and Belief of men; seem to be the Original of other Points, as namely, Infallibility and Confession.

It is much to be fear'd, that Ambition, Secular Profit and Advantages, the God of this World, has blinded their eyes in these and many other particulars. I know, they plead Councils and Fathers, and uninterrupted Tradition, in behalf of their Doctrines; but with so little probability, that it may put us in mind of what *Polybius* says concerning the declaring of War, That one Reason is given out, but generally that which is conceal'd is the true Reason.

However we are sure, that if such worldly Considerations do not blind their eyes, and bias their Understandings; yet want of considering and examining things freely and impartially, is a fault, of which they will never be able to acquit themselves. And that's Crime enough, for a man to bury his Reason alive, and hide his Talent in a Napkin, because he will not be at the pains of improving it. It is an unpardonable slighting of Heaven, and of the right way thither, as if they were not worthy of their Enquiry after them; and is sufficient to destroy both themselves and them that hear them. Who are likewise,

Secondly, in great danger, if we consider what a great Fault it is in them, to follow their blind Guides with a blind Belief and Obedience.

1. In Doctrines which are contrary to Reason and common Sense. This must be the worse, because a man cannot do it without some reluctance, and without offering violence to his own Mind. We are apt to have very uncomfortable Thoughts of the Heathen World, as sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death; but men that yield up their Belief to the Dictates of others, betray themselves into a worse Condition: they expose themselves to greater Errors than ever the Heathens were guilty of; of which the single Doctrine of Transubstantiation will serve for a thousand instances: And not only so, but they put it out of their power ever to correct their Errors, and lie wholly at the mercy of another.

Mahomet requires no more than this tractable Principle, to keep men *Turks* and good *Musselmens*; for this will for ever reconcile them to all the absurd and bloody Doctrines of the *Alcoran*. In the 32d *Azoara* of which Book, he cautions his Followers not to enter into debate about their Religion, nor to argue for it; but if any one offer to dispute with them, to say, *That God shall discuss all Controversys in the Day of Judgment: which it is as easy for him to do, as if it lay written before him in a Book, seeing all things are his*. And in another place he says, *That no body understands the Alcoran, but God alone; but they that have the Depth of Wisdom, say of it, We believe it, for all of it comes from our good God*. And if they be true to these Principles, it is utterly impossible to bring men over from that senseless and barbarous Religion, or ever to put them out of conceit with it.

And besides, this Temper not only exposes men to the Belief of the greatest Cheats and Impostures in Religion, but likewise is a folly which admits of no manner of defence or excuse. Why did God give every man a Conscience of his own, if he were to be guided and directed by another man's Conscience, and not his own? It is the Birthright of Mankind to be govern'd by their own Reason in their sense of Religion, and as to their inward Belief; but

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these

Rushw. Dial. 1.
Sect. 4.

Another says,
The Priest has
hereby the
Honour of be-
ing the Father
of Christ,
whom he has
begotten in
the Sacrament.

See this with
much other
Blasphemy, in
Andr. River's
Explic. Decal.
p. 1364.

these men part with it upon cheaper terms than profane *Eſau* ſold his, and fairly renounce it at a *Prieſt's* bidding.

Where ſhou'd men uſe their Reason and Underſtanding moſt, but in matters of the greateſt moment? and ſuch without controversy Religion is. Did God endow us with theſe Divine Facultys, only to meaſure Lines and Angles, or to learn Trades, or to drive Bargains? We may as well ſay, that he created the Sun to ſave Candle. No, he beſtow'd them upon us for nobler and higher purpoſes; that we might know him, and know our ſelves, what relation we have to him, and what ſervice we owe him; that we might diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe, right and wrong, and might be able to think and act as becomes reaſonable Creatures. And thoſe that commit theſe precious Talents to another's keeping, are like to give but a very ill account of them.

2. In Doctrines which are contrary to the Holy Scripture. Here the People may more eaſily be abuſ'd than before, and be miſled without being aware of it; becauſe the Inſtitutions of Revea'd Religion are not ſo well known, nor ſo obvious to men, as the Dictates of Nature. But the *Prieſts* very forbidding the People to read the Scripture, gives them a juſt ſuſpicion that they are abuſ'd, and wou'd make any conſiderate man the more eager to examine whether the things they teach be ſo or no: For which the generous *Bereans* are commended in Scripture, who wou'd not take the *Apoſtle's* bare word, but ſearch'd the Scriptures themſelves.

If any Doctrine decline trial, it is a great argument againſt it; for Truth loſes nothing by being brought to the teſt. If any Religion be too good to be examin'd, it is too bad to be believ'd.

Men wou'd not be thus tamely cheated in worldly matters; they will not buy, or bargain at this blind rate: and therefore it is a ſign that they leſs care what becomes of their Souls, than of their Mony and Eſtates.

So that in the laſt place, this Temper reſolves it ſelf into a great Indifferency and Unconcernedneſs about Religion, which ought to be our firſt and chief Care. It proceeds from a brutiſh Degeneracy of Mind, which makes men content to be like the Horſe and Mule, which have no Underſtanding. It has in it all the bad ingredients of Sloth and Negligence, of Folly, and Credulity, and Irreligion. And I am ſure there can be no ſafety in ſuch a ſtate of Mind; for it is far from Truth, and far from God.

We may take occaſion, from what has been ſaid, to thank God that it is otherwiſe with us. For who has made the difference? This was the caſe of our Forefathers, in the dark and long night of Popery: Bleſſed be God that it is not ours.

2. Let us ſtand faſt in that Liberty wherewith God has made us free, and never ſuffer our Souls to be brought into bondage to any man, whatever becomes of our Bodys.

3. Let us heartily pity, and as we are able ſeek the recovery of thoſe that are in this bad condition.

4. Let us take a ſpecial care to live up to that Knowledg which God has given us: otherwiſe we have but little reaſon to pity them; they are in a better condition than we. Let us think often of thoſe words of our Saviour, *St. John 9.* the laſt verſe, *Jeſus ſaid unto them, If ye were blind, ye ſhould have no Sin; that is, none in compariſon, your Sin wou'd be the leſs: But now ye ſay, We ſee, therefore your Sin remaineth, and will be the harder to wipe out.*

Theſe things require more Enlargement than the time will bear; I ſhall therefore leave them, as they are, to your own Conſideration.

THIS

THIS Collection of the Doctrine of the Homilys against the principal Points of Popery was made in the beginning of the Year 1685. when there was a Project on foot, for reconciling of the two Churches; but by this Standard of the true Protestant Doctrine of this Church, any such Accommodation was shewn to be impossible.

The Church of ENGLAND as by Law establish'd:

Being the very Doctrine and express Words of the
HOMILYS against Popery.

The thirty fifth Article of the Church of England. The second Book of Homilys doth contain a godly and wholesom Doctrine, and necessary for these times; as doth the former Book of Homilys, which were set forth in the time of Edward VI. And therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People, And to this the whole Clergy of England have willingly and ex animo subscrib'd for above this hundred and twenty years, unto this very day.

Homily for Whitsunday, concerning the coming down of the Holy Ghost in the likeness of cloven Tongues, p. 207. So that if any Man be a dumb Christian, not professing his Faith openly, but cloaking and colouring himself for fear of danger in time to come, he giveth men occasion justly and with good Conscience to doubt, lest he have not the Grace of the Holy Ghost within him, because he is tongue-ty'd, and cannot speak.

Vol. I. p. 50. For whosoever forsaketh the Truth for love or displeasure of any man, or for lucre and profit to himself, doth forsake Christ, and with Judas betray him.

I. That Ignorance is the Mother of Popery.

* P. 313. Lon.
Ed. 1623.

BY Ignorance the Jewish Clergy induc'd the common People to ask the Delivery of Barrabbas the seditious Murderer, and to sue for the cruel crucifying of our Saviour Christ, for that he rebuk'd the Ambition, Superstition, and other Vices of the High Priests and Clergy. * For, as our Saviour Christ testifieth, that those that crucify'd him wist not what they did; so doth the holy Apostle St. Paul say, if they had known, if they had not been ignorant, they wou'd never have crucify'd the Lord of Glory: But they knew not what they did. Our Saviour Christ himself also foresaw'd that it shou'd come to pass by Ignorance, that those who shou'd persecute and murder his true Apostles and Disciples, shou'd think they did God acceptable Sacrifice, and good Service; as it is also verify'd even at this day.

And in this Ignorance have the Bishops of Rome kept the People of God, especially the common sort, by no means so much as by withdrawing of the Word of God from them, and by keeping it under the Veil of an unknown Tongue. For, as it serv'd the ambitious humour of the Bishops of Rome, to compel all Nations to use the natural Language of the City of Rome, where they

they were Bishops, which shew'd a certain acknowledging of Subjection unto them; so yet serv'd it much more their crafty purpose, thereby to keep all People so blind, that they not knowing what they pray'd, what they believ'd, nor what they were commanded by God, might take all their Commandments for God's. For as they wou'd not suffer the holy Scriptures, or Church-Service to be us'd or had in any other Tongue than the *Latin*; so were very few, even of the most simple People, taught the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, otherwise than in *Latin*, which they understood not: By which universal Ignorance all men were ready to believe whatsoever they said, and to do whatsoever they commanded.

II. *The pretended Reasons for denying the People the free Use of the Holy Scripture.*

THE great Utility and Profit that Christian Men and Women may take (if they will) by hearing and reading the holy Scriptures, * no Heart can sufficiently conceive; much less is my Tongue able with words to express: wherefore Satan, our Enemy, seeing the Scriptures to be the very means, and right way to bring the People to the true Knowledge of God, and that Christian Religion is greatly further'd by diligent hearing and reading of them; he also perceiving what an hindrance and lett they be to him and his Kingdom, doth what he can to drive the reading of them out of God's Church. And for that end he hath always stir'd up in one place or other cruel Tyrants, sharp Persecutors, and extreme Enemys unto God, and his infallible Truth, to pull with violence the holy Bibles out of People's hands, and have most spitefully destroy'd and consum'd the same to Ashes in the Fire; pretending most untruly, that the much hearing and reading of God's Word is the cause of Heresy, carnal Liberty, and the subversion of all good Orders. But the Knowledge of God and of our selves is so far from being an occasion of Evil, that it is the readiest, yea the only means to bridle carnal Liberty, and to kill our fleshly Affections. And the ordinary way to attain this Knowledge is, with diligence to hear and read the holy Scriptures.

* P. 143.

III. *Concerning the singular Profitableness of Laymens Books, which with them do supply the place of the Holy Scriptures.*

FOR what Lessons of Contempt of Riches, and Vanity of this World, can such Books, so besmear'd with Gold, set with precious Stones, cover'd with Silks, teach? † What Lessons of Soberness and Chastity can our Women learn of those pictur'd Scriptures, with their nice Apparel and wanton Looks? But away for shame with these colour'd Cloaks of Idolatry, of the Books and Scriptures of Images and Pictures, to teach Idiots, nay, to make Idiots, and stark Fools, and Beasts of Christians. Do Men, I pray you, when they have the same Books at home with them, run on Pilgrimage to seek the like Books at *Rome*, *Compostella*, or *Jerusalem*, to be taught of them, when they have the same Books at home? Do Men reverence some Books, and despise and set light by others of the same sort? Do Men kneel before their Books, light Candle at Noon-time, burn Incense, offer up Gold and Silver, and other Gifts to their Books? Do Men either feign or believe Miracles to be wrought by their Books? I am sure that the New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, containing the Word of Life, is a more lively, express, and true Image of our Saviour, than all the carved, graven, molten and painted Images in the World be; and yet none of all these things be done to that Book, or Scripture of the Gospel of our Saviour, which be done to Images and Pictures, the Books and Scriptures of Laymen and Idiots, as they call them. Wherefore call them what they list, it is most evident by their deeds, that they make them no other Books, nor Scripture, than such as teach most filthy and horrible Idolatry; as the users of such Books daily prove by continual practising the same. O Books and Scriptures! in which the devilish Schoolmaster *Satan* hath pen'd the leud Lessons of wicked Idolatry, for his dastardly Disciples and Scholars to behold and learn; to God's most

† P. 73.

high dishonour, and their most horrible Damnation. Have not we been much bound, think you, to those which shou'd have taught us the Truth out of God's Book, and his holy Scripture, that they have shut up that Book and Scripture from us, and none of us so bold as once to open it, or read in it? and instead thereof, to spread us abroad these goodly, carved, and guilten Books, to teach us such good and godly Lessons?

IV. Concerning the right Use of Churches, and the gross Abuses of them under Popery.

AND have not the Christians of late days, and in our days also, in like manner provok'd the displeasure and indignation of Almighty God? partly because they have profan'd and defil'd their Churches with Heathenish and Jewish Abuses; with Images and Idols, with numbers of Altars, too superstitiously and intolerably abus'd, with gross abusing, and filthy corrupting of the Lord's Holy Supper, the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood, with an infinite number of Toys and Trifles * of their own devices, to make a goodly outward shew, and to deface the plain, simple, and sincere Religion of Jesus Christ: Partly they resort to the Church like Hypocrites, full of all Iniquity and sinful Life, having a vain and dangerous fancy and persuasion, that if they come to the Church, besprinkle them with Holy Water, hear a Mass, and be blest'd with the Chalice, tho they understand not one word of the whole Service, nor feel one motion of Repentance in their Hearts, all is well, all is sure. Fie upon such mocking and blaspheming of God's holy Ordinance. Churches were made for another purpose; that is, to resort thither, and to serve God truly, there to learn his blessed Will, there to call upon his mighty Name, there to use the holy Sacraments, there to travel how to be in Charity with thy Neighbour, there to have thy poor and needy Neighbour in remembrance, from thence to depart better and more godly than thou camest thither.

* P. 131.

† P. 80.

What Dens of Thieves the Churches of *England* have been made, by the blasphemous buying and † selling the most precious *Body and Blood* of Christ in the Mass, as the World was made to believe, at Dirigys, at Month's Minds, at Trentals, in Abbys and Chantries, besides other horrible Abuses (God's holy Name be blest'd for ever!) which we now see and understand. All these Abominations, they that supply the room of Christ, have cleans'd and purg'd the Churches of *England* of, taking away all such fulsomness and filthiness, as thro blind Devotion and Ignorance, hath crept into the Church these many hundred years. Wherefore, O ye good Christian People, ye dearly beloved in Christ Jesus, ye that glory not in worldly and vain Religion, in phantastical adorning and decking; but rejoice in heart to see the Glory of God truly set forth, and the Churches restor'd to their antient and godly use; render your hearty Thanks to the Goodness of Almighty God, who hath in our days stir'd up the Hearts, not only of his godly Preachers and Ministers, but also of his faithful and most Christian Magistrates and Governors, to bring such godly things to pass.

V. Concerning Prayer in an Unknown Tongue.

|| P. 137.

FIRST, St. Paul to the *Corinthians* saith, *Let all be done to edifying*; || which cannot be unless common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments be in a Tongue known to the People: For saith St. Paul, *He that speaketh in a Tongue unknown, shall be to the Hearers an Alien*, which in a Christian Congregation is a great Absurdity.

* P. 148.

As touching the Times before the Coming of Christ, there was never Man yet that would affirm, that either the People of God, or other, had their Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, or Sacrifices, * in a Tongue that they themselves understood not. As for the time since Christ, till that usurp'd Power of *Rome* began to spread it self, and to enforce all the Nations of *Europe* to have the *Romish* Language in admiration; it appeareth by the consent

consent of the most antient and learned Writers, that there was no strange or unknown Tongue us'd in the Congregation of Christians.

St. *Austin*, writing upon the 18th *Psalms*, saith, What this shou'd be, we ought to understand, that we may sing with Reason of Man, * and not with chattering of Birds. For Owls, Popinjays, Ravens, Pyes and other such like Birds, are taught of Men to prate they know not what: but to sing with Understanding, is given by God's holy Will to the Nature of Man.

* P. 139.

Let us therefore conclude with God and all good Mens Assent, † that no Common-Prayer or Sacraments ought to be minister'd in a Tongue that is not understood of the Hearers.

† P. 140.

VI. *Against Invocation of Saints or Angels, and that Prayer ought to be made and directed to God alone.*

BUT that the Truth hereof may the better appear, even to them that be most simple and unlearned, let us consider what Prayer is: || St. *Austin* calleth it a lifting up of the Mind to God. *Isidorus* saith, that it is an Affection of the Heart, and not a Labour of the Lips.

|| P. 114.

Now then, is there any Angel, any Virgin, any Patriarch or Prophet among the dead, that can understand or know the meaning of the Heart? The Scripture saith, It is God that searcheth the Heart and the Reins, and that he only knoweth the Hearts of the Children of Men; as for the Saints, they have so little Knowledg of the Secrets of the Heart, that many of the antient Fathers did greatly doubt, whether they know any thing at all that is commonly done on Earth. And albeit some think they do, yet St. *Augustine*, a Doctor of great Authority, and also Antiquity, hath this opinion of them, that they know no more what we do on Earth, than we know what they do in Heaven. For proof whereof he alledgeth the words of *Isaiah* the Prophet, where 'tis said, *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not, Isai. 63.*

Thus you see, that the Authority both of the Scripture, and also of *Augustine*, doth not permit that we shou'd pray unto them. O that all Men wou'd studiously read and search the Scriptures! then shou'd they not be drown'd in Ignorance, * but shou'd easily perceive the Truth, as well of this point of Doctrine as of all the rest. For there doth the Holy Ghost plainly teach us, that Christ is our only Mediator and Intercessor with God, and that we must not seek and run to another.

* P. 115.

Let us not therefore in any thing mistrust God's Goodness, let us not fear to come before the Throne of his Mercy, † let us not seek the Aid and Help of Saints; but let us come boldly our selves, nothing doubting but God for Christ's sake, in whom he is well pleas'd, will hear us without a Spokesman.

† P. 117.

VII. *Against the Doctrine of Merit.*

BUT this saying, that we be justify'd by Faith only, freely and without Works, is spoken for to take away clearly all Merit of our Works, as being unable to deserve our Justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the Weakness of Man, and the Goodness of God; the Imperfection of our own Works, and the most abundant Grace of our Saviour Christ; || and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our Justification unto Christ only, and his most precious Blood-shedding. This Faith the holy Scripture teacheth us, this is the strong Rock and Foundation of Christian Religion; this Doctrine all old and antient Authors of Christ's Church do approve, this Doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true Glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain Glory of Man. This whosoever denieth is not to be accounted for a Christian Man, nor for a setter forth of Christ's Glory; but for an Adversary to Christ and his Gospel, and for a setter forth of Mens vain Glory.

|| Vol. I. p. 6.

VIII. Concerning Religious Orders, as they call themselves, or Pharisaical Sects by Antichrist invented, as the Homily calls them; and concerning their Merits and Works of Supererogation.

SECTS and feign'd Religions were never the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abus'd, than of late days they have been among us. Which Sects and Religions had so many hypocritical and feign'd Works in their State of Religion (as they arrogantly nam'd it) that their Lamps (as they said) ran always over, † able to satisfy not only for their own Sins, but also for all other their Benefactors, Brothers and Sisters of Religion, as most ungodlily and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant People; keeping in divers places as it were Marts or Markets of Merits, being full of their Holy Reliques, Images, Shrines, and Works of overflowing abundance ready to be sold. And all things which they had were call'd Holy, holy Cowles, Girdles, Pardons, Beads, Shoes, holy Rules, and all full of Holiness. But to pass over the innumerable Superstitiousness that hath been in strange Apparel, in Silence, in Dormitory, in Cloister, in Chapter, in choice of Meats and Drinks, and in all such things, let us consider what Enormitys and Abuses have been in the three chief principal Points, which they call'd the three Essentials, or three chief Foundations of Religion, that is to say, Obedience, Chastity, and wilful Poverty.

First, under pretence or colour of Obedience to their Father in Religion (which Obedience they made themselves) they were made free by their Rule and Canons from the Obedience of their natural Father and Mother, and from the Obedience of Emperour and King, and all Temporal Power; whom of very duty by God's Laws they were bound to obey. And so the Profession of their Obedience not due, was a forsaking of their due Obedience. And how their Profession of Chastity was kept, it is more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the World judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words, by expressing of their unchaste Life, to offend chaste and godly Ears. And as for their wilful Poverty, it was such, that when in Possessions, Jewels, Plate and Riches, they were equal or above Merchants, Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, and Dukes; yet by this subtil sophistical term, *Proprium in Commune*, that is to say, Proper in Common, they mock'd the World, persuading that notwithstanding all their Possessions and Riches, yet they kept their Vow, and were in wilful Poverty.

IX. That the Mass is a gross, idolatrous and mummyish Abuse of the Lord's Supper.

|| P. 198.

BUT before all other things this we must be sure of especially, || that this Supper be in such-wise done and minister'd, as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done, as his holy Apostles us'd it, and the good Fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it. We must then take heed, lest of the Memory, it be made a Sacrifice; lest of a Communion, it be made a private Eating; lest of two parts we have but one; lest applying it for the dead, we lose the Fruit that be alive. Let us rather in these matters follow the Advice of *Cyprian* in the like case; that is, cleave fast to the first Beginning, hold fast the Lord's Tradition, do that in the Lord's Commemoration which he himself did, he himself commanded, and his Apostles confirm'd. This caution or foresight if we use, then may we see those things that be requisite in the worthy Receiver; whereof this was the first, that we have a right understanding of the thing it self.

¶ P. 199.

For what hath been the cause of the Ruin of God's Religion, but the Ignorance hereof? What * hath been the cause of this gross Idolatry, but the Ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this mummyish Massing, but the Ignorance hereof?

X. *What kind of Power the Pope's is, and that therefore we ought not to submit to it.*

THEREFORE let us all fear the most detestable Vice of Rebellion, ever knowing and remembering that he that resisteth or withstandeth common Authority, resisteth or withstandeth God and his Ordinance, † as it may be prov'd by many other places of the Holy Scripture. And here let us take heed, that we understand not these or such other like places (which so straitly command Obedience to Superiors, and so straitly punish'd Rebellion and Disobedience to the same) to be meant in any condition of the pretended or colour'd Power of the Bishop of Rome. For truly the Scripture of God alloweth no such usurp'd Power, full of Enormitys, Abusions and Blasphemys. † Vol. I. p. 76.

XI. *That the Papists worship a vast number of false Gods.*

And for that Idolatry standeth chiefly in the Mind, it shall in this part first be prov'd, that || our Image-maintainers have had, and have the same Opinion and Judgment of Saints, whose Images they have made and worship'd, as the *Gentiles* Idolaters had of their Gods. What I pray you be such Saints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain Countrys, but *Dii Tutelares* of the *Gentiles* Idolaters? What be such Saints to whom the Safeguard of certain Citys are appointed, but *Dii Praefides* with the *Gentiles* Idolaters? What be such Saints to whom, contrary to the use of the Primitive Church, Temples and Churches be builded, and Altars erected, but *Dii Patroni* of the *Gentiles* Idolaters? *Oenomaus* and *Hesiodus* shew, that in their time there were thirty thousand Gods; I think we had no fewer Saints, to whom we gave the Honour due to God.

|| P. 46.

Every Artificer and Profession hath his special Saint as a peculiar God: As for example, Scholars have * *St. Nicholas* and *St. Gregory*, Painters *St. Luke*, neither lack Soldiers their *Mars*, nor Lovers their *Venus* among Christians. All Diseases have their special Saints, as Gods, the Curers of them: the Pox, *St. Roch*; the falling Evil, *St. Cornelis*; the Toothach, *St. Appollin*, &c. Neither do Beasts and Cattle lack their Gods with us, for *St. Loy* is the *Horse-leach*, and *St. Anthony* the *Swine-herd*, &c.

* P. 47.

These things are not written to any reproach of the Saints themselves, who were the true Servants of God, and did give all Honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed Souls with God; but against our Foolishness and Wickedness, making of the true Servants of God false Gods, by attributing to them the Power which is God's, and due to him only. And for that we have such Opinions of the Power and ready Help of Saints, all our Legends, Hymns, Sequences and Masses † did contain Storys, Lauds and Praises of them, and Prayers to them; yea, and Sermons also altogether of them, and to their Praises, God's Word being clean laid aside: And this we do altogether agreeable to the Saints, as did the *Gentile* Idolaters to their false Gods. For these Opinions which Men have had of mortal Persons, were they never so holy, the old most godly and learned Christians have written against the feign'd Gods of the *Gentiles*; and Christian Princes have destroy'd their Images, who if they were now living, wou'd doubtless likewise both write against our false Opinions of Saints, and also destroy their Images. For it is evident, that our Image-maintainers have the same Opinion of Saints, which the *Gentiles* had of their false Gods, and thereby are mov'd to make them Images, as the *Gentiles* did.

† P. 48.

XII. *Concerning Popish Reliques.*

BUT in this they pass the Folly and Wickedness of the *Gentiles*, that they honour and worship the Reliques and Bones of our Saints; which prove that they be mortal Men and dead, and therefore no Gods to be worship'd, which the *Gentiles* wou'd never confess of their Gods for very shame. || But the Reliques we must kiss and offer to, especially on *Relique Sunday*. And while we

|| P. 53.

we offer (that we shou'd not be weary or repent us of our Cost) the Musick and Minstrelsy goeth merrily all the Offertory time, with praising and calling upon those Saints whose Reliques be then in presence; yea and the Water also wherein those Reliques have been dipp'd, must with great Reverence, be reserv'd as very holy and effectual. Is this agreeable to *Chrysostom*, who writeth thus of Reliques? "Do not regard the Ashes of Saints Bodys, nor the Reliques of their Flesh and Bones consum'd with time: But open the Eyes of thy Faith, and behold them clothed with heavenly Virtue, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and shining with the brightness of the heavenly Light." But our Idolaters found too much advantage of Reliques and Relique-water, to follow St. *Chrysostom*'s Counsel. And because Reliques were so gainful, few places were there, but they had Reliques provided for them. And for more plenty of Reliques, some one Saint had many Heads, one in one place, and another in another place; some had six Arms and twenty six Fingers. And whereas our Lord bare his Cross alone, if all the pieces of the Reliques thereof were gather'd together, the greatest Ship in *England* wou'd scarcely bear them; and yet the greatest part of it (they say) doth yet remain in the hands of the Infidels, for the which they pray in their Beads bidding, that they may get it also into their hands for such godly use and purpose. And not only the Bones of the Saints, but every thing appertaining to them was an Holy Relique. In some place they offer a Sword, in some the Scabbard, in some a Shoe, in some a Saddle that had been set upon some holy Horse, in some the Coals wherewith St. *Laurence* was roasted; in some the Tail of the Ass which our Lord Jesus Christ sat on, to be kiss'd and offer'd unto for a Relique: For rather than they wou'd lack a Relique, they wou'd offer you a Horse-bone instead of a Virgin's Arm, or the Tail of the Ass to be kiss'd and offer'd unto for Reliques. O wicked, impudent and most shameless Men, the devisers of these things! O silly, foolish and dastardly Daws, and more beastly than the Ass whose Tail they kiss'd, that believe such things! Now God be merciful to such silly Christians, who by the fraud and falshood of those which shou'd have taught them the way of Truth and Life, have been made not only more wicked than the *Gentile* Idolaters, but also no wiser than Asses, Horses and Mules, which have no understanding.

XIII. Concerning Image-worship.

* P. 74. TRUE Religion then, and pleasing of God, standeth not in making, setting up, * painting, gilding, clothing and decking of dumb and dead Images, (which be but great Puppets and Babys for old Fools in Dotage and wicked Idolatry to dally and play with) nor in kissing of them, capping, kneeling, offering to them, incensing of them, setting up of Candles, hanging up Legs, Arms, or whole Bodys of Wax before them, or praying and asking of them, or of Saints, things only belonging to God to give. But all these things be vain and abominable, and most damnable before God: for ye have heard evidently prov'd in these Homilys against Idolatry, by God's Word, the Doctors of the Church, Ecclesiastical Historys, Reason and Experience, that Images have been and be worship'd, and so Idolatry committed to them by infinite multitudes, to the great offence of God's Majesty, and danger of infinite Souls; and that Idolatry cannot possibly be separated from Images set up in Churches and Temples, † gilded and deck'd gloriously; and that therefore our Images be indeed very Idols, and so all the Prohibitions, Laws, Curses, Threatnings of horrible Plagues, as well temporal as eternal, contain'd in the holy Scriptures, concerning Idols, and the Makers, and Maintainers, and Worshippers of them, appertain also to our Images set up in Churches and Temples, and to be Makers, Maintainers and Worshippers of them; and all those Names of Abomination, which God's Word in the holy Scriptures giveth to the Idols of the *Gentiles*, appertain to our Images, being Idols like to them, and having like Idolatry committed unto them.

† P. 75.

XIV. What Use the Church of Rome makes of her gay Imagery.

Now concerning excessive decking of Images and Idols with painting, gilding, adorning with precious Vestures, Pearl and Stone, what is it else, but for the further provocation and enticement to spiritual Fornication, * to deck spiritual Harlots most costly and wantonly, which the idolatrous Church understandeth well enough? For she being indeed not only a Harlot, (as the Scripture calleth her) but also a foul, filthy, old, wither'd Harlot, (for she is indeed of antient Years) and understanding her lack of Nature and true Beauty, and great loathsomeness which of her self she hath, doth after the custom of such Harlots, paint her self, and deck and attire her self with Gold, Pearl, Stone, and all kind of precious Jewels; that she shining with the outward Beauty and Glory of them, may please the foolish fancy of fond Lovers, and so entice them to spiritual Fornication with her: who if they saw her (I will not say naked) but in simple Apparel, wou'd abhor her as the foulest and filthiest Harlot that ever was seen, according as appeareth by the description of the garnishing of the great Strumpet of all Strumpets, the Mother of Whoredom, set forth by St. John in his † Revelation, who by her Glory provok'd the Princes of the Earth to commit Whoredom with her. † Ch. 17.

* P. 69.

XV. Concerning the opening of Shop, and publick setting up of Images.

It is the Office of godly Magistrates likewise to avoid Images and Idols out of Churches and Temples, as spiritual Harlots out of suspected places, for the avoiding of Idolatry, which is spiritual Fornication. And as he were the Enemy of all Honesty, that shou'd bring Strumpets and Harlots out of their secret Corners into the publick Market-place, there freely to dwell, and practise their filthy Merchandize; so is he the Enemy of the true worshipping of God, that bringeth Idols and Images into the Temple and Church, the House of God, there openly to be worship'd, and to rob the jealous God of his Honour, who will not give it to any other, nor his Glory to carv'd Images; who is as much forsaken, and the Bond of Love between Man and him as much broken by Idolatry, which is spiritual Fornication, as is the Knot and Bond of Marriage broken by carnal Fornication. Let all this be taken as a Lye, if the Word of God inforce it not to be true. *Cursed be the Man* (saith God in *Deuteronomy*) *that maketh a carv'd or molten Image, and placeth it in a secret Corner; and all the People shall say Amen.* Thus saith God, for at that time no Man durst have, or worship Images openly, but in Corners only; and the whole World being the Temple of God, he that in any Corner thereof robbeth God of his Glory, and giveth it to Stocks and Stones, is pronounc'd by God's Word accursed. Now he that will bring these spiritual Harlots out of their lurking Corners into publick Churches and Temples, that Spiritual Fornication may there openly, of all Men and Women, without shame be committed with them, no doubt that Person is curs'd of God, and twice curs'd; and all good and godly Men and Women will say *Amen*, and their *Amen* will take effect also.

I found

I Found it necessary to add this whole Sermon out of the Homily to the former Collection, lest any Favourer of the Papists shou'd say, that the former Paper was weeded out of the Homily, and that the Tenour of them is not so opposite to Popery, as the former Collection wou'd persuade us.

Godly and Wholesom Doctrine, and necessary for these Times:

Being the Second Part of the HOMILY concerning the Holy Ghost;

Dissolving this Doubt,

Whether all Men rightly challenge to themselves the Holy Ghost, or no?

* John 14. 15.

OUR Saviour Christ departing out of the World unto his Father, promis'd his Disciples to send down another Comforter *, that shou'd continue with them for ever, and direct them into all Truth: which thing to be faithfully and truly perform'd, the Scriptures do sufficiently bear witness; neither must we think that this Comforter was either promis'd, or else given only to the Apostles, but also to the universal Church of Christ dispers'd thro the whole World. For unless the Holy Ghost had been always present, governing and preserving the Church from the beginning, it cou'd never have sustain'd so many and great brunts of Affliction and Persecution, with so little damage and harm as it hath: And the words of Christ are most plain in this behalf, saying, *That the Spirit of Truth shou'd abide with them for ever †; that he wou'd be with them always.* (he meaneth by Grace, Vertue and Power) *even to the end of the World* ||.

† John 14.

|| Mat. 28.

* John 17.

† Rom. 8.

Also in the Prayer that he made to his Father a little before his Death, he makes Intercession not only for himself and his Apostles, but indifferently for all them that shou'd believe in him thro their Words *, that is to wit, for his whole Church. Again, St. Paul saith †, *If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his.* Also in the words following, *We have receiv'd the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.* Hereby then it is evident and plain to all men, that the Holy Ghost was given not only to the Apostles, but also to the whole Body of Christ's Congregation, altho not in like Form and Majesty as he came down at the Feast of Pentecost.

But now herein standeth the Controversy, whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the Holy Ghost or no? The Bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore Challenge thereunto, reasoning for themselves after this sort: The Holy Ghost (say they) was promis'd to the Church, and never forsakes the Church. But we are the chief Heads and principal part of the Church, therefore we have the Holy Ghost for ever; and whatsoever things we decree, are undoubted Veritys and Oracles of the Holy Ghost.

That ye may perceive the Weakness of this Argument, it is needful to teach you first, what the true Church of Christ is, and then to confer the

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Church

Church of *Rome* therewith, to discern how well they agree together. The true Church is an universal Congregation or Fellowship of God's faithful and elect People, *Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-Stone* * : And it hath always three Notes or Marks whereby it is known, pure and sound Doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy Institution, and the right use of Ecclesiastical Discipline. This Description of the Church, is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God, and also to the Doctrine of the antient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith. Now if ye will compare this with the Church of *Rome*, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is presently, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd, you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more. For neither are they built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, retaining the sound and pure Doctrine of Christ Jesus; neither yet do they order the Sacraments, or else the Ecclesiastical Keys, in such sort as he did first institute and ordain them; but have so intermingled their own Traditions and Inventions, by chopping and changing, by adding and plucking away, that now they may seem to be converted into a new guise. Christ commended to his Church a Sacrament of his Body and Blood: They have chang'd it into a Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. Christ did minister to his Apostles, and the Apostles to other men indifferently under both kinds: they have rob'd the Lay-People of the Cup, saying, that for them one kind is sufficient. Christ ordain'd no other Element to be us'd in Baptism, but only Water, whereunto when the Word is join'd, it is made (as St. *Augustin* says) a full and perfect Sacrament: They being wiser in their own conceit than Christ, think it is not well nor orderly done, unless they use Conjunction, unless they hallow the Water, unless there be Oil, Salt, Spittle, Tapers, and such other dumb Ceremonys, serving to no use, contrary to the plain Rule of St. *Paul* †, who willet all things to be done in the Church unto Edification. Christ ordain'd the Authority of the Keys to excommunicate notorious Sinners, and to absolve them which are truly penitent: They abuse this Power at their own pleasure, as well in cursing the Godly with Bell, Book and Candles, as also in absolving the Reprobate, which are known to be unworthy of any Christian Society; whereof they that list to see Examples, let them search their Lives. To be short, look what our Saviour Christ pronounc'd of the Scribes and Pharisees in the Gospel, the same may be boldly and with safe Conscience pronounc'd of the Bishops of *Rome*; namely, that they have forsaken, and daily do forsake the Commandments of God, to erect and set up their own Constitutions. Which thing being true, as all they which have any Light of God's Word must needs confess, we may well conclude according to the Rule of *Augustin*, That the Bishops of *Rome*, and their Adherents, are not the true Church of Christ, much less then to be taken as chief Heads and Rulers of the same. *Whosoever* (saith he) *do dissent from the Scriptures concerning the Head, altho they be found in all places where the Church is appointed, yet are they not in the Church* ||. A plain place, concluding directly against the Church of *Rome*. Where is now the Holy Ghost, which they so stoutly do claim to themselves? Where is now the Spirit of Truth, that will not suffer them in any wise to err? If it be possible to be there where the true Church is not, then is it at *Rome*; otherwise it is but a vain brag, and nothing else.

† Ephes. 2.

† 1 Cor. 14.

|| August. contra Peliliani Donat. Epist. cap. 4.

St. *Paul* (as ye have heard before) says, *If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his*. And by turning the words, it may be truly said, *If any man be not of Christ, the same hath not the Spirit*. Now to discern who are truly his, and who not, we have this Rule given us, * *That his Sheep do always hear his Voice*. And St. *John* saith, † *He that is of God, heareth God's Word*. † *John* 8. Whereof it follows, that the Popes not hearing Christ's Voice, as they ought to do, but preferring their own Decrees before the express Word of God, do plainly argue to the World, that they are not of Christ, nor yet possess'd with his Spirit. But here they will alledg for themselves, that there are divers necessary points not express'd in Holy Scripture, || which were left to the Revelation of the Holy Ghost; who being given to the Church according to

* John 10.

† John 8.

|| John 16.

Christ's Promise, hath taught many things from time to time, which the Apostles cou'd not then bear. To this we may easily answer by the plain words of Christ, teaching us that the proper Office of the Holy Ghost is not to institute and bring in new Ordinances contrary to his Doctrine before taught, but shall come and declare those things which he had before taught; so that it might be well and truly understood, *When the Holy Ghost, says he, shall come, he shall lead you into all Truth.* What Truth does he mean? Any other than he himself had before express'd in his Word? No, for he says *, *He shall take of mine, and shew unto you.* Again, *He shall bring you in remembrance of all things that I have told you.* It is not then the duty and part of any Christian, under pretence of the Holy Ghost, to bring in his own Dreams and Fancys into the Church: but he must diligently provide that his Doctrine and Decrees be agreeable to Christ's Holy Testament; otherwise in making the Holy Ghost the Author thereof, he doth blaspheme and belie the Holy Ghost to his own Condemnation.

* John 15.

† Mat. 5.
‖ Mat. 14.* Lib. 3. E-
pist. 76, 78.† Sermon. 3. de
Refut. Dom.

‖ Dialog. lib. 3.

* Chrysost.
sup. Mar.† Sabel. Encad.
9. lib. 7.

‖ Psal. 60.

Now to leave their Doctrine, and come to other Points. What shall we think or judge of the Pope's intolerable Pride? The Scripture says, *That God resisteth the Proud, and sheweth Grace to the Humble.* Also it pronounceth them blessed which are *poor in Spirit* †, promising that they which humble themselves shall be exalted ‖. And Christ our Saviour willeth all his to *learn of him*, because *he is humble and meek.* As for Pride, St. Gregory says, it is the root of all mischief; and St. Austin's Judgment is this, that it makes Men Devils. Can any man then, who either hath or shall read the Popes Lives, justly say, that they had the Holy Ghost within them? First, As touching that they will be term'd *Universal Bishops*, and *Heads of all Christian Churches* thro the World, we have the Judgment of Gregory expressly against them*; who writing to *Mauritius* the Emperor, condemns *John* Bishop of *Constantinople* in that behalf, calling him the *Prince of Pride*, *Lucifer's Successor*, and the *Forerunner* of Antichrist. St. Bernard † also agreeing thereunto, says, *What greater Pride can there be, than that one man shou'd prefer his own Judgment before the whole Congregation, as tho he only had the Spirit of God?* And Chrysostom ‖ pronounces a terrible Sentence against them, affirming plainly, that whosoever seeks to be chief in Earth, shall find confusion in Heaven; and that he who strives for the Supremacy, shall not be reputed among the Servants of Christ. Again he says *, *To desire a good Work, it is good; but to covet the chief degree of Honour, it is mere Vanity.* Do not these places sufficiently convince their outrageous Pride, in usurping to themselves a Superiority above all other, as well Ministers and Bishops, as Kings also and Emperors? But as the Lion is known by his Claws, so let us learn to know these men by their Deeds. What shall we say of him that made the noble † King *Dandalus* to be ty'd by the Neck with a Chain, and to lie flat down before his Table, there to gnaw Bones like a Dog? shall we think that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the Spirit of the Devil? such a Tyrant was Pope *Clement* the Sixth. What shall we say of him that proudly and contemptuously trod *Frederick* the Emperor under his feet, applying the Verse of the Psalm unto himself, ‖ *Thou shalt go upon the Lion and the Adler, the young Lion and the Dragon thou shalt tread under thy Foot?* Shall we say he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the Spirit of the Devil? such a Tyrant was Pope *Alexander* the Third. What shall we say of him that arm'd and animated the Son against the Father, causing him to be taken, and to be cruelly famish'd to Death, contrary to the Law both of God, and also of Nature? shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the Spirit of the Devil? such a Tyrant was Pope *Paschal* the Second. What shall we say of him that came into his Poppedom like a Fox, that reign'd like a Lion, and dy'd like a Dog? shall we say that he had the holy Spirit of God within him, and not rather the Spirit of the Devil? such a Tyrant was *Boniface* the Eighth. What shall we say of him that made *Henry* the Emperor, with his Wife and his young Child, to stand at the Gates of the City, in the rough Winter, bare-foot and bare-leg'd, only cloth'd in Linsey-woolsey, eating nothing from morning to night, and that for the space of three days? shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the Spirit of the Devil? such

a Tyrant was Pope *Hildebrand*, most worthy to be call'd a *Firebrand*, if we shall term him as he hath best deserv'd. Many other Examples might be here alledg'd. As of Pope *Joan* the Harlot, that was deliver'd of a Child in the High-street, going solemnly in Procession. Of Pope *Julius* the Second, that wilfully cast St. Peter's Keys into the River *Tyber*. Of Pope *Urban* the Sixth, that caus'd five Cardinals to be put in Sacks, and cruelly drown'd. Of Pope *Sergius* the Third, that persecuted the dead Body of *Ermasmus* his Predecessor, when it had been bury'd eight Years. Of Pope *John* the Fourteenth of that Name, who having his Enemy deliver'd into his hands, caus'd him first to be strip'd stark-naked, his Beard to be shaven, and to be hang'd up a whole day by the Hair; then to be set upon an Ass, with his face backward toward the Tail, to be carry'd round about the City in despite, to be miserably beaten with Rods; last of all, to be thrust out of his Country, and to be banish'd for ever. But to conclude, and make an end, ye shall briefly take this short Lesson: Wheresoever ye find the Spirit of Arrogancy and Pride, the Spirit of Envy, Hatred, Contention, Cruelty, Murder, Extortion, Witchcraft, Necromancy, &c. assure your selves that there is the Spirit of the Devil, and not of God, albeit they pretend outwardly to the World never so much Holiness. For, as the Gospel teaches us, the Spirit of Jesus is a good Spirit, an holy Spirit, a sweet Spirit, a lowly Spirit, a merciful Spirit, full of Charity and Love, full of Forgiveness and Pity, not rendring Evil for Evil, Extremity for Extremity, but overcoming Evil with Good, and remitting all Offence even from the Heart. According to which Rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounc'd, that he hath the Holy Ghost within him: If not, then it is a plain Token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain.

Therefore (dearly Beloved) according to the good Counsel of St. *John* *, * 1 John 4. Believe not every Spirit, but first try them whether they be of God, or no. Many shall come in my name (says Christ †) and shall transform themselves into Angels of † Mat. 24. Light, deceiving (if it be possible) the very Elect. They shall come unto you in Sheeps Clothing, being inwardly cruel and ravening Wolves. They shall have an outward shew of great Holiness and Innocency of Life, so that ye shall hardly, or not at all discern them. But the Rule that ye must follow is this, to judge them by their Fruits ‖. Which, if they be wicked and naught, then it is ‖ Mat. 7. impossible that the Tree of whom they proceed shou'd be good. Such were all the Popes and Prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appear in the story of their Lives; and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of false Prophets and false Christs *, which deceiv'd the World a * Luke 6. long while.

The Lord of Heaven and Earth defend us from their Tyranny and Pride, that they never enter into his Vineyard again, to the disturbance of his silly poor Flock; but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the World. And he of his great mercy so work in all mens Hearts, by the mighty Power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preach'd, truly receiv'd, and truly follow'd in all places, to the beating down of Sin, Death, the Pope, the Devil, and all the Kingdom of Antichrist; that like scatter'd and dispers'd Sheep, being at length gather'd into one Fold, we may in the end rest all together in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be Partakers of Eternal and Everlasting Life, thro' the Merits and Death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

THE following Paper was publish'd immediately after the Overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth, when the Protestant Interest was at a very low Ebb, and the Papists so insolent with that Success, that there was great reason to use the utmost Endeavours to hinder all unsteady and wavering Protestants from joining and complying with the then prevailing Interest.

A short Dissuasive from **POPERY**, and from Countenancing and Encouraging of **PAPISTS**.

IT is not my meaning to give the Reader a full view of all the parts of Popery, which cannot be done within the compass of half a sheet of Paper, but only to present him with one Instance of it: And I shall chuse to pitch upon *Transubstantiation*, which the Papists themselves have heretofore chosen and singled out for a Test, and for the *Shibboleth* of that Religion; the *burning Article*, as a Reverend and Learned Author has lately nam'd it; and I hope it will never lose that name. For in Queen *Mary's* time, when the Papists had gotten a man to take the Oath *ex Officio*, and were thereby enabled to pump his Belief, and his Heart out, the principal Interrogatory was this, *What do you believe concerning the Sacrament of the Altar?* Now because whenever Popery returns, this old Interrogatory will certainly come again along with it, it is fit for us to be provided with somewhat of an Answer; and I think we cannot have a fuller, than in these express words of our own Church. *The Sacramental Bread and Wine (even after Consecration) remain still in their very natural Substances, and therefore may not be ador'd; for that were Idolatry to be abhor'd of all faithful Christians: and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the Truth of Christ's natural Body, to be at one time in more places than once.* Common-Prayer-Book, in the Declaration at the end of the Communion.

I shall here endeavour to make good this last Proposition, namely, *That it is against the Truth of Christ's Natural Body, to be at one time in more places than one:* which is point-blank contrary to the Doctrine of the Papists; for they assert, That the natural Body of Christ is in ten thousand different, and very distant places at once.

It will not be needful to meddle with any other Difficultys in Transubstantiation; as namely, the surviving Accidents of a Substance which is defunct, and quite and clean abolish'd; the crowding up of a human Body, about six foot long, within the compass of a Pin's head; the outfacing of all Mankind, that a Wafer is chang'd into a human Body, when all the World see, and feel, and taste, that it still remains a plain honest Wafer, and are fully convinc'd, that there is no Change nor Transubstantiation wrought, unless it be upon those Changelings that believe it.

I shall purposely wave these and several such like high and arduous Points, for fear of being oppress'd and overwhelm'd with too much Mystery at once; and shall confine my self wholly to that one strange quality, which a transubstantiated Body has, of being present in several places at one and the same time.

The Papists are very well aware, that a transubstantiated Body breaks all the Laws of Bodys in this, as well as in all other particulars; and therefore they say, that this Body is in the Sacrament after the manner of a Spirit: which, as they have been long since told, is to say, a thing is white, not af-

ter the manner of Whiteness, but, after the manner of Blackness; and is to speak Nonsense after the manner of Sense.

But what signifys it amongst Friends, tho we shou'd for once allow white to be black, or a Body to be a Spirit? They shall have what they will. This Body shall, if they please, have this property of a Spirit; that it shall not be in a place *circumscriptive*, as all Bodys are; but *definitive*, as a Spirit is.

Yet still that which is in a place *definitive*, or after the manner of a Spirit, is so in a place, that it is not elsewhere; but this being in many places at once, is pregnant with innumerable Contradictions. For let

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A & B & C \\ \hline D & D & D \end{array}$$

A B C be so many distinct Places, and let D be the Body in those Places; and then it will follow, that the same Body is in the same place, and is not in the same place at the same time: For instance, D is in A, and it is not in A, for it is in B, which is not A; it is all in B, and it is all out of B, for it is in C, which is all out of B. And thus you may ring Changes of endless Contradictions; for still as you multiply these Places, the Contradictions increase and multiply upon you. From whence it likewise follows, that the self-same Body at the same time shall be below it self, and above it self, and Antipodes to it self; it shall be before it self, and behind it self, and take the wall of it self; it shall be on the right hand, and on the left, and in the middle of it self; it shall be near it self, and afar off, all at once. These and innumerable such like Absurdities are the Spawn and Issue of the foregoing Contradictions. And then the several other Accidents which may happen to this self-same Body in several places, will produce another fry of fresh Monsters. For the same Body at the same time shall be hot in one place, and cold in another; it shall be moist in one place, and at the same time it shall be as dry as a bone in another. And lastly, when it is consider'd, that this *hithius doctus* Body is pretended to be God's Body, and God himself, the Indignities are insufferable which are put upon him; for he is eaten and swallow'd down in one place, and every body knows what becomes of him in another.

Now this is Transubstantiation! This is the Doctrine, which because our Forefathers cou'd not swallow, was thrust down their Throats with burning Firebrands. But who wou'd not rather chuse to embrace a Stake and Flames of Fire with a chearful and undaunted Breast, and with open Arms, than to let into his Soul such an unworthy Belief, as does at once dethrone the Majesty of Heaven, and the Reason of Mankind? The Reason, the Religion, the Senses of Mankind are against it, and all the Facultys of their Souls rise up in contradiction and opposition to it. And therefore it has constantly been propounded to men upon the Swords-point, it has been propagated by Fire and Faggot, by holy Wars and outrageous Murders, by occasional Massacres, and by a standing Inquisition; and was never submitted to but by Beasts of Burden, who were become *like the Horse and Mule, which have no Understanding*.

It is unexpressible the Cruelty that has been us'd, to make way for this monstrous, absurd and barbarous Doctrine! Witness the Ashes of our own Martyrs in Queen Mary's time, and the Deluge of Protestant Blood which was shed in the French and Irish Massacres. And when God shall make Inquisition for that Blood, it is much to be fear'd, that a great part of the Vengeance which is due for it, will fall upon the Heads of those men, who countenance, encourage, and strengthen the hands of the Papists, tho they be not Papists themselves. For they are Accessorys after the Fact, and involve themselves in the Guilt of that Blood, by comforting and resetting those that shed it, and whose Religion it is to shed as much more, as soon as possibly they can. If he that only bids a Seducer *God-speed*, is *Partaker of his evil Deeds*, as the Apostle St. John expressly affirms, 2 Epist. ver. 11. by the same reason if we not only bid the Papists *God-speed*, but speed them our selves, and slavishly hold the stirrup for them, we shall be much more *Partakers* of their *evil Deeds*: Such evil Deeds, as the Smithfield Fires which they kindled here, the Havock, Destruction and Desolation which they have made in other parts of the World, and the Rivers

of Blood which they shed in *Ireland*. I know that this fact has been excus'd, as if it were not an evil Deed; and it has been said, that the Papists did it in their own Defence. But did they butcher helpless Women, and sucking Children, in their own Defence? Was it in their own Defence they slit the mouths of Clergymen from ear to ear, and then put leaves of the Bible into their mouths, and bid them preach? Was it in their own Defence that they kill'd men by piece-meal, with lingering Tortures, and made them feel a thousand Deaths in one; and after that, made Candles of their Fat to be offer'd to the Virgin *Mary*? How can it be said, That the Papists did all this to save their own Lives, when they were in no danger, and when they knew, that they might have laid down their Heads, and have slept as securely upon the Laps of those very Protestants whom they thus murder'd, as upon their own Pillows? Read, see, turn over the Historys of those times, and you will find, that the Papists had no apprehensions of Mischief from the Protestants, nor indeed the Protestants from them, or else they had never suffer'd as they did by that Surprise. To conclude, If the Papists acted all those Crueltys in their own Defence then, why may they not act them over again upon the same Plea now? Neither can I see whither such Sayings tend, unless it be to prompt and encourage them to it.

In vain do we magnify the Liturgy, and pretend to honour the Compilers of it, who seal'd the Protestant Truth with their Blood, if at the same time we abet and encourage that Antichristian Brood which shed it. In vain do we garnish their Sepulchres, if we court those who persecute their Ashes. In vain do we call them Martyrs, if we hug their Murderers. The Popish Crew is always the same; it is their own brag, that their Doctrine has suffer'd no Alteration nor Interruption: and if they be still the same, we have reason to expect the same from them. Popery is the old Serpent still. We are to thank God and our good Laws, that she is somewhat chill'd and benumb'd in these Northern Parts: And shall we now, in defiance to the Laws of God, of our Country, and of our own Preservation, cherish and revive the old mortal Sting with no other warmth, than that of our own Bosoms?

The Primitive Christians of the first three hundred years, wou'd have given any thing but their Souls, to have had their Religion establish'd and fenc'd by such good Laws as we have, too good to be parted with for any Papists good looks. And every man has a Property in this unvaluable Treasure. Other parts of the Law are not of so universal Concernment, nor have all men a like Interest in them. What signify *Littleton's* Tenures to those that have neither Lands nor Livings? But every man has a Soul to be sav'd, as well as the greatest Princes, and has an equal Interest in the Laws which establish the true Religion: And most men have Children to inherit this Blessing after them, which is of infinitely greater Value than Lands and Tenements, and is that which every man owes and is bound to transmit to his Posterity; who are born to it, and have as much right to it, as to breathe in the English Air.

And therefore let every Protestant in the Nation lay his hand upon his Heart, and seriously consider, what he wou'd have thought the establishment of the Protestant Religion worth, if he had liv'd in Queen *Mary's* Days; and that it is the worst way in the World of learning the worth of a thing by the want of it. Let him consider, how much better living it is, to be protected in the true Religion, and to have Laws to restrain the sworn Enemies of it, than to worship God by stealth, and in continual fear of his Life; and then let him give up his Religion in a servile Complement if he can: Or if he can, let him withal bethink himself, in case his mind shou'd alter, how he can ever recover it again. The Canon Law says, *If there had been no Drunkenness, there had been no Slavery*; and it might as well have said, if there had been no Slavery, there had been no Popery. For it is plain that Popery is a forc'd Belief; for when you have subdu'd a man, and have him down, you may make him say he believes any thing. Let every man therefore be careful to preserve his Civil Rights, that his Religious Rights may be preserv'd: And let no man be led away with false pretences of Loyalty, to degrade his Prince, and of a King of Freemen to make him a King of Slaves. In a word, let every man be true to God, and to the Law of the Land: *My Son, Fear thou the*

Lord and the King, and meddle not with them who are given to change both our Government into Turkish, and our Religion into Popish. For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruin of them both? Prov. 24. 21, 22.

HERE the Observator gave me a Cast of all his three Offices at once. For after (as Superintendant of the Press) he had made an imperfect Discovery of the House where these three last Papers were printed: In the second place (as Justice of Peace) he forc'd James Astwood the Printer to take the Oath ex officio, and to accuse both himself as the Printer of them, and me as the Author, who paid for the printing of five Thousand of each, which he did by menacing him with going to Newgate; and by a horrid Oath, that he was the King's Subject, and therefore he wou'd make him to swear: And lastly (as the mercenary Scribler of the Popish Faction, who under the countenance of a Church-of-England Champion, was hir'd to prepare the way twice a week for Popery and Slavery) he spent three virulent Observators upon them. The Papers are able to speak for themselves; and as for his awkward way of wresting and perverting them, it was sufficiently expos'd by the following Paper, which for that reason I took care to have every where posted up.

A Parcel of wry Reasons, and wrong Inferences, but right Observator.

I. **T**HAT the Homily of the Church of England are transubstantiated into Libels; by being read by an unworthy Person, or printed and publish'd by an unworthy Hand.

II. That the Homily for Whitsunday is reviling; because it calls a Spade, a Spade.

III. That it was intended to hurry the People into a Rebellion; because it is directed against the Popes of Rome, who, as all good Subjects ought to know, are the special Instruments and Ministers of the Devil, to the stirring up of all Rebellions. Fifth Part of the Sermon against wilful Rebellion, p. 310. "Wherefore let all good Subjects, knowing these (the Bishops of Rome) the special Instruments and Ministers of the Devil, to the stirring up of all Rebellions, avoid and flee them, and the pestilent Suggestions of such foreign Usurpers, and their Adherents." (Whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose Practice is murdering of Souls and Bodys) So the words were in the publick Office of this Church for the 5th of November, quite thro King James's Reign, and some part of King Charles; 3d Vol. Book of Martyrs, Contin. pag. 96.

IV. That the Homily has many seditious Imuendo's in it, and consequently is inditeable; because the Law has establish'd it for godly and wholesom Doctrine, and to be read diligently in the Churches, that it may be understood of the People.

V. That the Homily is unseasonable for these times; because the Law binds all the Clergy of England to subscribe, that they are necessary for these times; such as cannot be spar'd, and that these times cannot be without them. 13 Eliz. c. 12. Artic. 35.

VI. That a Dissuasive to keep men from Popery is seditious; because it is High Treason by the Law of the Land, to be seduc'd and perverted to that false, idolatrous, and bloody Religion. From which very Religion, as the Act of Parliament 3^o Jacobi says, those Papists drew the Infection of that rank Treason, which was to have blown up a whole Kingdom at once. Cap. 4.

23 Eliz. c. 1.
3 Jac. c. 4.

VII. *That a Dissuasive from countenancing of Papists is likewise seditious; because the Law is so far from countenancing and encouraging of Papists, that it looks upon them as very dangerous to the Government. For it disarms them, it disables them from bearing Offices, Civil or Military; it banishes them from Court and City; and many other ways it punishes and lays restraints upon them. It treats all Popish Priests and Jesuits as Traitors and Traitor-makers, and has made it Death either to be reconcil'd, or to endeavour to reconcile any Person to the Romish Religion.*

VIII. *That it is Sedition to bid men be careful of their Civil Rights, that so their Religious Rights may be preserv'd; because it is not Sedition to bind men to be careful of their Civil Rights, and to engage them by a Common-Law-Oath so to be. For every Freeman of a Corporation is sworn to uphold and maintain all the Libertys and Franchises of his Town and Corporation, according to the best of his Skill, Wit, Cunning, and Power. And he is perjurd, if he do not keep that Oath.*

IX. *That it is a false, hypocritical, and the foulest Prefs-Practice and Imposture, for an honest Traveller to hide his Mony in his Boots, and not to carry it, according to the usual modality, in his Pockets; because thereby he distrusts the Justice and Truth of his Cause, he has recourse to Practice and Imposture, he hides his Mony as if it were stolen Goods; and which is worst of all, keeps it from him, who wou'd have bid him deliver it, without any Authority so to do.*

AT this time the second Session of the parld Parliament approach'd, which was so unduly elected and return'd, and had done and omitted such things in the former Session, when the Popish Party was not as yet so victorious and triumphant as now, that all manner of mischief might reasonably be expected from this Session. But in order to shew them the Invalidity of their Proceedings, in case they shou'd be to the prejudice of their Country; and withal to give them a Looking-glass of our own times, as well as to revive the memory of a Popish Reign, to which Misery and Calamity is always inseparably united; I thought it much better to reprint this Oration of Mr. Hales, which answers all these Purposes, than venture to write any thing of my own.

An Oration of JOHN HALES to the Queen's Majesty:

*And deliver'd to Her by a certain Nobleman at her
first Entrance to her Reign.*

To the Noble Queen Elizabeth,

ALBEIT there be innumerable Gifts and Benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one wou'd wonderfully comfort any Person, on whom it shou'd please his Goodness to bestow it: Yet is none of them, either separate by it self, or join'd with any other, or yet all mingl'd together, to be company'd to this one; that it hath pleas'd God of his Mercy to deliver this Realm, our Country, from the Tyranny of malicious *Mary*, and commit it to the Government of vertuous *Elizabeth*. For if a Man had all the Treas-

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sure

sure of *Solomon*, and might not be suffer'd to have the use thereof, in what better case were he than miserable *Tantalus*, over whose Head the Apples continually hung; yet being hunger-starv'd, he cou'd never touch them? If a man had as strong a Body as had *Sampson*, and besides, were as whole as a Fish, as the Proverb is, yet if he were kept in Bands, what shou'd it avail him? Yea rather, if it be well consider'd, it is an hurt to him, if continuance of Torments and Pains may be an hurt.

If a man had as many Children as had *Gideon* the Judge, and might not be suffer'd to bring them up in the fear of God, and good Knowledge and Manners, had he not been more happy to be without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had *St. Paul*, and durst not profess it openly with his mouth, as he is commanded; but, for fear of death, shou'd declare the contrary in deed, slander the Word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden; shou'd it not rather be a furtherance to his Damnation, than otherwise?

And to be short, if any one man had all these Gifts together, or generally, all the Gifts of Fortune, the Body, the Mind, and of Grace; yet if he might not have the use of them, what shou'd they profit him? Verily, nothing at all; for Felicity is not in *having*, but in *using*; not in *possessing*, but in *occupying*; not in *knowledge*, but in *doing*.

But alas! our natural Mother *England*, which hath been counted to be the surest, the richest, and of late also the most godly Nation of the Earth, hath been these whole five years most violently, by Tyrants, forc'd to lack the use of all the Gifts and Benefits wherewith God and Nature had endu'd her. Her natural and loving Children cou'd not be suffer'd to enjoy their right Inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her, or themselves; but whatsoever they had, was either by open force, or by crafty dealing pull'd from them. And surely, this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

He is a gentle Thief (if Thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a Man of his Goods, and refraineth violent hands from his Person: For such loss, with labour and diligence, may be recover'd. He may be call'd a merciful Murderer, that only killeth the aged Parents, and useth no force on the Children. For Nature hath made all Men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the Parents, is (as it were) the prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoy'd.

But these Tyrants were more ungentle than common Thieves, more empty of mercy than common Murderers: for they were not only not contented to have the Goods of the People, but they wou'd have it deliver'd to them by the Owner's own hands, that it might be said to the World, they gave it with their heart: And were not therewith pleas'd, but they wou'd have their Lives, that they shou'd not bewray them. And yet herewith they were not satisfy'd, but they meant to root out the whole Progeny and Nation of *Englishmen*, that none shou'd be left to revenge and cry out on their Extremities, and to bring our Country into the *Spaniards* Dominion.

It is an horrible Cruelty for one Brother to kill another, much more horrible for the Children to lay violent and murdering hands on their Parents; but most horrible of all, to murder the Children in the sight of their Parents, or the Parents in the sight of their Children, as these most cruel Tormenters have done.

But what do I stand in these things, which have some defence, because the *Turks* perchance use so to do; and *Ethnicks* kill one another, to make Sacrifice of Men to their fantastical Gods?

It was not enough for these unnatural *English* Tormenters, Tyrants, and false Christians, to be the Lords of the Goods, Possessions, and Bodys of their Brethren and Countrymen: but being very *Anti-christs*, and Enemys of *Christ's* Cross, they wou'd be Gods, and reign in the Consciences and Souls of Men. Every Man, Woman and Child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander his Gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false Gods, as they wou'd have them, and themselves did; and so give Body and Soul to the Devil their Master, or secretly flee, or after inward

A Second Five Year's Struggle

Torments be burn'd openly. O Cruelty, Cruelty! far exceeding all Cruelties committed by those antient and famous Tyrants, and cruel Murderers, *Pharaoh, Hiram, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximian, Dioclesian, Decius*; whose Names, for their cruel Persecution of the People of God, and their own Tyranny practis'd on the People, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their Souls in continual Torments in Hell. If any man wou'd take upon him to set forth particularly all the Acts that have been done these full five years by this unnatural Woman (No, no Woman, but a Monster, and the Devil of Hell cover'd with the shape of a Woman) as it is most necessary for the Glory of God, and the Profit of his Church and his Realm, it shou'd be done; he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great History, and not to be contain'd in an *Oration*, to be utter'd at one time by the Voice of Man. But to comprehend the sum of all their Wickedness in few words: Behold! whatsoever Malice in Mischief, Covetousness in Spoil, Cruelty in Punishing, Tyranny in Destruction could do, that all this poor *English* Nation, these full five years, either suffer'd already, or shou'd have suffer'd, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded, and lost their Lives, to shake off this most rough brake (wherewith this *Virgin*, rather than *Virgin*, as she wou'd be call'd and taken, boasted her self to be sent of God, to ride and tame the People of *England*) albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their Brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable Captivity; and albeit some have prov'd to break the bands of this most cruel Tyranny, yet cou'd they never bring to pass that which they so earnestly labour'd, and so manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wonder'd, let the Papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them: For Almighty God, being a most indifferent Governor, punishing Evil, and rewarding Good, cou'd not of his Justice suffer his scourge so soon to be taken from this our Land, if he meant the Salvation of the People, as most manifestly appeareth he did. For having once given to the Realm the greatest Jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lively Word (which if they had embrac'd and follow'd, it wou'd have reform'd all Disorders and Sins, for which his Wrath was kindl'd and provok'd) the People nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemn'd it, or abus'd it; and many made it a cloke and colour to cover their mischief: So that if he shou'd suddenly have withdrawn this Plague (as Tyrants and evil Governors be the Plague of God) they wou'd neither have pass'd on his Justice, nor yet shou'd they have felt the sweetness of his Mercy. For commonly, the People regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warn'd by exceeding Extremities.

Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determin'd to make this noble Conquest, alone, with his own Hand, and mighty Power; and wou'd not that it shou'd be done by Man, lest Man shou'd impute any part of the Glory of this Victory to his own Strength, or to his own Policy; or that Fortune shou'd seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a Conquest; and so be partaker, in mens Opinions, of a Triumph so worthy.

Neither did his Almighty Power work this, when Man wou'd have it dispatch'd; that is, as soon as the Enemy began to gather their Force: for it is not so great a Victory to discomfit a few dispers'd People, as it is to destroy a perfectly united Army. But he suffer'd them to make their Force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever Mischiefs by Spoil, Banishment, Prisonment, Hanging, Heading, Burning, or otherwise cou'd be imagin'd.

Neither wou'd his most provident Wisdom do it out of season: but as the good Husbandman doth not crop his Tree till it hath render'd his Fruit; so wou'd he not root out these pestilent Tyrants, till the most Profit might be taken thereof.

When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of men to declare themselves; who were *Crocodiles*, sometime lying in Water, sometime on Land; that is, both *Gospellers* and *Papists*: who were *Sponges*, suspected whether they had Life, or no Life; whether they were *Christians*, or *Epicures*: who were *Chameleons*, that could turn themselves into all colours; with *Protestants*, *Pro-*
testants;

restless; with *Papists*, *Papists*; with *Spaniards*, *Spaniards*; with *Englishmen*, *Englishmen*: who were *Gnats*, that could apply themselves to every man's Appetite that was in Authority: who were *Marigolds*, that follow'd *Mary's* mad Affections: who were *Weabercocks*, that did turn with every *Wind*: who were *Mastrees*, that could bite, and bark not: who were *Curs*, ever barking: who were *Foxes*, that wou'd promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many *Oaths*, and do clean contrary; who were *Cains*, that fought the innocent *Abel's* Death: who were the *Wolves*, that worry'd the *Lambs*. And finally, when he had suffer'd the spiritual Shavelings to spue out their Venom, and every man to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this most victorious Conquest. And with his Works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: Ye see (my People) what I have done for you; not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the Benefits that I most plenteously pour'd on you, and have deserv'd most grievous Punishments for your Unthankfulness: but of mine infinite Mercy, and for my Glory's sake, which I will have open'd to all the world in these latter days, to the fear of Evil-doers, and to the comfort of the Well-doers. Provoke no more my Wrath; ye see what will follow it: Be hereafter more prudent and wise, than ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in time past: Ye may, if ye list, put me to less trouble, and keep your selves in more safety. I have not only discover'd mine, yours, and my Land of *England's* Enemys, and all the Crafts, Subtilties, and Policys that have been, or may be us'd by them, or any like hereafter; but I also have taken away their Head and Captain, and destroy'd a great number of them, that ye shou'd not be troubled with them; and some of them have I left, that ye may make them Spectacles and Examples, to the terror and fear of their Posterity. Love me, and I will love you: Seek my Honour and Glory, and I will work your Commodity and Safety: Walk in my Ways and Commandments, and I will be with you for ever.

Surely, If we consider the wonderful Mercy that it hath pleas'd God to use towards us, in the delivering of the Realm, and us his People, out of the hands of these most cruel Tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare our selves to be the most unthankful People that ever liv'd; we must needs judg it not only worthy to be compar'd, but also far to exceed the Deliverance of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, from the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and from the Powers of *Holofernes* and *Senacherib*. For it is not read, that either *Pharaoh*, or the other two, fought any other thing than to be the Lords of the Goods and Bodys of the *Israelites*: they forc'd them not to commit Adultery, and to serve false Gods, as the *English* Tyrants did.

But besides, if we will note the wonderful Works of God, in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his Church and People, than perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not only dispatch'd the Realm of the chief Personages, and Head of these Tyrants; but also as it were declar'd, that he minded not that either they or their doings shou'd continue. For albeit that all Acts done by Tyrants tyrannously, be by all Laws, Reason and Equity, of no force; yet because no disputation shou'd follow on this, What is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done? he hath provided that this Question needeth not to come into question. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffer'd them to build on false grounds; which can no longer stand than they be prop'd up with Rope, Sword, and Faggot. For her first Parliament, whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their Tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever King *Edward* had for the Advancement of God's Glory brought to pass, was of no force or authority: For she perceiving that her Enemys stomach cou'd not be empty'd, nor her Malice spu'd on the People by any good order, she committed a great disorder. She by force and violence taketh from the Commons their Liberty, that according to the antient Laws and Customs of the Realm, they cou'd not have their free Election of Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament. For she well knew, that if either Christian men, or true *English-men* shou'd be elected, it was not possible that to succeed which she intended. And therefore in many

places, divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious purposes. Wherefore that Parliament was no Parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of Tyrants and Traitors. For the greater part, by whose Authority and Voices things proceeded in that Court, by their Acts most manifestly declar'd themselves so: The rest being both Christians and true *Englishmen*, altho they had good wills, yet were not able to resist, or prevail against the multitude of Voices, and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their Country. Also, divers Burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully return'd, as in some places the people did what they cou'd to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out; and others, without any order of Law, in their places placed. Doctor *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Christian Bishop, and a true *Englishman*, being lawfully and orderly call'd to the Parliament, and plac'd in the Lords House, in his degree, was in his Robes by violence thrust out of the House. *Alexander Nowel*, with two others, all three being Burgesses for divers Shires, and Christian men, and true *Englishmen*, and lawfully chosen, return'd, and admitted, were by force put out of the House of Commons: For the which cause, the said Parliament is also void, as by a Precedent of the Parliament holden at *Coventry* in the 38th Year of King *Henry* the Sixth, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third Parliament call'd in the name of her Husband, and of her evil Grace, wherein they wou'd have undone that her Noble Father and the Realm had brought to pass, for the restitution of the Liberty of the Realm, and for extinguishment of the usurp'd Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, is also void, and of none authority: For that the Title and Stile of Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, which by a Statute made in the 35th Year of the Reign of the said King *Henry*, was ordain'd, that it shou'd be united and annex'd for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was omitted in the Writs of Summoning. Wherefore as a Woman can bring forth no Child without a Man, so cannot those Writs bring forth good and sure Fruit, because this part of the Title, which was ordain'd by the Parliament for the form to be always us'd in the King's Stile, was left out. For greater Error is in lack of Form, than in lack of Matter: And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no Law Spiritual nor Temporal (as they term them) nor any good Reason, but allow these Rules for infallible Principles. And if any man will say, that it was in the free choice, liberty and pleasure of the King of this Realm, and the Queen, whether they wou'd express the said Title in their Stile, or not; as that subtil Serpent *Gardiner*, being Chancellor of the Realm, and traitorously sending out the Writs of Parliament without the same Stile, perceiving he had overshot himself in calling the Parliament, and having committed many horrible Murders, and most mischievous Acts, wou'd have excus'd it, as appeareth by a piece of a Statute made in the same Parliament, in the 8th Chapter, and two and twentieth leaf: It may be justly and truly answer'd, That they cou'd not so do. For albeit every person may by Law renounce his own private Right, yet may he not renounce his Right in that which toucheth the Common-wealth, or a third Person.

And this Title and Stile more toucheth the Common-Wealth, and Realm of *England*, than the King. For, as I said before, it was ordain'd for the conservation of the Liberty of the whole Realm, and to exclude the usurp'd Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore, no King nor Queen alone cou'd renounce such Title: But it ought (if they wou'd have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally, by Act of Parliament, sufficiently call'd and summon'd. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordain'd. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none Effect, Force or Authority: but all that they have done hath been mere Tyranny. O most marvellous Providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his People! O most mighty Power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite Mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten Hope-Wednesday, in which it hath

hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy Church, this Realm, and thy People, from so horrible Tyranny! No Tongue can express, no Pen can indite, no Eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings! No, no Heart is able to render unto thy Goodness, sufficient Thanks for the Benefits we have receiv'd! Who cou'd ever have hop'd this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp Visitation, and utter destruction of this Realm, as of *Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jerusalem*?

But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy Mercy is greater than all mens Sins, and far above all thy Works. And albeit there is no Christian and natural *English*-man, Woman, or Child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not, or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding Mercy, and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him; yet there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, than you, Noble Queen *Elizabeth*. For in this horrible Tyranny, and most cruel Persecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for than any other. Divers times they have taken you, sometimes they have had you in strong hold, secluded from all liberty; sometime at liberty, but not without most cruel Goaler's custody; and many times they determin'd, that without Justice ye shou'd be murder'd privily. They thought, if your Grace had been suppress'd, they shou'd have fully prevail'd: If ye had been destroy'd, their doings for ever shou'd be establish'd: If ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that wou'd or cou'd undo that they had ordain'd. But he that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, wou'd not suffer that the malicious purposes, and most cruel devised Injustice shou'd have success: He took upon him the protection of you: He only hath been your *Joseph*, that preserv'd you from this wicked *Athalia*. He only was the *Joadah* that destroy'd this cruel *Athalia*. He only hath made you Queen of this Realm, instead of this mischievous *Marana*. No earthly creature can claim any piece of thanks therefore; no man's force, no man's counsel, no man's aid hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his Glory, and to set forth his Honour. Ye see his Power, what he is able to do: He alone can save, and he can destroy; He can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all Enemies, as he did King *David*. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than *Saul* had shew'd to him. But I have a good hope, that both his Justice and Benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them, but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust also your Wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp Visitation, but also to your uttermost Power endeavour to out-root them.

And forasmuch as, besides this infinite Mercy pour'd on your Grace, it hath pleas'd his Divine Providence to constitute your Highness to be our *Deborah*, to be the Governess and Head of the Body of this Realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite above all things, as well for his Glory and Honour, as for your Discharge, Quietness and Safety, to labour that the same Body now at the first be cleans'd, made whole, and then kept in good order. For, as if the Body of man be corrupted and diseas'd, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad: So if the Body of a Realm be corrupt, and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity shou'd require, nor yet prosper in it self. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobling and botching, as was us'd in time past, whilst your most noble Father and Brother reign'd. For as if a man cut off one head of the Serpent *Hydra*, and destroy not the whole body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the Physician shou'd labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: So unless the Body of a Realm or Commonwealth be clean purg'd from corruption, all the particular Laws and Statutes that can be devis'd, shall not profit it.

We need no foreign Examples to prove it: Look upon this Realm it self, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the body from his corruption, but there must be also preservatives ministred to keep it from putrefaction;

treafaction; for naturally of it felf it is addicted to putrefy: So after the Body of a Realm is purg'd, unlefs there be godly Ordinances for the prefervation thereof ordain'd, and duly miniftred, it will returne to the old State. For this Body, which is the People, is univerfally, naturally dispos'd to evil, and without compulfion, will hardly do that is his duty.

Thus muft your Grace do, if ye mind the advancement of God's Glory, your own Quietnefs and Safety, and the Wealth of this your Politick Body. And they be not hard to bring to pafs, where good-will will vouchfafe to take to her a little pain. The Realm will foon be purg'd, if Vice and Self-love be utterly condemn'd. It will be in good fteate preferv'd, if thefe three things, God's Word truly taught and preach'd, Youth well brought up in godly and honeft exercifes, and Juftice rightly miniftred, may be perfectly conftituted.

And without this foundation, let men imagin what it pleafeth them, the fpiritual Houfe of God fhall never be well fram'd or builded, nor the publick State of your Realm well order'd. For in what Body God's Word lacketh, the Unity and Charity that ought to be among the members thereof, is foon extinguish'd. Where the Youth is neglected, there can no good fuccefs be hop'd; no more than the Husbandman can look for a good Crop, where he fow'd no good Seed. And where Juftice is not truly and rightly minifter'd, there the more Laws and Statutes be heap'd together, the more they be condemn'd. And furely, if this thing cou'd not without exceeding charges be compafs'd, as God forbid that charges fhould be weigh'd, be they never fo great, where God's Glory, and the Wealth of the Realm may be further'd; yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did King *David* the Father, and King *Solomon* the Son, imploy to build the ftony Houfe of God? How much more charges fhould a Chriftian Prince imploy to build and fet up the lively Houfe of God? But verily, I am perfuaded, that it fhall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of fuperfluous charges, which otherwife your Grace fhall be forc'd to fustain, fhall thus be clean cut away, and fo your Revenues (by a mean moft profitable, and to no good perfon hurtful) increas'd.

Wherefore, for God's fake, Noble Queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offer'd, be by your Grace omitted. A Phyfician can in nothing fo much declare his good-will and cunning, nor purchafe himfelf fo great eftimation, as when he findeth his Patient thorowly fick and weaken'd, and doth reftore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise, if a Prince fhould defire of God a thing whereby he might declare the Zeal he beareth to God, or whereby he might win Fame and Glory, he cou'd defire nothing fo much, as to come into a State corrupted, as this Realm of *England* at this prefent is; not to destroy it as did *Cefar*, but to make it as did *Romulus*.

If your Grace can bring this to pafs, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly; Ye fhall do more than any of your Progenitors did before you. All men fhall confefs that you are not only for proximity of Blood prefer'd, but rather of God fpecially fent and ordain'd. And as the Queen of *Saba* came from far off to fee the Glory of King *Solomon*, a woman to a man: Even fo fhall the Princes of our time come, men to a woman, and Kings marvel at the Vertue of Queen *Elizabeth*. Thus fhall we your Subjects be moft bound to praife God, and to think our felves moft happy, that coming fo fuddenly from the worfe, be forthwith prefer'd to the beft, rid from the extremeft calamity, and brought to the greateft felicity. And it fhall be befides an example for all evil Princes, to leave their perfecution of Chrift and his Members; to ceafe from their Tyranny, wherewith they continually opprefs their poor Subjects. And fo all people, not only we of this your Realm, but of all other Nations, fhall have juft caufe to pray for your Grace's Health, and increafe of Honour.

Taken exactly word for word out of the *Book of Martyrs*, Vol. III. page 976. in the *Edit.* 41. and in the laft *Edit.* 84. page 819.

AFTER

AT the opening of this Session it was imperiously demanded, that the Standing Army shou'd be establish'd, and the Militia dissolv'd; the immediate consequence whereof was, the disarming of the Nation, and exposing it naked and defenceless to this Army, which had then been our Masters by Law. The Parliament (to their honour be it recorded) refus'd their Concurrence to so destructive a Design, tho I had sent very many Members the best Reasons I cou'd think of, for their compliance with that Demand; which are these that follow.

Several Reasons for the Establishment of a Standing Army, and the Dissolving the Militia.

1. **B**ECAUSE the Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and the whole Militia, that is to say, the Lords, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of England, are not fit to be trusted with their own Laws, Lives, Libertys, and Estates; and therefore ought to have Guardians and Keepers assign'd them.
2. Because *Mercenary Soldiers*, who fight for twelve pence a day, will fight better, as having more to lose, than either the Nobility or Gentry.
3. Because there are no *Irish Papists* in the Militia, who are certainly the best Soldiers in the world; for they have slain Men, Women, and Children, by hundreds of Thousands at once.
4. Because the *Dragooners* have made more Converts, than all the Bishops and Clergy of France.
5. The Parliament ought to establish one standing Army at the least, because indeed there will be need of two, that one of them may defend the People from the other.
6. Because it is a thousand pities that a brave *Popish Army* shou'd be a Riot.
7. Unless it be establish'd by Act of Parliament, the Justices of Peace will be forc'd to suppress it in their own defence; for they will be loth to forfeit a hundred pounds every day they rise, out of complement to a *Popish Rour*.
13 H. 4. c. 7. 2 H. 5. c. 8.
8. Because a *Popish Army* is a Nullity. For all Papists are utterly disabled (and punishable besides) from bearing any Office in Camp, Troop, Band, or Company of Soldiers; and are so far disarm'd by Law, that they cannot wear a Sword, so much as in their defence, without the allowance of four Justices of Peace of the County: And then upon a march they will be perfectly enchanted; for they are not able to stir above five miles from their own Dwelling-house. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 8, 27, 28, 29. 35 Eliz. c. 2. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 7.
9. Because Persons utterly disabled by Law, are utterly unauthoriz'd; and therefore the void Commissions of killing and slaying in the hands of *Papists*, can only enable them to massacre and murder.

AFTER

AFTER the Parliament was prorogu'd with great Honour, for the Address which they deliver'd the 17th of November; lest all English Principles should be forgotten in the Intervals of Parliament, I took care to publish the following Paper.

CHAP. I.

Of MAGISTRACY.

I. **R**elation is nothing else but that state of mutual Respect and Reference, which one Thing or Person has to another.

II. Such are the Relations of Father and Son, Husband and Wife, Master and Servant, Magistrate and Subject.

III. The Relations of a Father, Husband and Master, are really distinct and different: that is, one of them is not the other; for he may be any one of these who is none of the rest.

IV. This Distinction proceeds from the different Reasons, upon which these Relations are founded.

V. The Reason or Foundation, from whence arises the Relation of a Father, is from having begotten his Son; who may as properly call every Old Man he meets his Father, as any other Person whatsoever, excepting him only who begat him.

VI. The Relation of a Husband and Wife is founded in Wedlock, whereby they mutually consent to become one Flesh.

VII. The Relation of a Master is founded in that Right and Title which he has to the Possession, or Service, of his Slave or Servant.

VIII. In these Relations, the Names of Father, Husband, and Master, imply Sovereignty and Superiority, which varies notwithstanding, and is more or less absolute, according to the Foundation of these several Relations.

IX. The Superiority of a Father is founded in that Power, Priority and Dignity of Nature, which a Cause hath over its Effect.

X. The Distance is not so great in Wedlock; but the Superiority of the Husband over the Wife, is like that of the Right Hand over the Left in the same Body.

XI. The Superiority of a Master, is an absolute Dominion over his Slave, a limited and conditionate Command over his Servant.

XII. The Titles of *Pater Patria*, and *Sponsus Regni*, Father of the Country, and Husband of the Realm, are Metaphors and improper Speeches: For no Prince ever begat a whole Country of Subjects, nor can a Kingdom more properly be said to be marry'd, than the City of *Venice* is to the *Adriatique Gulph*.

XIII. And to shew further, that Magistracy is not paternal Authority, nor Monarchy founded in Fatherhood; it is undeniably plain, that a Son may be the natural Sovereign Lord of his own Father, as *Henry* the second had been of *Jeffrey Plantagenet*, if he had been an *Englishman*; which they say, *Henry* the seventh did not love to think of, when his Sons grew up to Years. And this Case alone is an eternal Confutation of the Patriarchate.

XIV. Neither is Magistracy a marital Power; for the Husband may be the obedient Subject of his own Wife, as *Philip* was of *Queen Mary*.

XV. Nor is it that Dominion which a Master has over his Slave; for then a Prince might lawfully sell all his Subjects, like so many Head of Cattle, and make Mony of his whole Stock whenever he pleases, as a Patron of *Algiers* does.

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XVI. Neither

XVI. Neither is the Relation of Prince and Subject the same with that of a Master and hir'd Servant; for he does not hire them, but as St. Paul saith, *They pay him Tribute*, in consideration of his continual Attendance and Employment for the Publick Good.

XVII. That publick Office and Imployment is the Foundation of the Relation of King and Subject; as many other Relations are likewise founded upon other Functions and Administrations: such as *Guardian* and *Ward*, &c.

XVIII. The Office of a King is set down at large in the seventeenth Chapter of the Laws of King *Edward the Confessor*, to which the succeeding Kings have been sworn at their Coronation: And it is affirm'd in the Preambles of the Statutes of * *Marlbridg*, and of the Statute of *Quo Warranto* made at † *Glocester*, That the calling of Parliaments to make Laws for the better Estate of the Realm, and the more full Administration of Justice, *belongeth to the Office of a King*. But the fullest account of it in few words, is in Chancellor *Fortescue*, Chap. XIII. which Passage is quoted in *Calvin's Case*, *Coke 7. Rep.* fol. 5. *Ad tutelam namque legis Subditorum, ac eorum corporum & honorum, Rex hujusmodi erectus est, & ad hanc potestatem a populo effluxam ipse habet, quo ei non licet potestate alia suo populo dominari.* For such a King (that is, of every Political Kingdom, as this is) is made and ordain'd for the Defence or Guardianship of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodys and Goods; whereunto he receiveth Power of his People, so that he cannot govern his People by any other Power. *Corollary*,

* *Propter Regalis Officii exposcit utilitas.*
† *Sicome le profit de Office Demande.*

The Kingly or Regal Office of this Realm.
1st Mar. Seff. 3. Cap. 1.

1. A Bargain's a Bargain.
2. A Popish Guardian of Protestant Laws is such an incongruity, and he is as unfit for that Office, as a Wolf is to be a Shepherd, or as Antichrist is to be Christ's Vicar.

CHAP. II.

Of Prerogatives by Divine Right.

I. Government is not matter of Revelation; if it were, then those Nations that wanted Scripture, must have been without Government: whereas Scripture it self says, that Government is the Ordinance of Man, and of human extraction. And King *Charles I.* says of this Government in particular, *That it was moulded by the Wisdom and Experience of the People.* Answ. to 19 Prop.

II. All just Governments are highly beneficial to Mankind, and are of God, the Author of all Good; they are his Ordinances and Institutions. *Rom. 13. 1, 2.*

III. Plowing and Sowing, and the whole business of preparing Bread-Corn, is absolutely necessary to the Subsistence of Mankind: This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, who is wonderful in Counsel, and excellent in Working, *Isa. 28. 23 — 29.*

IV. Wisdom saith, *Counsel is mine, and sound Wisdom; I am Understanding, I have Strength: By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice: By me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth,* *Prov. 8. 14.*

V. The Prophet speaking of the Plow-man, saith, *His God doth instruct him to Discretion, and doth teach him,* *Isa. 28. 26.*

VI. Scripture neither gives nor takes away mens Civil Rights, but leaves them as it found them; and (as our Saviour said of himself) is no Divider of Inheritances.

VII. Civil Authority is a Civil Right.

VIII. The Law of *England* gives the King his Title to the Crown. For where is it said in Scripture, that such a Person or Family by name shall enjoy it? And the same Law of *England* which has made him King, has made him King according to the *English* Laws, and not otherwise.

IX. The King of *England* has no more right to set up a *French* Government, than the *French* King has to be King of *England*; which is none at all.

X. *Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's*, neither makes a *Caesar*, nor tells who *Caesar* is, nor what belongs to him; but only requires men to be just, in giving him those suppos'd Rights, which the Laws have determin'd to be his.

XI. The Scripture supposes Property, when it forbids stealing; it supposes mens Lands to be already buttred and bounded, when it forbids removing the antient Land-marks. And as it is impossible for any man to prove what Estate he has by Scripture, or to find a Terrier of his Lands there; so it is a vain thing to look for Statutes of Prerogative in Scripture.

XII. If *Mishpat Hammelech*, the Manner of the King, 1 Sam. 8. 11. be a Statute of Prerogative, and prove all those particulars to be the Right of the King; then *Mishpat Haccohanim*, the Priest's custom of sacrilegious Rapine, chap. 2. 13. proves that to be the Right of the Priests, the same word being us'd in both places.

XIII. It is the Resolution of all the Judges of *England*, that even the known and undoubted Prerogatives of the *Jewish* Kings do not belong to our Kings; and that it is an absurd and impudent thing to affirm they do.

Give us a King Coke 11. Rep. p. 63. Mich. 5 Jac. "Note, upon Sunday the tenth of November, 20 Judg 10, "in this same Term, the King, upon complaint made to him by *Bancroft* 1 Sam. 8. 5, 6, "Archbishop of *Canterbury* concerning Prohibitions, was inform'd, That "when question was made of what matters the Ecclesiastical Judges have "cognizance, either upon the Exposition of the Statutes concerning Tithes, "or any other thing Ecclesiastical, or upon the Statute 1 Eliz. concerning the "High Commission, or in any other case, in which there is not express Au- "thority by Law, the King himself may decide it in his Royal Person; and "that the Judges are but the Delegates of the King; and that the King may "take what Causes he shall please to determine, from the Determination of "the Judges, and may determine them himself. And the Archbishop said, "That this was clear in Divinity, that such Authority belongs to the King, by the "Word of God in Scripture. To which it was answer'd by me, in the pre- "sence and with the clear consent of all the Justices of *England*, and Barons "of the Exchequer, That the King in his own Person cannot adjudg any "Case, either criminal, as Treason, Felony, &c. but this ought to be de- "termin'd and adjudg'd in some Court of Justice, according to the Law and "Custom of *England*. And always Judgments are given, *ideo consideratum est* "per Curiam: so that the Court gives the Judgment.—And it was greatly "marvel'd, That the Archbishop durst inform the King, that such absolute "Power and Authority, as is aforesaid, belong'd to the King, by the Word "of God."

CHAP. III.

OF OBEDIENCE.

I. NO man has any more Civil Authority than what the Law of the Land has vested in him; nor is he one of St. *Paul's* higher Powers any farther, or to any other purposes, than the Law has impower'd him.

II. An usurp'd, illegal, and arbitrary Power, is so far from being the Ordinance of God, that it is not the Ordinance of Man.

III. Whosoever opposes an usurp'd, illegal, and arbitrary Power, does not oppose the Ordinance of God, but the Violation of that Ordinance.

Ver. 4.

IV. The 13th of the *Romans* commands Subjection to our temporal Governours, because their Office and Imployment is for the publick Welfare; For he is the Minister of God to thee for good.

Ver. 17.

V. The 13th of the *Hebrews* commands Obedience to spiritual Rulers, because they watch for your Souls.

VI. But the 13th of the *Hebrews* did not oblige the Martyrs and Confessors in Queen *Mary's* time, to obey such blessed Bishops as *Bonner* and the Beast of

Rome,

Rome, who were the perfect Reverse of St. Paul's spiritual Rulers, and whose practice was murdering of Souls and Bodys, according to that true Character of Popery, which was given it by the Bishops who compil'd the Thanksgiving for the fifth of November; but Archbishop Laud was wiser than they, and in his time blotted it out.

The Prayer formerly ran thus: *To that end strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles and Magistrates of the Land, to cut off these Workers of Iniquity (whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose Practice is murdering of Souls and Bodys) and to root them out of the Confiner of this Kingdom.*

VII. All the Judges of England are bound by their Oath, and by the Duty of their place, to disobey all Writs, Letters, or Commands, which are brought to them, either under the Little Seal, or under the Great Seal, to hinder or delay common Right. Are the Judges all bound in an Oath, and by their Places, to break the 13th of the Romans? 18 E. 3.
20 E. 3. c. 1, 2.

VIII. The Engagement of the Lords attending upon the King at York, June 13. 1642. which was subscrib'd by the Lord Keeper and thirty nine Peers, besides the Lord Chief Justice Banks, and several others of the Privy Council, was in these words: *We do engage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land.* Was this likewise an Association against the 13th of the Romans?

IX. A Constable represents the King's Person, and in the execution of his Office is within the purview of the 13th of the Romans, as all men grant; but in case he so far pervert his Office, as to break the Peace, and commit Murder, Burglary, or Robbery on the High-way, he may and ought to be resisted.

X. The Law of the Land is the best Expofitor of the 13th of the Romans here; and in Poland, the Law of the Land there.

XI. The 13th of the Romans is receiv'd for Scripture in Poland, and yet this is express'd in the Coronation-Oath in that Country; *Quod si Sacramentum meum violavero, Incola Regni nullam nobis Obedientiam prestare tenebuntur:* And if I shall violate my Oath, the Inhabitants of the Realm shall not be bound to yield me any Obedience.

XII. The Law of the Land, according to Bracton, is the highest of all the Higher Powers mention'd in this Text; for it is superior to the King, and made him King, (*Lib. 3. cap. 26. Rex habet Superiorem Deum, item Legem, per quam factus est Rex, item Curiam suam, viz. Comites & Barones*) and therefore by this Text we ought to be subject to it in the first place. And according to Melancthon, *It is the Ordinance of God, to which the higher Powers themselves ought to be subject.* Vol. 3. in his Commentary on the fifth Verse (*Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake*) he has these words: *Neque vero hac tantum pertinent ad Subditos, sed etiam ad Magistratum, qui cum sunt Tyranni, non minus dissipant Ordinationem Dei, quam Seditiosi. Ideo & ipsorum Conscientia fit rea, quia non obediunt Ordinationi Dei, id est, Legibus quibus debent parere. Ideo Comminationes hic posita etiam ad ipsos pertinent. Itaque hujus mandati severitas moveat omnes, ne violationem politici status putent esse leve peccatum.* Neither doth this place concern Subjects only, but also the Magistrates themselves; who when they turn Tyrants, do no less overthrow the Ordinance of God than the Seditious: and therefore their Consciences too are guilty, for not obeying the Ordinance of God, that is, the Laws which they ought to obey. So that the Threatnings in this place do also belong to them: wherefore let the Severity of this Command deter all men from thinking the Violation of the Political Constitution to be a light Sin.

Corollary. To destroy the Law and Legal Constitution, which is the Ordinance of God, by false and arbitrary Expositions of this Text, is a greater Sin than to destroy it by any other means; for it is *seething the Kid in his Mother's Milk.*

CHAP. IV.

Of LAWS.

I. **T**HERE is no natural Obligation, whereby one man is bound to yield Obedience to another, but what is founded in Paternal or Patriarchal Authority.

II. All the Subjects of a Patriarchal Monarch are Princes of the Blood.

III. All the People of *England* are not Princes of the Blood.

IV. No man who is naturally free, can be bound, but by his own Act and Deed.

V. Publick Laws are made by publick Consent; and they therefore bind every man, because every man's Consent is involv'd in them.

VI. Nothing but the same Authority and Consent which made the Laws, can repeal, alter, or explain them.

VII. To judg and determine Causes against Law, without Law, or where the Law is obscure and uncertain; is to assume Legislative Power.

VIII. Power assum'd without a man's Consent, cannot bind him as his own Act and Deed.

IX. The Law of the Land is all of a piece; and the same Authority which made one Law, made all the rest, and intended to have them all impartially executed.

X. Law on one side is the Backsword of Justice.

XI. The best things, when corrupted, are the worst; and the wild Justice of a State of Nature, is much more desirable than Law perverted, and overrul'd into Hemlock and Oppression.

ABOUT this time several of the Clergy engag'd in a defensive War against Popery; the Papists having been the Aggressors by a Book of theirs, intitled, Popery misrepresented and represented, which broke a long Truce. But I thought it somewhat with the latest to be put to dispute our Religion over again, which the Martyrs in Q. Mary's time had so abundantly confirm'd both with their Arguments and their Lives, and which the Laws of the Land had establish'd and made our own: as also they had proscrib'd Popery upon the justest Reasons in the world, which are here crowd'd together in the following Paper.

The Grounds and Reasons of the Laws against Popery.

THE Righteousness and Equity of all Laws is best discover'd by those Grounds and Reasons, upon which the Legislators proceeded when they thought fit to enact them: and the only Measure of the Usefulness and Necessity of them, is the greatness of those Evils which they remedy or prevent. And therefore I am of opinion, that the shortest way both to justify our Ancestors in their Laws against Popery, as also to awaken all *Englishmen* to a due Execution of them, is to shew they were made upon
very

very good Advice; as will clearly be seen by the Statutes themselves, in their own following Words.

In the 1 Eliz. c. 1. Sect. 1. Speaking of the Act made in the Reign of Philip and Mary, intituled, *An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome, &c.* there are these words: *By reason of which Act of Repeal, your said humble Subjects were brought under an usurp'd foreign Power and Authority, and yet do remain in that Bondage.* For which cause the said Act is immediately repeal'd, Sect. 2. and the Oath of Supremacy enacted, Sect. 19. And the rest of that Statute is intended for the utter Extinction of all foreign and usurp'd Authority.

The next Act against Popery is 5 Eliz. c. 1. of which this is the Preamble. *For the Preservation of the Queen's most excellent Highness, her Heirs and Successors, and the Dignity of the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England; and for avoiding both of such Hurts, Perils, Dishonours, and Inconveniencies, as have before-time befallen, as well to the Queen's Majesty's Noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, as to the whole Estate thereof, by means of the Jurisdiction and Power of the See of Rome, unjustly claim'd and usurp'd within this Realm and the Dominions thereof; and also of the Dangers by the Fautors of the said usurp'd Power, at this time grown to marvellous Outrage and licentious Boldness, and now requiring more sharp Restraints and Correction of Laws than hitherto in the time of the Queen's Majesty's most mild and merciful Reign, have been had, us'd or establish'd.*

13 Eliz. c. 2. After a rehearsal of the former Act, we have these words: *And yet nevertheless divers seditious and very evil dispos'd People, without the respect of their Duty to Almighty God, or of the Faith and Allegiance which they ought to bear and have to our said Sovereign Lady the Queen, and without all fear and regard had to the said good Law and Statute, or the Pains therein limited, but minding as it shou'd seem very seditiously and unnaturally, not only to bring this Realm, and the Imperial Crown thereof (being in very deed of it self most free) into the Thralldom and Subjection of that foreign, usurp'd, and unlawful Jurisdiction, Prebeminence and Authority claim'd by the said See of Rome, but also to estrange and alienate the Minds and Hearts of sundry her Majesty's Subjects from their dutiful Obedience, and to raise and stir Sedition and Rebellion within this Realm, to the Disturbance of the most happy Peace thereof, have lately procur'd and obtain'd to themselves from the said Bishop of Rome, and his said See, divers Bulls and Writings, the Effect whereof hath been and is, to absolve and reconcile all those that will be contented to forsake their due Obedience to our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and to yield and subject themselves to the said feign'd, unlawful and usurp'd Authority. These, or whosoever shall ever hereafter procure any manner of Writing from the Bishop or See of Rome, containing any Thing, Matter or Cause whatsoever, their Procurers, Abettors or Counsellors, are adjudg'd High Traitors to the Queen and the Realm.* Sect. 3.

23 Eliz. c. 1. For further confirmation of the foregoing Act, it is made High Treason to persuade any from the Religion establish'd, to the Romish Religion, or to be reconcil'd and withdrawn to the Romish Religion, Sect. 2. To aid, maintain or conceal the said Offences, is Misprision of Treason, Sect. 3. The hearing of Mass is the forfeiture of an hundred Marks, and Imprisonment for a Year, Sect. 4.

35 Eliz. c. 2. For the better discovering and avoiding of such traitorous and most dangerous Conspiracys and Attempts as are daily devis'd and practis'd against our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and the happy Estate of this Common-weal, by sundry wicked and seditious Persons, who terming themselves Catholicks, and being (indeed) Spys and Intelligencers not only for her Majesty's foreign Enemy's, but also for rebellious and traitorous Subjects born within her Highness's Realms and Dominions, and hiding their most detestable and devilish Purposes under a false pretext of Religion and Conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this Realm, to corrupt and seduce her Majesty's Subjects, and to stir them to Sedition and Rebellion: Be it enacted, That every Person above the Age of Sixteen Years, Native or Denizon, being a Popish Recusant, shall repair to his Abode, and shall not at any time after pass or remove above five miles from thence, under the penalty of losing all their Goods and Chattels, and Lands, and Hereditaments, during Life. Sect. 1, and 2.

†

And

A Second Five Year's Struggle

And now we are come to the Gunpowder-Treason, of which the Act for a publick Thanksgiving, 3 Jac. c. 1. says thus, *An Invention so inhuman, barbarous and cruel, as the like was never before heard of, and was (as some of the principal Conspirators thereof confess) purposely devis'd and concluded to be done in the upper House of Parliament; that where sundry necessary and Religious Laws for preservation of the Peace and Safety were made, which they falsely and slanderously term Cruel Laws, enacted against them and their Religion, both Place and Persons shou'd be all destroy'd and blown up at once, which wou'd have turn'd to the utter Ruin of this whole Kingdom.*

3 Jac. c. 4. *An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants. Forasmuch as it is found by daily Experience, that many his Majesty's Subjects, that adhere in their Hearts to the Popish Religion, by the Infection drawn from thence, and by the wicked and devilish Counsel of Jesuits, Seminarys, and other like Persons, dangerous to the Church and State, are so far perverted in the point of their Loyalty and due Allegiance unto the King's Majesty and the Crown of England, as they are ready to entertain and execute any treasonable Conspiracys and Practices, as evidently appears by that more than barbarous and horrible Attempt to have blown up with Gunpowder the King, Queen, Prince, Lords and Commons in the House of Parliament assembled, tending to the utter subversion of the whole State, lately undertaken by the Instigation of Jesuits and Seminarys; and in advancement of their Religion, by their Scholars taught and instructed by them to that purpose, which Attempt by the only Goodness of Almighty God was discover'd and defeated: And where divers Persons popishly affected, do nevertheless, the better to cover and hide their false Hearts, and with the more safety to attend the opportunity to execute their mischievous Designs, repair sometimes to Church, to escape the Penalty of the Laws in that behalf provided.*

For the better discovery therefore of such Persons, and their evil Affections to the King's Majesty, and the State of this his Realm; to the end that being known, their evil Purposes may be the better prevented, be it enacted, &c.

3 Jac. c. 5. *An Act to prevent and avoid Dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants. Whereas divers Jesuits, Seminarys, and Popish Priests daily do withdraw many of his Majesty's Subjects from the true Service of Almighty God, and the Religion establish'd within this Realm, to the Romish Religion, and from their Loyal Obedience to his Majesty; and have of late secretly persuaded divers Recusants and Papists, and encourag'd and embolden'd them to commit most damnable Treasons, tending to the Overthrow of God's true Religion, the Destruction of his Majesty, and his Royal Issue, and the Overthrow of the whole State and Commonwealth, if God of his Goodness and Mercy had not, within few hours before the intended time of the Execution thereof, reveal'd and disclos'd the same: Wherefore to discover and prevent such secret and damnable Conspiracys and Treasons as hereafter may be put in ure by such evil-dispos'd Persons, if Remedy be not therefore provided; Be it enacted, That such Person as shall first discover to any Justice of the Peace, any Recusant or other Person which shall entertain or relieve any Jesuit, Seminary, or Popish Priest, or shall discover any Mass to have been said, and the Persons that were present, shall have the third part of the Forfeitures.*

And to name no more, the Act for the Test and subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, 25 Car. 2. c. 2. begins thus: *For preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants, and quieting the minds of his Majesty's good Subjects, Be it enacted, &c.*

From all these several Statutes it appears,

1. That Popery is not proscrib'd and prosecuted as it is an *Erroneous Belief*, and a *Ridiculous Persuasion*; for under that Consideration, it is as much beneath the Cognizance of the Laws, as the wild and bedlam Conceits of Oliver's Porter. If Men be possess'd with a strong Belief, *That the Moon is made of a green Cheese*, or, *That a Washer is a Man*; it seems hardly consistent with the Dignity of Laws to take notice of it, but to leave them to other Remedys. No, it is not Popery, the fanatical and pretended Religion; but it is Popery, the real *Usurpation*, the *Tyranny*, the *Treason*, and the utter *Subversion* both of this Church and State, against which the Face of our Laws is bent. And the Papists are therefore adjudg'd to be punish'd by Fine, or Imprisonment, or Death, not because they cannot say their *Latin Prayers* without

Beads, but because they are false and treacherous to their native Country, and adhere to a foreign Enemy, who is always seeking to bring this Nation into that cruel Bondage and Thralldom under which it had long groan'd; and therefore may justly be allow'd to provide for its own Preservation, and to prevent such Usurpation, and Invasion for the future.

2. It appears, That the damnable and treasonable Practices of the Papists all along have been directed not only against the Lives of our Protestant Princes, but against the happy Estate, Safety and Being of the Kingdom, to bring this Realm into the Thralldom and Subjection of a foreign, unlawful and usurp'd Power, and to the Overthrow of this whole State and Common-wealth: And therefore they are justly adjudg'd High-Traitors to the Queen and the Realm. And the Realm, in point of its own Preservation, is deeply concern'd to see to the Punishment of these Traitors, which accordingly the Commons have often done, in quickning the Execution of Priests and Jesuits.

3. The People of England have an Interest and Birthright in these Laws, and are not only engag'd to prosecute the Papists for the publick Safety, but likewise the Law has propounded considerable Rewards for those that prosecute them, and so have made it their private and personal Interest. And not only so, but has engag'd them to see them prosecuted at their own Peril. For, as it is Treason to persuade any from the Religion establish'd to the Romish Religion, or for any Person to be withdrawn and reconcil'd to the Romish Religion; so it is Misprision of Treason to conceal any of those Offences, which I wou'd desire all Englishmen to think of: for the Laws will and must take place, when Force will not.

4. From these Statutes it likewise appears, That it is no new thing for the Papists to make use of demure Pretences, to term themselves Catholicks, and to hide their most detestable and devilish Purposes under a false Pretext of Religion and Conscience, tho it be such a Religion, that as the Statute tells us they draw from thence the Infection of their bloody Treasons, so the subversion of this whole State. Nor is it any new thing for them to slander these necessary and Religious Laws, which were made for the Preservation of the Church and State, and to term them Cruel Laws; since for that cause, as they themselves confess'd, they attempted to blow up the Parliament-House, and with the Persons to destroy the very Place where Laws are made. But if they were Religious and Necessary Laws before the Poudre-Plot, as the Act for a Thanksgiving, yearly read in Churches, says they were, they are much more necessary now, since the Papists daily Improvement in the Treasons and Crueltys of that Plot, and of the Bloody Irish Massacre, and in several others, needless here to be nam'd.

And therefore let every Protestant and true Englishman put his helping-hand to the just and necessary Prosecution of Papists, as he tenders the Preservation of God's true Religion, the Welfare of the Nation, and the very Being of Posterity: especially let those, who have any Office in the Administration of Justice, be zealous in the discharge of their Duty in that behalf; well knowing, that otherwise both their Oath, and these repeated and multiply'd Laws, will rise up in Judgment against them, and the Blood of this great perishing People will lie at their doors. And let them the rather take courage to themselves, both because God has heretofore deliver'd this Nation in the Gunpowder-Plot, when they were within a few hours of Destruction; and because of the daring and threatening Insolence of the Papists, which outfaces and tramples upon those very Laws that have put Hal-ters about their Necks, and which, as the Law 5 Eliz. says, at this time is grown to marvellous Outrage and licentious Boldness, and now requires more sharp Restraint and Correction of Laws. By this means the Laws will not hereafter pass for Nullitys, as the old Popish Drudge (for so he stands charg'd upon Record in the highest Court of England, and durst not abide a Trial, but fled from Justice) wou'd fain have them, OBSERVATOR, Numb. 122, 123. Nay, Because the Papists are Subjects (and what Vipers of Subjects they are, you see by the Statutes) therefore they must be let into the Government, and be employ'd in Publick Offices. Which is a far better Reason for making Bishops, Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Generals and Admirals, of all the Felons in Newgate, for they also are Subjects, and Sons of the Political

tical Father, and lie under no such moral or legal Incapacitys as the Papists do; who besides their Idolatry, and bloody Enmity to this Protestant Kingdom, lie under an incurable Incapacity of bearing Offices, both Civil and Military; and the Law has made their Commissions punishable Nullitys, 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 8. By this means likewise the OBSERVATOR's over-ruling Necessity will be kept out, who supercedes all Laws; who, tho he be an arm'd man, yet is a known Out-law, and therefore after all, if he will come, let him come at his peril.

WHEN we had a formidable Army in the Bowels of the Kingdom, and no occasion for them, nor any Enemy in sight, unless it were the good People of England to be destroy'd at their own charge, I was persuaded it was necessary to make some application to the Protestant Soldiers (for it was in vain to say any thing to the Papists) to prevent, if possible, any such mischievous attempt. For this purpose, as they were marching to their first Campaign at Hounslow-Heath, I drew up a short memorandum of their Duty to their Religion and Country, in as legal, plain, and urgent a way as I cou'd devise. It seems I was ask'd at the same time, whether I thought this Paper wou'd do any good? I said, I cou'd not tell, it was intended so; but no man cou'd answer for the success. However it wou'd do this good, whether the Soldiers regarded it or no, That since an Address had been made to them in behalf of their Religion and Country, the Papists cou'd not know but it might have had some effect upon them; and consequently wou'd be distrustful and jealous of them, and not dare to employ them in any desperate design against their Country. I owe the remembrance of this Passage to one who depos'd it against me. For so it was, that after about a thousand of them were dispers'd, both the Impression as well as my self fell into their arbitrary and tyrannous hands; where the Barbaritys and intolerable Indignitys to an English Freeman, which I then suffer'd upon this account, are sufficiently known to the Nation, and need not to be insisted upon, till I seek for some honourable Reparation for them.

An Humble and Hearty Address to all the English Protestants in this present Army.

GENTLEMEN,

NEXT to the Dnty which you owe to God, which ought to be the principal care of men of your Profession especially, (because you carry your lives in your hands, and often look Death in the face.) The second thing that deserves your consideration, is the Service of your Native Country, wherein you drew your first Breath, and breath'd a free English Air. Now I wou'd desire you to consider, how well you comply with these two main Points, by engaging in this present Service.

Is it in the Name of God and for his Service, that you have join'd your selves with Papists, who will indeed fight for the *Mass-Book*, but burn the *Bible*; and who seek to extirpate the Protestant Religion with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own? And will you be aiding and assisting to set up *Mass-Houses*, to erect that Popish Kingdom of Darknes and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children in *Papery*? How can you do these things, and yet call your selves Protestants?

And then what Service can be done your Country, by being under the Command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the Nation under a foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into the Houses of your

†

Country.

Country-men, under the name of *Quartering*, directly contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*? Will you be aiding and assisting to all the Murders and Outrages which they shall commit by their void Commissions? Which were declar'd Illegal, and sufficiently blasted by both Houses of Parliament, (if there had been any need of it) for it was very well known before, that a *Papist* cannot have a Commission, but by the Law is utterly disabl'd and disarm'd. Will you exchange your Birthright of *English Laws* and *Libertys* for *Martial* or *Club-Law*, and help to destroy all others, only to be eaten last your selves? If I know you well, as you are *English-men*, you hate and scorn these things. And therefore be not unequally yok'd with *Idolaters* and bloody *Papists*: Be valiant for the Truth, and shew your selves Men.

The same Considerations are likewise humbly offer'd to all the *English Seamen*, who have been the Bulwark of this Nation against Popery and Slavery ever since *Eighty Eight*.

AT the same time almost the whole Impression of the following Paper fell into their hands, which was not intended to be publish'd at that time, but was laid up against a time of need. It was written long before in vindication of my Lord Russell of ever-blessed Memory, whose Opinion it was, and from whom it cou'd not be wrested at his death. The wretched Author of all our Miserys, and the everlasting Enemy of his Country, knows very well at what disadvantage that great Lord was taken, when he was practis'd upon to retract that Opinion, and to bequeath a Legacy of Slavery to his Country. But they made their assaults against a Rock, and there were no earnings made of that State-trick to uphold their bloody Tyranny. Besides the Self-evidence of this eternal Truth which my Lord held, it being as clear as the Sun, that if my Rights are not mine to keep, they are none of mine, but they are uncontrollably his, who can take them away without controul; and that a defenceless Property is a precarious Courtesy: I have this further to say as to the usefulness of this Truth, That the continuance of the Protestant Religion in all parts of Christendom is owing to this Principle; That the late deliverance of this Nation and their present happiness under King William and Queen Mary is owing to it; And that the very Lives and Beings of the most implacable Persecutors of this Principle in this Kingdom are owing to it, which had otherwise before now been swallow'd up by Popery.

The Opinion is This:

*That Resistance may be us'd, in case
our Religion and Rights shou'd be Invaded.*

THE Arguments against it are these: First, That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of Authority. [Quere, Who has Authority to Invade the Establish'd Religion and Rights of the Nation? Is any one empower'd by the Laws to invade the Laws?]

Secondly, That tho our Religion be Establish'd by Law, which makes a difference between our Case and that of the Primitive Christians, yet in the same Law which establishes our Religion, it is declar'd, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or any commission'd by him. [Neither doth this reach the Question, For the King can do no wrong; nor in the second place, can he commissionate any person to invade the Establish'd Religion and Rights of the Kingdom: for a Commission of that kind is not a Commission

in Law, it is null, and void, and nothing.] Besides that, there is a particular Law, declaring the Power of the Militia to be solely in the King. [To do what? To invade the Establish'd Religion and Rights of the Kingdom? If you read the whole Act, you will find the direct contrary.] And that ties the Hands of Subjects, tho' the Law of Nature, and the general Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the Government and Peace of human Society cou'd not well subsist upon these terms. [As if the Establish'd Religion and Rights of a Nation, which are the very ends of Government and of human Society, were best secur'd by being laid open to Invasion, and expos'd for a Prey.]

Thirdly, This Opinion is contrary to the declar'd Doctrine of all Protestant Churches; and tho' some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemn'd for it by the generality of Protestants. Whereas the following Testimonys will prove it to be no singular Opinion, but held by the most eminent Protestants both at home and abroad: And they give such reasons for their Opinion, as may at least excuse those persons who are of the same persuasion, till such time as those Arguments are answer'd, as well as the Opinion condemn'd.

To begin with *Luther*, with whom the Papists say untruly our Religion began, but who was indeed a person, whom it pleas'd God to make the great Restorer of Religion to this last Age of the World. *Sleidan* not only tells us that he was of this Opinion, but likewise how he came to be of it, when he had formerly held the contrary. The words are these, *Sleid. Com. lib. 8. Prius quam fœdus iniretur, in Concilium adhibiti fuerunt non Jureconsulti modo, sed Theologi quoque. Lutherus semper docuerat Magistratui non esse resistendum, & extabat ejus hæc de re libellus: cùm autem in hac deliberatione periti juris docerent Legibus esse permittum, resistere nonnunquam, & nunc in eum casum, de quo Leges inter alia mentionem faciunt, rem esse deductam ostenderent, Lutherus ingenuè profitetur, se nescivisse hoc licere: Et quia Leges politicas Evangelium non impugnet aut aboleat, uti semper docuerit, deinde, quoniam hoc tempore tam dubio tamque formidoloso multa possunt accidere, sic ut non modo jus ipsum sed Conscientia quoque vis atque necessitas arma nobis porrigat, Defensionis causâ fœdus iniri posse dicit, sive Cæsar ipse, sive quis alius, forte bellum ejus nomine faciat. Editò quoque scripto primum explicat, quàm fuerint in Augusta Comitibus obstinati Pontificii, deinde monet in universum omnes, ne Magistratui ad ejusmodi Bellum imperanti Militiam obtemperent. Doctrina verò Pontificia complures & gravissimos quidem recenset errores, quos ait ab illis propugnatum iri qui se Castris illis adjungunt: quâ quidem in re summum Nefas inesse dicit. Quanta sit etiam lux illata mentibus hominum hoc tempore per Evangelii cognitionem demonstrat, & à tam impii belli societate temperandum esse docet. In English thus:*

Before the Princes and Citys enter'd into an Association, they took the Advice not only of Lawyers, but of Divines also. Now *Luther* had always taught, That the Magistrate might not be resisted, and there was a little Book of his extant upon that Subject. But when the Lawyers in this Consultation shew'd, that Resistance was allow'd by the Laws in some cases, and made it appear that the present Case was one of those whereof the Laws made mention, *Luther* ingenuously profess'd, that he did not know the lawfulness of it before; and now said, that seeing the Gospel doth not Bar nor Abolish the Laws of the State, as he had always taught; and furthermore, because in this uncertain and dangerous time many things might so happen, that not only matter of Right, but also the necessity of Conscience might occasion us to Arm; therefore an Association might be enter'd into, to defend our selves in case *Cæsar* himself shou'd make War upon us, or any one else in *Cæsar's* Name. He put forth a Book likewise, wherein he first shew'd how obstinate the Papists were in the Diet at *Auspurg*; and then warn'd all men in general that they shou'd not obey the Magistrate, if he rais'd the Militia for such a War. He reckon'd up very many and very gross Errors of Popery, to shew those who sided with the Emperor, what things they wou'd fight for, and consequently how great a wickedness it was: He shew'd how much more Light than formerly men now had by the knowledg of the Gospel, and that they ought not to engage in so wicked a War.

There

There were seven Princes, and twenty four Protestant Citys, which enter'd into this Association; some of whose Arguments and Reasons for it we have upon Record, in the following Books of the same Historian. The Saxon and the Lantgrave in their Declaration, Septemb. 2. which was in answer to the Emperor's from his Camp at Ingolstadt, have these words, *Sleid. Com. l. 18. Quid Casari debeant Principes, quid invicem ipse prestare debeat, abunde nobis constat: ut nos illi, sic ipse vicissim nobis obligatus est: quod autem indicta causa nos proscribit & omnibus possessionibus dejicere conatur, in eo juris vinculum dissolvit, quo clienti seu beneficiario devinctus est invicem patronus. Jam quod rebellionem nobis objicit, nihil est, & scit ipse, nobis injuriam fieri.* We know very well what Duty the Princes owe to the Emperor, and what on the other side he himself ought to perform: We are mutually bound to one another. Now because he proscribes us without any Process of Law, and endeavours to throw us out of all our Possessions, in so doing he breaks that bond of the Law, whereby a Lord and his Client or Beneficiary are bound to each other. As for his charging us with Rebellion, there is nothing at all in it, and he knows in his Conscience we are wrong'd. And presently after, *Quod si pactis stetisset atque decretis, nos etiam nostrum officium eramus facturi: sed quoniam ea violavit, & verò precipua debetur Deo obedientia, sibi culpam ipse tribuat. Etenim quia Religioni molitur exitium atque libertati, causam prabet, cur ipsum oppugnemus bonâ Conscientiâ. Cum enim in eum casu res devenit, licet resistere, sicut & sacris & profanis Historiis demonstrari potest. Nam injusta vis minime Deum habet Authorem; nec alia ratione sumus ei devincti, quam si conditiones, quibus est creatus Casar, impleat.* Now if he had stood to his former Compacts and Decrees, we also shou'd have done our Duty; but because he has broken them, and besides, our Obedience is due to God in the first place, let him lay the blame upon himself. For being he endeavours the Destruction of our Religion and Liberty, he gives us cause to oppose him with a good Conscience: For in that case it is lawful to resist, as may be made appear both from sacred and profane History. For unjust Violence is by no means the Ordinance of God; neither are we any otherwise bound to him, than upon performance of the Conditions upon which he was made Emperor.

The City of *Magdeburg* likewise in their writing, *March 24.* and the Ministers in *April*, to the same purpose, *Sleid. Com. l. 22. Primo docent, neque divino neque humano jure se posse convinci Rebellionis. Postea demonstrant eos, qui contra se sumunt arma, bellum ipsi Christo facere, &c. deinde facile quivis intelligit, quam non liceat vim nobis inferre.*

They first shew, that they cou'd not be prov'd guilty of Rebellion either by the Law of God, or the Law of Man. Then they demonstrate, that those who took up Arms against them, made War upon Christ himself, &c. And afterwards they say, every body easily understands how utterly unlawful it is to offer any Violence to us.

So much for *Luther* himself and the League or Association, which comprehended most, if not all the Churches of that Denomination. And *Melancthon* often inculcates all over his Writings the same Maxim of *Luther*, which indeed was *St. Chrysostom's* before them both: That the Gospel doth not bar the Laws of the State; that it does not erect a new Government, but leaves the Government as it found it. And therefore where the Laws and Constitution of a Government allow of a Defence, the Gospel does so too. And in his Commentary on the *Proverbs*, upon those words of *Solomon*, *Prov. 24, 21, 22. My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change* (that is, join not with them who wou'd change our Religion or Government) *For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the Ruin of them both?* he writes thus: *Concedit autem Evangelium uti Legibus politicis cum ratione congruentibus. Imò si talis Defensio non esset concessa, transformaretur Evangelium in doctrinam politicam, & stabiliret infinitam Tyrannidem.* The Gospel allows us to make use of Politick Laws which are reasonable. Nay, if a lawful Defence were not allow'd by the Gospel, the Gospel it self wou'd be transform'd into a State-Doctrine, and wou'd establish infinite Tyranny. Or, as he says in another place, it wou'd command infinite Slavery, which it does not. *Non constituit Evangelium novas politicas, quare nec infinitam Servitu-*

tem precipit. 2. Artic. Symbol. Nicen. sub Quest. *Hic autem queritur, utrum armis reprimendi sunt Tyranni, precipientes ut faciamus contra mandata Dei?* In his common places under the Title *Vindicta*, upon those words of our Saviour, *He that takes the Sword, shall perish by the Sword*; he says thus, *Accipere Gladium, est non datum à Legibus fringere. Ergo qui vim injustam infert accipit Gladium; è contra verò qui justà defensione utitur, non accipit Gladium, sed stringit datum à Legibus.* For a man to take the Sword, is to draw it when it is not put into his hands by the Laws. Therefore he who offers unjust Violence, takes the Sword; but on the other hand, he who uses a just Defence, does not take the Sword, but he draws a Sword which the Laws put into his hands. And to name no more places, in his Commentary on *Rom. 13.* upon those words, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake.* *Neque vero hac tantum pertinet ad Subditos, sed etiam ad Magistratum, quicum sunt Tyranni, non minus dissipant Ordinationem Dei quàm seditiosi.* *Ideo & ipsorum Conscientia fit rea, quia non obediunt Ordinationi Dei, id est, Legibus, quibus parere debent.* *Ideo Comminationes hic posita etiam ad ipsos pertinent.* *Itaque hujus mandati severitas moveat omnes, ne Violationem Politici status putent esse leve peccatum.* Neither do these words only concern the Subject, but also the Magistrates themselves, who when they turn Tyrants, do overthrow the Ordinance of God no less than the Seditious. And therefore their Consciences are guilty too, because they obey not the Ordinance of God, that is, the Laws, which they ought to obey. Therefore the Threatnings which are here set down, do pertain likewise to them. Let all Persons therefore be mov'd by the Severity of this Command, not to think the Violation of the Constitution to be a light Sin.

And when I have quoted *Zwingli* too, I have quoted the three first Reformers. He therefore in his pious and friendly Admonition to the Republic of the *Switzers*, discourses much of his Country's throwing off the Yoke of Oppression, and reckons that *St. Paul* was of the same mind, when he says, *But if thou mayst be made free, use it rather*; which eternal Counsel of God, our valiant Ancestors following with undaunted Courage, were bless'd with wonderful Successes, &c. *Pia & amica Patrensis ad Suitensium Rem, p. 156. Quo animo ipsum quoque Paulum dicere existimo, Si potes liber fieri, utere potius, 1 Cor. 7. Quod æternum Dei Consilium Patres nostri fortissimi viri infracto animo secuti, miris Victoriarum Successibus, et Sempachii Nevellis, &c. Et paulo supra, Ipse Dominus Libertatis Author existit, & honestam Libertatem quarentibus præsto est.* But in his *Opus Articulorum*, Art. 40, 41, 42. he is the coldest Comforter, if not the most merciless Insulter, in the World, over a People that lies under Oppression; for he will not suffer them to complain. He says, they deserve what they suffer, and a great deal more; they have no wrong done them, and he bids them *perish with their Oppressor*. They that list may see the place; where, amongst other things, they will find he says, that the dreadful Plagues that follow'd the *Jews*, *Jer. 15. 3, 4.* upon account of the Wickedness of *Manasseth*, and the Blood which he shed in *Jerusalem*, were most just Punishments, and deservedly inflicted upon that People, because they suffer'd him to do it, &c.

It was the Misery of most of the Protestants in other Countrys, as well as those in *Germany*, in the beginning of their Reformation, to fall under Oppression; particularly the *French*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch* Protestants: and it is well known they all defended themselves, and us'd Resistance; which in *Scotland* ended in an establish'd Reformation; in *Holland*, ended in an absolute Freedom both from the Popish and Spanish Yoke; and in *France*, ended in a free exercise of their Religion, but was soon interrupted by the true Popish Faith, and Friendship of a Massacre, so that they were forc'd to fight all over again. I desire it may be observ'd, that neither these *Germans*, *Scotch*, *Dutch*, nor *French*, in their first War, ever pretended that their Religion was establish'd by *L A W*, and thereby made a part of the Government of their Country, which men by their Allegiance are bound to defend; but they us'd Resistance to repel the Violence which was done only to their Civil Rights, and to the native Liberty of their Consciences. It were foolish impertinence to cite the Authorities of those that were engag'd in this Resistance; and it were

were endless to cite all the foreign Divines who lookt on, and applauded it, and call'd it the *LORD's Battels*. I suppose it will be more for every body's Satisfaction, to see what our own Bishops say to it, and whether they will own those men for Protestants, who were engag'd in such Proceedings: For which purpose I shall set down the words of three of them, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Bilson, and Robert Abbot Bishop of Salisbury, men famous in this Church.

Bishop Jewel, in the Defence of his Apology, pag. 16. hath these words: "Neither doth any of all these (*Luther, Melancthon, &c.*) teach the People "to rebel against their Prince, but only to defend themselves by all lawful "means against Oppression, as did *David* against King *Saul*; so do the Nobles in *France* at this day: They seek not to kill, but to save their own "Lives, as they have protested by publick Writing to the World. As for "us, we are Strangers unto their Case; they themselves are best acquainted "with the Laws and Constitutions of their Country, and therefore are best "able to yield account of the Grounds and Reasons of their Doings."

Bishop Bilson, in his Book of the true Difference betwixt Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion, dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, being a Dialogue between *Theophilus* a Christian, and *Philander* a Jesuit (so that Jesuits did not go for Christians in those days) does justify that Defence which both the *French* and *Dutch* made, upon supposition that it was according to the Laws and Constitution of their Country, and permitted by them. Says the Jesuit, "What their Laws permit, I know not; I am sure in the mean time they "resist. *Theoph.* And we, because we do not exactly know what their Laws "permit, see no reason to condemn their Doings, without hearing their Answer. *Phil.* Think you their Laws permit them to rebel? *Theoph.* I busy "not my self in other mens Commonwealths, as you do; neither will I "rashly pronounce all that resist to be Rebels: Cases may fall out, even in "Christian Kingdoms, where the People may plead their Right against the "Prince, and not be charg'd with Rebellion. *Phil.* As when, for example? "Theoph. If a Prince shou'd go about to subject his Kingdom to a foreign "Realm, or change the form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws establish'd by common Consent of Prince and "People, to execute his own Pleasure: In these, and other Cases which might "be nam'd, if the Nobles and Commons join together, to defend their ancient and accusom'd Libertys, Regiment, and Laws, they may not well be "counted Rebels. *Phil.* You deny'd that, even now, when I did urge it. "Theoph. I deny'd that Bishops had Authority to prescribe Conditions to "Kings, when they crown'd them; but I never deny'd that the People "might preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form of their Commonwealth, which they forepris'd when they first consented to have a King."

Bishop Abbot, in his *Demonstratio Antichristi*, dedicated to King *James*, being an Answer to *Bellarmino*, has a large Discourse about this matter. The occasion of it is this: Persecution of the Godly being one Mark of Antichrist, *Bellarmino* endeavours to shew, that this Mark did not belong to the Pope, nor Church of *Rome*, because they were not guilty of persecuting, tho there were then fresh Instances of their persecuting in *Holland*, in the *Paris* Massacre, and other Slaughters of the Protestants. But says Bishop Abbot to *Bellarmino*, Cap. 7. Sect. 5. You think you have wip'd away all that Blood with one word speaking, and by only saying, That the Protestants did not fall by a Persecution, but by a Civil War; and that many more of the Papists were slain in it, than the Inquisitors had burn'd, perhaps in a hundred years. Nevertheless the Bishop still charges this Blood upon the Papists, because the Protestants entred into this War merely for their own Defence: "In which, says he, "if some of the Papists perish'd, how can they be accounted any other "than the Authors both of their own Death, and of the Death of their "Countrymen too, being they took up Arms, either by the unjust Usurpation of their Princes, or by the Lust of some factious men, against the publick Faith, against Edicts and Covenants, against the Rights of their own "Country, against the Prerogatives of the Nobles, against the Franchises "and Privileges of Towns and Citys?"

SECT. 6. Hic vero Politica res agitur, quid Principi juris per Leges, cujusque Rei-publicae fundatrices promissum sit; utrum potestatem habeat infinitam & nullo limite conclusam; an vero moderatam & sive Optimatum sive populi arbitrio magis minusve temperatam. Romanus Imperator merito & absoluto imperio gentibus praesidebat, arbitrio suo jubebat omnia, leges scripsit & rescripit, summam vitamque potestatem habuit. Quare nullo pretextu Christiani poterant vim illorum temporum arcere, vel injurias prohibere quibus vexati sunt. Illarum vero Nationum Principes quas commemoras, certos sibi fines constitutos habent; quibus ubi excedunt, licere sibi sentiunt Optimates vim injustam depellere, & jugum excutere, quo per nefas & contra Leges oppressi sunt. Cujus rei Controversia non a Religione tantummodo, sed ab aliis politicis negotiis exorta est. Itaque Rex Hispanus, qui non nisi conventionem & pacto principatum habuit Provinciarum Belgicarum, ubi pacto stare desisteret, & contra datam fidem superbi ageret, ipse se exuisse principatu illo putabatur, ut nihil causa esset Provinciis illis, quo minus se tueri armis, & ambitionem Tyrannidem avertere liceret. Galliarum Rex Majestatem habet regni multo majorem, cui tamen pro Legibus est; Bodin. Meth. Hist. cap. 6. Principem contra Leges nihil posse, & rescryptis ejus rationem nullam haberi debere, nisi aequitati perinde ac veritati consentanea sint. Porro est etiam proceribus reliquisque ordinibus suus honor & dignitas, quam Regi violare nefas est. Quam quidem non ita pridem senserunt Heroes Regni illius novorum quorundam hominum factione gravissime lesam, qui sub obtentu Religionis ambitioni sui servientes, insano furore Caelum Terra miscerent, & lamentabilem totius regni calamitatem minitari viderentur (quippe omnia pro arbitrio suo facta infecta, rata irrita esse jubentes, & Edicta publico jure pro conservanda pace promulgata, libitu suo frustrari non dubitantes) ceperunt illi quidem arma pro Regis & Regni suaeque omnium libertate vindicanda, nec ferendum sibi putarunt, ut armata contra leges paucorum hominum insolentia, Leges Divinas simul & humanas intolerabili audacia proculcaret. Pugnarum ergo pro jure suo, non aliquo Ecclesiae privilegio, quo illa sibi integrum pater armis se defendere, sed politica libertate, qua citra injuriam Principis, ordinem suum legibus constitutum adversus hostes conjuratos, non inferendo bellum, sed propulsando tueri licebat. Adeque in hoc causa eorum a veteris Ecclesiae ratione distinguenda est, quae absque ullo juris sui titulo, mero imperii placito subiacebat. Quamdiu vero ita se res habuit, cadebantur, ut tu dicis, Christiani, non cadebant; qui tamen sub Constantino Principe, jure publico armati, non tam cadebantur quam cadebant, & profligatis Tyrannis & Liciniis, jugum persecutionis a cervicibus Ecclesiae depulerunt. Pari ratione Ecclesia nostra, cum longo tempore sub Antichristo, nullis Secularibus praesidiis adjuncta, duram servitutem servivisset, postquam ex illis fluctibus, miserante Deo, eluctari jam & emergere cepisset, & legum aliquod praesidium stantibus ab illa principibus & optimatibus obtinisset, cepit eatenus uti viribus suis & armata manu munitam edictis & legibus & privilegiis ab importuna Tyrannorum oppressione vindicare. Quare Principes Galliae quorum interfuit providere, ne publica libertas per injuriam opprimeretur, neve qua lege sancta esse debeant, surreptitiorum quorundam libidine pro irritis & nullis haberentur (qui usque adeo hostes reipublica comperti sunt, ut signiferum illius seditionis Ducem Guisum Rex ipse Henricus, & si religione cum eo consentiens, quia judicio agere non posset, repentino impetu confodiendum curaret) bello injustam illam violentiam repellendam, & Ecclesiam non nisi justè armatam, pro ea quam lege habebat libertate conservanda, in aciem educendam censuerunt: ubi qui de tuis partibus, Bellarmine, ceciderunt, non injuria persecutionis, sed justissima defensionis impetu perierunt.

But here we are fallen into a political Question, How much Authority over the Subjects was promis'd to the Prince by the fundamental Laws of every State; whether he have a boundless and unlimited Power, or whether it be measur'd and adjusted, and more or less mix'd with the Power and Authority of the Peers or People? The Government of the Roman Emperors heretofore was absolute and unmix'd, they govern'd all at pleasure, they made Laws, and they unmade them again, and had the Sovereign Power of Life and Death: For which reason the Christians cou'd with no pretence resist the violence of those Times, or defend themselves against the Wrongs which were done to them. But the Princes of those Countrys which you speak of, have certain Bounds set them; which when they pass, the Nobles think it lawful for them to repel their unjust Violence, and to shake off the Yoke wherewith they are wickedly

kedly and illegally oppress'd. And thus the King of Spain, who had the Government of the Netherlands only upon Composition and Compact, when he did no longer stand to his Compact, and acted insolently, contrary to the Faith which he had given, was thought to have develtled himself of that Government; so that there was no reason, why those Provinces might not lawfully defend themselves with Arms, and get rid of an ambitious Tyranny. The King of France is much more absolute, nevertheless this serves for a Law to him, *That the Prince can do nothing contrary to Law, and that his Edicts ought not to be regarded, unless they be agreeable to Equity as well as Truth.* Besides, the Peers and the rest of the Estates have an Honour and Dignity belonging to them, which the King himself cannot violate: Which, when the Nobles of that Kingdom were sensible was deeply wounded, by a Faction of some upstart men, who serv'd their own Ambition under a Cloke of Religion, turn'd all things upside down, and seem'd to threaten miserable Calamity to the whole Kingdom, truly they took up Arms to vindicate the King's and Kingdom's, and all their own Libertys; and thought it not fit to be endur'd, that the insolence of a few men, which was arm'd against the Laws, shou'd trample upon all Laws, both Divine and Human, with insufferable boldness. They fought therefore for their own Right, not by any Privilege which the Church has to defend it self with Arms, but by their Civil Liberty; whereby, without any wrong to the Prince, it was lawful for them in a way of Defence, to maintain their legal Establishment against their sworn Enemys. And herein their Case differ'd from that of the Primitive Church, which was subject to absolute Imperial Will and Pleasure, without any Title to Rights of its own. Now, while their Condition continu'd thus, *The Christians, as you say, were kill'd, but did not kill*: notwithstanding, when under Constantine the Emperor they were arm'd with a publick Right, *They were rather for killing than being kill'd*; and having vanquish'd several Usurpers, and Licinius the Emperor, they threw off the Yoke of Persecution from the Neck of the Church.

In like manner our Church, when she had for a long time undergone a hard Bondage under Antichrist, having had no Secular Protection at all; after she had begun, by the mercy of God, to get above water, and to rise from under those Waves of Oppression; and having by the Princes and Nobles standing by her, gain'd some protection of the Laws, she began to use her own Power, as far as she had it; and when she was now fortify'd with Edicts, and Laws, and Privileges, to vindicate her self with Arms from the vexatious Oppression of Tyrants.

Wherefore the Nobles of France, who were concern'd to provide that the publick Liberty shou'd not be oppress'd by Wrong, nor those things which ought to have been establish'd by the Law, shou'd be made null and void at the pleasure of some few Foreigners crept in amongst them, thought fit to have that unjust Violence repel'd by a War; and thought fit likewise that the Church, which was no otherwise than justly arm'd, for the preserving that Liberty which she had by Law, shou'd be drawn out into the Field: Where those that fell on your side, *Friend Bellarmine*, did not perish by the Injury of a Persecution, but by the stroke of a most just Defence.

But because it may be said, that these are private men, which I grant to be true, tho' their Arguments seem to be of another nature, and look like the publick and common Reason of Mankind; therefore to finish and perfect this Business of Authoritys (with which, as some men are wholly led, so I hope, others may be so far excus'd, as not to be haunted and tormented at a dying hour, and tempted either to despair, or die with a Lye in their mouths)

*Thus was the
D. of M. us'd
upon the very
Scaffold.*

In the last place, I shall shew, that the whole Church of England, in several Convocations, have justify'd the Protestants in those Defences, and not only maintain'd in words the Justice of their Resistance, but, which is more, they laid down their Purfes to help them; and charg'd themselves deeply with Taxes, in consideration of Queen Elizabeth's great Charges and Expences in assisting them; as you may see in the Preambles of the Clergy's Subsidy-Acts in that Reign.

Quinto Elizabethæ, cap. 24. Amongst other Considerations, for which the Clergy gave their Subsidy of Six Shillings in the Pound, they have these words:

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words: "And, finally, pondering the inestimable Charges sustain'd by your Highness, as well of late days in reducing the Realm of Scotland to Unity and Concord, as also in procuring, as much as in your Highness lieth, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France, practis'd and us'd against the Professors of God's holy Gospel, and true Religion." The first thing in this Passage is the Queen's Assistance of the Scottish Nobility in their Reformation, wherein they were oppos'd by the Queen of Scots, who brought French Forces into Scotland, which is set down at large in our Chronicles, *Stow* p. 640. The Temporality, in their Subsidy-Act, at the same time, *cap.* 27. call this Assistance, "The princely and upright Preservation of the Liberty of the next Realm and Nation of Scotland from imminent Captivity and Defolation." The other thing is the godly and prudent means for abating Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France. Now History will inform us, *Stow* pag. 650. that those means were the Forces sent under Dudley Earl of Warwick to Newhaven, to assist the French Protestants who were then in Arms. We have some men who wou'd find another name for it, and wou'd call this the abetting of a Rebellion; but the whole Bishops and Clergy, in Convocation, call it, The use of Godly and Prudent means to abate Hostility and Persecution, practis'd and us'd against the Professors of God's Holy Gospel, and true Religion; for so likewise they call a parcel of men, who neither profess'd nor practis'd the modern Religion of Non-resistance.

Again, the Clergy grant another Subsidy, 35 *Eliz.* *cap.* 12. in consideration of her Majesty's Charges, "in the provident and needful prevention of such intended Attempts, as tended to the extirpation of the sincere Profession of the Gospel, both here and elsewhere." The Temporality's Subsidy-Act at the same time will explain this to us, in these Reasons for their Tax, *cap.* 13. "Besides the great and perpetual Honour which it hath pleas'd God to give your Majesty abroad, in making you the principal Support of all just and religious causes against Usurpers—Besides the great Succours in France and Flanders, which we do conceive to be most honourable, in regard of the antient Leagues, the Justice and Equity of their Causes." And to the same purpose again the Temporality, 39 *Eliz.* *cap.* 27. "This Land is become, since your Majesty's happy days, both a Port and Haven of Refuge for distress'd States and Kingdoms, and a Rock and Bulwark of Opposition against the Tyrannys and ambitious Attempts of mighty and usurping Potentates."

Neither are the Clergy in their Subsidy-Act, 43 *Eliz.* *cap.* 17. at all behind them, either with their Money or Acknowledgments. "For who hath or shou'd have a livelier sense, or better remembrance of your Majesty's Princely Courage and Constancy in advancing and protecting the free Profession of the Gospel, within and without your Majesty's Dominions, than your Clergy?"

So that if the French and Dutch Protestants were Rebels in their Resistance, then the Church of England quite thro Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by their assisting of them, involv'd themselves in the same Guilt. For it had been utterly unlawful, and a horrid Sin to assist Subjects in the Violation of their Duty and Allegiance, and to aid them in resisting the Ordinance of God. But this being too absurd to be believ'd of Confessors, and Men who had hazarded their Lives for the Protestant Religion, it is plain that they held Resistance to be lawful in these cases. And they have declar'd their Opinion in this matter, where it was fit to be declar'd, in Acts of Parliament, tho it be not to be found in their Catechism. So that if they who hold the same Opinion be in an Error, they have err'd with their Fathers, they have err'd with the Church of England, and they have err'd in good Company.

BEFORE

BEFORE I was out of the Surgeon's Hands, I reprinted three thousand of the Comparison of Popery and Paganism, and laid them up against a Day when licensing against Popery shou'd be out; but that being extant at the end of Julian the Apostate, I shall not trouble the Reader with it here.

At some distance of time the Papists having shifted Hands, courting the Dissenters whom they had long harass'd, and running down the Church of England with whom they had formerly been upon terms of great Friendship; and every body knowing that the Protestant Religion in general was aim'd at by both parts of this contrary Conduct, I cou'd not omit a Defence of the Church of England upon this occasion against the common Enemy.

The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled, A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

With some Reflections upon the Additional Libel, intitled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

TH E Church of England has of late years especially been on the charitable side towards the Papists, and has allow'd them to be Christians and not Anti-Christians, nay to be a true Church, and not the Synagogue of Satan; and seem'd to have utterly forgotten the two fundamental points of Popery, *That Hereticks are to be pursu'd with Fire and Sword*, which was determin'd by the Lateran Council under Innocent the Third, and conscientiously practis'd ever since; and *that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, which the Council of Constance determin'd in the case of John Huss, and Jerom of Prague: And in this excess of Charity which hopeth all things, they have hop'd against Hope, and have exercis'd strong Acts of Faith where no Faith is; neither have they had any apprehensions of being destroy'd, but rather of being sav'd and protected with Fire and Sword. But finding in great measure their Charity mistaken, to the end that all their Disappointments may seem just upon them, they are presently tax'd with Disloyalty. So Esop's Lamb, when she was to be eaten, was charg'd by the Wolf for muddying the upper part of the Stream which was far above her. In vindication therefore of the Church of England, and to shew her Innocency in this Point, I shall examine this new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, where she is try'd and cast, weigh'd in the Ballance and found light; but, to our comfort, it is by deceitful Weights and Measures.

The first Device is to pretend, "That the Church of England appropriate to themselves alone the Principles of true Loyalty, and that no other Church or Communion on Earth can be consistent with Monarchy, or indeed with any Government. This is a presumption of so high a nature, that it renders the Church of England a despicable Enemy to the rest of Mankind."

To which I answer, That the Church of England is here represented by that which is the true Character of the Church of Rome, which has all along been a known Engrosser. Which pretends to have all Faith, and all Holiness, and will have all Heaven to her self; and pretending to have the Keys of it, will

suffer

suffer none others to come thither. Whereas the Church of *England* allows, not only that all Protestants have true Faith and true Loyalty as well as she, and the same Faith and Loyalty, as appears by the Harmony of their Confessions; but also that Pagans are capable of moral Vertue, such as Loyalty is, and have heretofore been great examples of it. Many of them have look'd upon themselves as not born for *themselves*, but for their *Country*, and were strict Observers of the Laws: And it is well known, that *Socrates* in particular had that reverence for the Laws, that tho he was put upon it by his Friends, yet he wou'd not break them to save his life. *His Bones and Sinews*, as his words are in *Plato's Phædo*, cou'd easily have carry'd him into a foreign Country; but he wou'd not suffer them to do it. And therefore this Author, in saying that the Church of *England* avers, "That no other Sect or Community on earth from the rising to the setting Sun, can be capable of this singular Gift of Loyalty;" betrays his Malice and Ignorance together, and plainly shews, that tho he makes new Tests of Loyalty, yet he does not know what Loyalty is.

The word *Loyal* is a term of Law, and is indifferently apply'd to Things as well as Persons. So a Loyal Judgment is a Judgment according to Law, and is oppos'd to a false Judgment. A Loyal Contract is a lawful Bargain. A man buys a Horse in a Market, and then he has a Loyal Title, a legal Title to him. So again, a Person behaves himself according to Law, and observes the Laws of the Land, and then he is a Loyal Man, he is *Legalis Homo*, as a Jurymen is requir'd to be; that is, such a one as cannot be challeng'd for a Criminal, or a Breaker of the Laws. And in case a man's Behaviour be according to Law, it is Loyal, whether it respect a Superior or an Inferior. *Action nest autre chose que Loial demand de son droit*: An Action is nothing else but the loyal Demand of a man's Right, *Mirror* p. 115. And p. 122. a Serjeant at Law shall not use any Deceits in his Practice, nor consent to them, *mes Loyallment maintiendra le droit de son Client*, &c. but shall *Loyally* maintain the Right of his Client; so that it be not overthrown by any Folly, Negligence, or Default of his.

From hence it follows, that Loyalty can have no other Rule or Measure but the Law: for tho some men love to have confus'd Notions of things, and speak of Loyalty as if it were a thing in the clouds, and some abstruse matter over our heads; yet it appears to be a plain thing, and of easy comprehension, for it is nothing else but *Conformity to the Law*. The plain *English* of Loyalty is *Lawfulness*; and it is utterly impossible that there shou'd be any other Test or Touchstone, any other Measure or Standard of *Lawfulness*, but the Law it self. For if there had been no Law, as there had been no Transgression nor Violation of it, so there had been no Loyalty nor Conformity to it. And therefore Loyalty against Law is a Contradiction; it is Obedience made up of Disobedience. The Law is that which makes the King our Liege Lord, and us his Liege People; and accordingly both Prince and People are mutually sworn to the keeping of it: and our Allegiance binds us to an Obedience according to Law, and no otherwise. To obey the King himself contrary to Law is Disloyalty, and to disobey the King in obedience to the Laws is Loyalty. If it be not thus, then all the Judges of *England* for these three hundred and forty years and upwards have been all sworn to be disloyal. For they are sworn to proceed according to Law, tho the King by his Letters, or Writs under the Great Seal, or under the Little Seal, or by his own Mouth shou'd command them the contrary: 2, 18, 20 Ed. 3. *Fortesc.* c. 51. *Etiam Rex per Literas suas aut Ore tenus contrarium jussit.* And so in the *Court-Lest*, when we swear that we will be true Liegemen, and true Faith and Truth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King, and that we shall no Felony nor Treason commit, nor thereunto assent, and shall be obedient to all the King's Majesty's Laws, Precepts and Process proceeding from the same; it is plain, that we do not promise any Obedience to Precepts or Process which are contrary to Law, or besides the Law, and not grounded upon it: no, that is no part of our Allegiance, which you plainly see is limited to the Laws.

Now this being the undoubted Notion of Loyalty, how shou'd the Church of *England* ever dream of appropriating it to her self, since Obedience to the

Laws

Laws of their Country has always been practis'd in all Nations, by all vertuous men whatsoever: It being a point of common Honesty and Justice, that men should abide by those Laws, which either themselves or their Proxys have made, and to which in one way or another they have given their own Consent; which always concludes, and is binding to an honest man: Only there is one sort of men in the world, who can never be loyal; because *no man can serve two Masters*, the Government of his own Country, and the Pope of Rome. They who have a Legislator abroad to give them new Laws, and a Dispenser to repeal the old ones, can never be true and firm to the Laws of their natural Country. Their Loyalty is in Abeyance to the Pope's Laws (which agreed even with the old Laws of *England*, before the Reformation, like *Fire and Water*, as ABp *Cranmer* proves in his large Letter to Q. *Mary*) and their Allegiance is pin'd upon the Pope's sleeve. In the mean time, the Church of *England* has very great reason to insist upon her Loyalty; because if a man be not a lawful man, he is defeated of the benefit of the Law in many cases: whereas the Members of the Church of *England* are able to use the old legal Exceptions against their present Accusers; *Sirs, jeo fuy Loial home, & a la foy le Roy, & cest provor est felon, & hors la foy le Roy*: *Sirs*, I am a lawful Man, and in Allegiance to the King; and this Accuser of mine is a Felon or a Traitor, and never took the Oath of Allegiance. And we are ready to join issue with them upon this point, whether they or we be the lawful men, and which of us are guilty of High Treason against the King and the Realm, Felony, Misprision of Treason, Præmunire; and are utterly disabled by the Law to hold any Office either Civil or Military, not only by the Statutes made in Q. *Elizabeth's* time, but also in the Reigns of King *James*, and of King *Charles* the Second. And therefore as often as we are tax'd in our Loyalty, we shall only ask them, what Laws we have broken? Or whether it be We or They who hate the Laws of the Land, and are continually exclaiming against them, and wou'd blow them up with as good a will, as once they attempted to blow up all the States of the Kingdom in the Parliament-House where those Laws were made; and for that very reason, because those Laws were made there? See 3 Jac. c. 1. the Statute which is yearly read in our Churches on the fifth of *November*.

Having thus explain'd the true sense and meaning of Loyalty, it is easy for every body to apply it, and to justify the Church of *England's* Carriage and Behaviour, both in her Infancy and now in her Old Age (by the way, old Folks and threaten'd Folks live long) and to shew, that it has been according to the Laws of the Land; which if they had broken and oppos'd, as the Papists have done, they might then be charg'd with Disloyalty indeed. But while they continue to keep the Laws, by the Grace of God the Laws will keep them; for so long the Law enables them to hold their own, they can challenge the benefit of the Law, they can claim a legal Protection, which is far better than any which is illegal and arbitrary, uncertain and precarious: and they are on the better side of the hedge of all the Violators of the Law whatsoever. I shall not need therefore to trouble my self with the Remainder of this new Test, any otherwise than by making some very short Notes upon the most remarkable Passages in it.

I. The first Charge is, *That the Church of England assisted Usurpers to invade the Crown*; meaning the Lady *Jane* and Q. *Elizabeth*.

As for the first of these, I cannot see how it can be charg'd upon the Church of *England*, because the Protestants were divided about Q. *Jane's* Title; some were for it, and some were against it, as particularly Judg *Hales* and the *Sussex* Gospellers, who stuck to Q. *Mary*, and were but sordidly rewarded for it. But to wave Q. *Jane's* case, and what might be said concerning it from the Statute 1 Hen. 7. c. 1. I think this is a very fair Offer, That when the Papists have answer'd for all the bad Titles which were set up in the times of Ropery, which were at least in the proportion of two bad ones for one good; we will then answer, as well as we can, for that single one, which has happen'd since the time of the Reformation.

The other Usurper, which the Church of *England* assisted to invade the Crown, was Q. *Elizabeth*, a known Bastard. It is well known that a Popish Parliament

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then sitting acknowledg'd her Title, and assisted in setting her upon the Throne; and not the Church of England, which was then driven into corners, and into foreign Countrys, and was not in a condition to assist any body. And whereas Q. Elizabeth is said to have been a *known Bastard*; the Church and Court of Rome knew the contrary. For they knew that her Mother's Marriage was good, because the former Marriage was naught; and the former was confessedly naught, because it wanted the Pope's Dispensation and Licence, which was bought with a mighty Sum of Money, to make it good! If it had been lawful in it self, it had not needed the Pope's Dispensation to make it lawful. And we are willing to refer it to all the world, whether the Pope's Dispensation can make an unlawful Marriage to be lawful.

II. We are told, That the Prelatical Protestancy, call'd the Church of England, enacted those bloody Cannibal Laws, to hang, draw, and quarter the Priests of the Living God: I suppose he means the Mass-Priests. Now these Cannibal Laws were made to hang them, not as Priests, but as Traitors and Traitor-makers. But I wou'd fain ask, Might not any Sheep-stealer, or Cut-purse in Newgate, exclaim against Persecution, and the bloody Cannibal Laws, with a much better Grace? That a Man made in the Image of God shou'd be hang'd like a Dog, for such trifles as a Sheep, or a little loose Pocket-mony! Whereas the Law of God only requir'd *Fourfold Restitution* in those cases; and in some Countrys, Stealing was not only lawful, but was encourag'd as an Accomplishment. But on the other hand, in God's own Government idolatrous Priests were to be put to death. And by the Law of Nations, in all Countrys whatsoever, Spys, Deserters, Adherents and Emiffarys of a publick Enemy (as by our Law the Pope is to us, and by his Law all Hereticks are declar'd to be to him) are all to be hang'd up.

And then as for the Mass-Priests being call'd the Priests of the Living God; I appeal to the Senses and Understanding of all Mankind, whether the Lord God, the Maker, the Former, and the Creator of a Mass-Priest, whom he carries in his Box and worships, be a living God or no? Nay, according to the School of the Eucharist, I will be judg'd by the very Rats and Mice, which often run away with him.

III. The next thing the Church, or rather the State of England is charg'd with (for it was a Parliament-business at least thirteen years) is the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, for Treason against Q. Elizabeth: wherein if they did any thing contrary to Law, and the Allegiance due to their then present Q. Elizabeth, they are chargeable with Disloyalty, otherwise not. And whereas this Author calls it a *Barbarous Murder*, and an *Execrable Fact*, I wou'd desire him to speak low; for if the Laws shou'd overhear him, they wou'd call this arraigning the Justice of the Nation. And in saying that this Fact was the first of the kind, he betrays great ignorance: He might as well have said, That the Emperor Licinius, Colleague with Constantine the Great, and Queen Joan of Naples, are still living. And as yet I have never read, that what Constantine did in that case, was to the Scandal and Reproach of Christianity, or even of those Christians who liv'd under Licinius, and join'd with Constantine the Great in that affair.

But IV. I find (which is the substance of the sixth and seventh pages) That the Church of England might have all her old scores clear'd, and all her former Faults forgotten, and might pass for Loyal still, if she wou'd now consent to the Repeal of the Sanguinary Penal Laws (which were purposely enacted to maintain the Usurpation of Q. Elizabeth) and the late impious Tests. Which puts me in mind of the Conditions of Peace, which the Wolves sent to the Sheep: The main Article was, That the Sheep shou'd deliver up their Dogs, which they kept for a Guard, and which were the great hindrance to a firm and lasting Peace. But every body knows how long the Peace lasted. But to proceed; If the Sanguinary Penal Laws were purposely enacted to maintain the Usurpation of Queen Elizabeth, how came they to be enacted afresh in the first Year of King James, when that Usurpation was over? How came they two years after, 3 Jac. c. 1. to be call'd Religious and Necessary Laws? And how came more of these Religious and Necessary Laws to be made, in the same Parliament, and in succeeding Parliaments? As for the late impious Tests

(choice

choice Epithets for the Laws of the Land) they were made, as appears by the Title of the Acts, *To prevent Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*. Now the Sheep might safely have parted with their Dogs, if the peaceable Wolves at the same time wou'd have parted with their Fangs.

V. In the last page he says, *As for the Tests themselves, it is not my province to shew the Absurdities of them in point of Doctrine.* It is well it is not, for he must get abundance of help whenever he goes about that work: However, he offers at it in these words; "Tho by the by I must hold it a great folly, to say that Transubstantiation is not a probable Opinion at the least, considering the Number and Learning of those who maintain it, which is the best part of Christendom: And if it be a probable Opinion, it must be a great temerity in any man to swear there is no such thing." I had always thought that a probable Opinion must be made out by Proofs and probable Reasons, and not by Numbers and telling of noses. But it seems the Cause of Transubstantiation runs very low, when it must be maintain'd by such Arguments, as hold much stronger for *Paganism*, and for *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, whom all the World worship'd. The Religion of the Heathens was of a larger extent and of longer standing than Popery, and was maintain'd by all the Learning of *Athens* and of *Ancient Rome*; and yet we dare be sworn, that it was a false Religion. I think we do not renounce Transubstantiation upon Oath, but only by publick Declaration and Subscription; but if we did, it wou'd by no means be a rash Oath. For may I not safely swear, That there is no such Figure as a Square Circle, when the thing involves manifold Contradictions, and it is plainly demonstrable that the Propertys of a Square and of a Circle are utterly inconsistent? Now we have a thousandfold more evidence, and are able to make as clear Proof and Demonstration of it a thousand times over, That there never was, nor is, nor can be any such thing as Transubstantiation; which is nothing else but a heap of Contradictions, Absurdities, and impossible Falshoods. And therefore we have the same assurance that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation never came, nor cou'd come from God, as we have of this clear and evident Truth, *That it is impossible for God to lye.*

VI. And now we are come to the conclusion and upshot of the business, which is in these words: "So that upon the whole matter the loyal Church of *England* must either change her old Principles of Loyalty, and take example by her Catholick Neighbours how to behave her self towards a Prince who is not of her persuasion; or she must give his Majesty leave not to nourish a Snake in his own bosom, but rather to withdraw his Royal Protection, which was promis'd upon the account of her constant Fidelity." With this Author had been more exprefs and particular in this Dilemma and Difficulty, to which he thinks he has reduc'd the Church of *England*; either to turn over a new leaf, and learn a new lesson of Loyalty from her Catholick Neighbours, or else to do worse. For he does not tell us which of our Catholick Neighbours we must take example by; whether *Mrs. Celier*, and *Mr. Selwyl*, who have both publish'd to the world, That they turn'd Papists, that is, have made themselves High Traitors, for the improvement of their Loyalty; or whether we shou'd take example by this Author himself, to call *Queen Elizabeth* Bastard; to ridicule an *infallible English Parliament*, as he calls it in scorn; to deprave and vilify several Statutes, which are and will be the standing Laws of the Land, till such time as they are repeal'd by Act of Parliament. And therefore he has not been so clear as he might have been in this point; which the Church of *England* will hardly trouble her self about, because she likes her old Principles of Loyalty very well, and is not given to change, but knows when she is well. In the mean time, this Author tells us very plainly, and expressly enough, That till the Church of *England* change their old Principles of Loyalty, and take example by their Catholick Neighbours, they are to be look'd upon as a Snake in his Majesty's bosom, and cannot expect to be protected. Alas! this Gentleman is utterly mistaken. For a legal Establishment has a right to a legal Protection; and the King is bound both by his Oath, and by the Duty of his Kingly Office, to protect the Church of *England* as it is by Law establish'd. And therefore to talk of withdrawing Protection from the Church of *England*, is to talk of removing the *Thames* to

to

to York. But we are so much us'd to empty Threatnings, and Flashes in the pan, that we know they will not kill. So the Reply to the *Oxford Reasons* against addressing, threatens the Church of *England*, that by the Prerogative in Matters Ecclesiastical, it may be in great measure *legally subverted*, p. 4. A Legal Establishment, even while it remains such, legally subverted! They wou'd make us believe, that the Laws of *England* were made up of Jesuitical Equivocations, and did blow hot and cold with the same mouth. But besides, that Replier shou'd be told that a thousand more of his pompous Quotations, which were written in the time of the High Commission, will not revive that Branch of the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* upon which the High Commission Court was erected. And likewise he shou'd be told, that a Power given by one Statute, and taken away afterwards by two, is certainly reduc'd to its primitive Nothingness.

But I return to our present Author, only to take my leave of him, which he has done of the Church of *England* in these words: "And now let us leave the Holy Mother Church at liberty to consult what new Measures of Loyalty she ought to take for her own dear interest; and for ought I know it may be worth her serious consideration." I am in hopes, that this Church of God, which he has purchas'd with his own Blood, (tho this Author be pleas'd to trample upon her with so much scorn and insolence) will take occasion, even at an Enemy's bidding, to consult what new Measures of Loyalty she ought to take for her own dear Interest, and for the Interest of Posterity, which is much dearer, and for the everlasting Interest of both, which is dearest of all: And will humbly and heartily bewail her Disloyalty to her great Lord and Master, and those many, and great, and open Transgressions and Violations of his most holy and righteous Laws which are amongst us. And O that every Member of that Communion in particular wou'd speedily repent, and return to his Duty, and persevere in a course of holy Obedience to his life's end! This is the Loyalty that is too much wanting in the Church of *England*, which is due to the Laws of our Blessed Saviour, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. As for her earthly Lords, they cannot charge her with any disobedient or lawless Carriage towards them, or with any disregard to the Laws, unless perhaps in some unwarrantable officious Instances, which it wou'd hardly be proper for them to object against her. And to the end that both we and our Children after us may be better Subjects to our blessed Lord than hitherto we have been, I am in hopes that the Church of *England* will lay a dead hold upon that great Depositum which the Laws have put into her hands, which is the only Instrument of our Reformation; I mean the *English Bible*. We are very bad now; but what wou'd become of us, if we shou'd likewise be depriv'd of the only means to make us better? If all the Laws of the Land were abolish'd, there cou'd be no Loyalty: And if the Gospel were taken away, which is the Laws and Statutes of Heaven, how were it possible for us to be the Subjects of Jesus Christ? We might indeed be the Servants of Men, and Vassals to the Pope; but we cou'd not possibly obey the Gospel of Christ, if it were taken and hid from us. We remember full well who they were that wou'd not suffer an *English Bible* to be in this Kingdom for very many ages together: And if any devout and religious Soul, who desir'd to know his Master's will, had gotten but the Lord's Prayer or Ten Commandments in *English*, it cost him his life. We shall never forget the seven *Coven-try* Martyrs, who were burnt all together in the little Park, the fourth of *April* 1519. for teaching their Children and Family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in *English*. Nor shall we ever forget how the poor Children were sent for, and charg'd in no wise to meddle any more with those very small Scriptures, upon pain of suffering the same death with their Parents. What is once made Heresy by an Infallible Church, must be always and every where Heresy; tho Heresy indeed is not every where burning, for want of opportunity. Thanks be to God, and our good Laws, that it is not so here. And I hope the Church of *England* will always be careful to assert the Authority and Majesty of the Laws, which are so much to be prefer'd and valu'd above our Lives, inasmuch as by them we enjoy both our Lives and the Protestant Religion together. May God be intreated to continue this unvaluable and undeserv'd Blessing to us and to our Posterity. *Amen.*

Some

Some Reflections upon the Additional Libel, intituled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

IT is a just Judgment upon those who have renounc'd their Reason to embrace Transubstantiation, and thereby have distorted their natural Facultys; that their Understandings stand awry for ever after, and we cannot expect so much as common Sense from them any more. From thence-forward they write as well as believe contradictory Mysterys; and he that means to comprehend their aukard and perverse Reasonings, must stand upon his head. We need not go far to fetch examples of this; for the late *Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty*, is a remarkable Instance of all that I have said: Wherein there are these following Absurditys, deliver'd in a way of much Smartness, and with the appearance of very close Reasoning.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are set aside, and some few Addresses in this present Reign are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

2. The Bishops and Clergy of several Convocations, who have been dead these hundred years, are render'd disloyal, for not governing themselves by these Addresses two years ago, which they knew not of.

3. *Mary Queen of Scots* is made *Queen of England* by such an Argument as makes her no *Queen of Scots*; and, by giving her another's Kingdom, takes away her own.

4. *Mary Queen of Scots* is made *Queen of England* upon the Hypothesis of the Paternal Right, when upon that Hypothesis she was disinherited and foreclos'd from the Crown of *England* by two successive Patriarchs, *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* I shou'd think for that very reason, that the Hypothesis of the Laws had been a much better Hypothesis.

In the opening a little, and shewing these Absurditys, I suppose I shall meet with all that is remarkable in that Paper.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are set aside, and some few Addresses in this present Reign are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, p. 3, 5. Is this arguing from the Church of *England's* own Principles? which he says is the Design of his Paper, p. 6. Is it the Principle of any one Clergy-man in *England*, that the Doctrine of the Church of *England* is to be sought for and found out in Addresses? or in any thing but the Liturgys and Homilys, the Articles and Canons of the Church, which have the publick Sanction and the universal Consent of the whole Clergy? If he had found materials out of any of these to make good his Charge of Disloyalty, he had done like a Man, and the Church of *England* had been condemn'd out of her own mouth: But if he cannot do this at present, we will have patience to stay till he can; and in the mean time he had done wiser to have said nothing.

2. The Bishops and Clergy of several Convocations, who had been dead these hundred years, are render'd disloyal, for not governing themselves by the Addresses made two years ago, which they knew not of. This is a great hardship indeed, that men shall be try'd and condemn'd by Laws, which were not promulg'd till a hundred years after their death. The present Church of *England* has a very great reverence for those Bishops and Clergy, who were the Restorers of the Protestant Religion to this Kingdom, and who had formerly hazarded their Lives for it; and will be very loth to see them pass under the character of Traitors and Rebels. And when we demand, what Laws of the Land, or what Principles of the Church of *England* they had transgress'd; we are in effect told, That they were Rebels against some chosen Expressions in very modern Addresses. The instance which he gives is the Church of *England's* Behaviour towards *Mary Queen of Scots* above a hundred years ago:

Now

Now mark his words, p. 5. "But yet, because I am about to give a notorious Instance of their receding from this Principle (namely, the Divine Right of Succession) when the practice of it thwarted their Interest; it will not be amiss to observe, that they have acknowledg'd in their several Addresses to his present Majesty, upon his Accession to the Crown, the unalterable and inherent Right of Succession." Now this is the Reasoning, which, as I said before, wou'd make a man stand upon his head. Besides, How cou'd they recede or go back from a Principle which they never came to, and were never nearer it than at a hundred years distance? For their Opinion or Principle, call it what you will, was this, as appears by the 27 *Elix.* That in case an Heir in remainder kill'd the present lawful Possessor of the Crown, that Person had not a Divine Right of Succession: And that neither God nor the Laws ever meant to reward the Falshood of Treason, and the bloody Usurpation of a Crown, with so much the earlier Possession of it. My business is not to concern my self about either of these Principles or Opinions, but only to shew the absurd Reasoning of this Writer.

3. *Mary Queen of Scots* is made *Queen of England* by such an Argument as makes her no *Queen of Scots*; and, by giving her another's Kingdom, takes away her own. The Argument is this, That *Queen Elizabeth* being illegitimate, and only an Act-of-Parliament Queen, cou'd not interpose betwixt the Crown of *England* and *Mary Queen of Scots*, who was Heir by inherent Birth-right. Now does not all the world know, that all the Title which *Mary Queen of Scots* had to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was an Act of Parliament made at *Scone* in the time of *Robert I.* whereby his Issue by *Elizabeth Moore* his Concubine (whom he had not marry'd, but who was afterwards marry'd to one *Giffard* a Gentleman of *Louthian*) were made inheritable to the Crown; and at the same time all his legitimate Children, by his lawful Queen *Eupheme*, were set aside? These men take just the same measures as their Father *Garnet* did in the Gunpowder Treason, who resolv'd, That in order to blow up the Hereticks, they might lawfully blow up their Catholick Friends too. Nay, all that this Instancer says against *Queen Elizabeth* (admitting it to be true, which we do not) bears much harder upon the Title of *Mary Queen of Scots*. Was *Queen Anne's* Marriage with *Henry VIII.* naught? But in *Elizabeth Moore's* Case it was much worse. Or was *King Edward* set aside to make way for illegitimate *Elizabeth*? But so it was done by the Act at *Scone*. Every body understands the English of *Queen Anne Bolen's* Precontract, when they remember, That *King Henry VIII.* was marry'd again to the Lady *Jane Seymour*, within three days after the beheading of that Queen.

4. *Mary Queen of Scots* is made *Queen of England* upon the Hypothesis of the Paternal Right, p. 3, & 5. when upon that Hypothesis she was disinherited and foreclos'd from the Crown of *England* by two successive Patriarchs, *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* *Henry VIII.* by his last Will and Testament excluded the House of *Scotland*, and *Edward VI.* by his Will excluded both that and his own Sisters likewise. But as the Bishop of *Ross* argu'd against the first Will, that it was not subscrib'd by his Grace's own hand-writing, as was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only sign'd with a stamp of his Name; so *King Edward* was never enabled by an Act of Parliament to dispose of the Crown at all: And so neither of these Wills signify'd any thing, because the Prince has no power but what the Law gives him, Whereas if these fore-said Princes had been Patriarchs, and full of inherent paternal Power, they cou'd have disinherited without an Act of Parliament. For if a Father cannot disinherit, much less has he power of Life and Death.

It were endless to reckon up all the aukard and wilful Mistakes which fill up that sheet of Paper: As where he insinuates, p. 7. That the 13th of *Elizabeth* was owing to the Queen's Consciousness of the Insufficiency of her Title: it is nothing so; but it was made for the preservation of her Person, and that no body presuming upon an unalterable and unforfeitable Title in Reversion, might immediately destroy her. An Act it is which is Law to this day, and was recited 13 *Car. 2.* and there expressly made a pattern for the 13th of his Reign. And whereas he says, p. 8. "That before the *Queen of Scots* was taken off, and so the Succession pretty well secur'd against Popery, the Church of *England* never

"persecuted any of her Protestant Dissenters; but as soon as that work was done, and the Court likely to continue on their side, then out flies the 35 *Eliz. c. 2. against Seditious.*" In those very few words there are a great many blots. For first, I hope the 35 of *Elizabeth* was several years before the death of the Queen of Scots; and if that Act was not made against the Protestant Dissenters, they have had the more wrong done them, in having been since prosecuted upon that Act. Secondly, He words it as if the 35 of *Elizabeth* came out the next day, or at least very shortly after the death of the Queen of Scots; whereas it was not till many years after. Thirdly, Whereas the present Church of *England* is upbraided with the 35 of *Eliz.* it is not beyond the memory of Man since in this Church a Bill pass'd both Houses of Parliament for the Repeal of that Act; but when it came to the Royal Assent, the Bill was not to be found, and they say there was foul play in the losing of that Bill. But I think the greatest blot and blunder of all is a little above in the same page, in these words: *After the Queen of Scots Condemnation, the Parliament petition'd for her Execution, each House apart; and the Bishops gave their Reasons why it ought to be.* If the Bishops had reasons why it ought to be, then they were no Traitors nor Rebels, as they are all along branded; then they did not kill the Heir, that the Inheritance might be theirs, for that we are very sure ought not to be. And if their Reasons are weak and insufficient, and in effect no Reasons, why then are they not answer'd? For the bare mentioning of them without answering them, will leave a suspicion in all mens minds, that there is somewhat in them which is unanswerable. And truly this is just such another piece of work, as a very young and unskilful Conjuror uses to perform, in raising what he cannot lay.

In a word, I do not see one true and close thing in this Paper, unless it be this, p. 3. *That the Church of England men themselves do not obey their own Canons.* Which if they had obey'd, and particularly the 114th Canon, whereby they are bound to present all Popish Recusants, and all that are popishly given, every year; they had not this day been troubled with new Tests and Instances of their Loyalty; but failing in that part of their Loyalty and Obedience, they are now question'd for all the rest. However, it is never too late for men to return to their Duty.

To conclude; I wou'd advise these Popish Scriblers to let the Church of *England* alone, which has both the Truth of God and the Laws of the Land on her side; and having Heaven and Earth on her side, all the Powers of Hell cannot prevail against her: much less is she to be run down by a few impotent Libels, which can never attain their end, nor arrive at their conclusion, tho we shou'd grant them all their own premises. For supposing Queen *Anne's* Confession of a Precontract, yet that does not make Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate: And supposing her illegitimate, and only an Act-of-Parliament Queen, yet that does not make her an unlawful Queen: And supposing her an unlawful Queen, and without a legal Title, and only Queen for the time being; yet the Church of *England* were not Rebels and Traitors for assisting her, but did their true Duty of Allegiance, as is expressly said in the 11 *Hen. 7. c. 1.* which Act was made on purpose to save the Peoples Allegiance in that case, who had like to have been ruin'd but a little before, by the cross Pretensions and alternately prevailing Titles of *York* and *Lancaster*. Nay, to go farther; Supposing that Queen *Elizabeth* was an Usurper, and the Church of *England* over and above Traitors and Rebels, and thereupon all the Laws made in her time of no authority (for that I know is the point they wou'd be at, and the only meaning of all this Scurrility pour'd forth upon that Queen and her Clergy) yet still they wou'd lose their aim; those Laws having been confirm'd in so many Parliaments since, and by such Princes as now they list not to bark at: Tho heretofore the Jesuit *Parsons* in his Book of the Succession, under the name of *Doleman*, shew'd himself and his Fraternity to be as much devoted to King *James's* Title, as this Author is now to Q. *Elizabeth's*. In short, seeing nothing is to be gotten by railing against Q. *Elizabeth*, and by making her illegitimate, they may as well let her rest in peace, or pass for legitimate: And they may save the foul Spittle they are daily casting upon her, which will serve much better to be us'd in their Christening of young Catholics.

HAVING observ'd the Popish Controversy to be spun out into a great length, I thought the shortest way of ending it, would be for a man to set his foot and trample upon the darling Mystery of that false and absurd Religion; which accordingly was done by the following Demonstration.

The Absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation Demonstrated.

The PREFACE.

UPON a careful Review of this ensuing Discourse, I find no cause to make any abatement from the Title of it; which promises to the Reader no less than strict Demonstration. If any of the following Arguments shou'd happen to fall short of these Pretensions to the highest and clearest sort of proof that can be, it is wholly my fault, and I will mend it upon the first notice of it. For I am sure that the subject Matter is capable of the most rigorous Demonstration that ever was; and it has always been held, That the essential Property's and Affections of a Body, such as Quantity, Figure, and its Relation to Place, &c. are the proper Subject of Demonstration. And let me here add, That such a Doctrine as *Transubstantiation* neither is, nor can be a matter of Revelation.

For Scripture was given us, either (1st) to reveal things, which were unknown to us by natural Light: such as the manner of the Creation of the World, and the greater and more amazing Secret of the Redemption of it, wherein all Heaven was engag'd; the Father sent the Son, and the Son afterwards sent the Holy Ghost; upon which occasion we have a clear and manifest Declaration of that Doctrine, which is commonly call'd the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, which was not so express before under the Old Testament. To these may be added, the Assurance which is given us of a Resurrection, and of a future Judgment, and of the different Portion of good and bad men; of the one in Happiness with all the blessed Company of Heaven, and of the other in eternal Torments prepar'd for the Devil and his Angels. Now these are things which are undiscoverable by natural Light; but being reveal'd, are very agreeable to it, and in no wise contradict it.

Or (2^{dly}) to furnish us with a History of Providence, and of God's Government of the World; wherein most of the Divine Attributes are visibly display'd. His Holiness and Justice are to be seen in his Judgments, his Mercy in Deliverances, his Power in Miracles; his Knowledge, Faithfulness, and Truth, in Prophecys; and the like. Now this part of Scripture does only clear up and exemplify our natural Knowledge of God; and our Reason is so far from being distress'd, that it is very much strengthen'd and confirm'd by it: As to compare great things with small, the Grammar-Rule is prov'd and confirm'd by the Example.

Or (3^{dly}) it was given us to improve our natural Notices, and inforce our natural Obligations to those Dutys, which we owe to God, our Neighbour, and

and our selves. And here our Reason triumphs, and is made perfect.

Or (*ably.*) To establish certain religious Ordinances and Institutions; such as are the Sacraments, Religious Assemblys, Preaching, and the like: which our very Reason does subscribe and approve as wise and holy Appointments, and as highly instrumental to a good Life.

Now these are matters worthy of God, and such as all the Wisdom in the World wou'd expect shou'd be the Contents of a Divine Revelation. If God shou'd vouchsafe to make new Discoverys to the World, a man wou'd look for somewhat of this nature, which shou'd improve us, and supply the Defects of Human Understanding, and tend to the perfecting of our Nature. But no man wou'd expect that God shou'd send after us from Heaven, to unteach us all that ever he had taught us in the day of our Creation, and to bless us with such Discoverys as these: That the same Body is in the same place, and is not in the same place, at the same time: That the Duration of 24 Hours is the Duration of 1688 Years: That a Mile's Distance, and the Distance of 10000 Miles is equal: That the same thing may exist, and not exist at once: That the self-same single thing may have two contrary Natures at the same time, and not be what it is; together with the rest of the Mysteries of *Transubstantiation*. We are sure that a Divine Revelation cannot contradict the common Sense and Reason of Mankind; for that wou'd be to pronounce them *false Witnesses of God*, when by these alone we know that there is a God, and are led to the discovery of his Eternal Power and Godhead; which must be known before we can think of Revelation. For it is in vain to talk of the Word of God, till we know that there is a God whose Word this Revelation is. In short, if any suppos'd Revelation shou'd contradict the plain Principles of Reason, it wou'd be the same thing or rather worse, than if that Revelation shou'd contradict it self. For if a Revelation shou'd contradict it self, we cou'd not indeed receive it upon those terms, because we shou'd be bound to believe it and disbelieve it at once, and therefore we cou'd not believe it at all: But if this Revelation shou'd contradict the plain Principles of Reason, then it wou'd overthrow that Understanding which we are sure we receiv'd from the Hands of God: And therefore if we shou'd renounce our Reason to believe such a Revelation, we must in that case part with a Certainty for an Uncertainty. For we cannot know (unless we will receive it blindfold, and then we know nothing) that ever any Revelation came from God, till our Reason has made it out to us that it did: And therefore to abandon our Reason for the sake of any Revelation, is to make our selves surer of the thing prov'd, than of the Proof it self, which is very absurd; for that which makes us certain of another thing, must needs be first and best known to us.

I shou'd not have put such a Case as this, for it is an impossible Case, but that the *Papists* themselves have put it, and have decided it the wrong way, and have made Axioms and self-evident Principles out of the false determination of it. So *Cartes* concludes his First Book of *Principles*; "That we must fix this in our Minds as the chief and principal Rule, That those things which are reveal'd to us by God, are to be believ'd as the most certain of all others: And altho perchance the most clear and evident Light of Reason that can be, shou'd seem to suggest to us the contrary, yet we must believe Divine Authority alone, rather than our own Judgment." Now this I say is an impossible Case; for we have not a more clear and evident Proof, than the most clear and most evident Light of Reason that can be, either that God has reveal'd any one Doctrine in particular, or made any Revelation at all, or that there is a God. And therefore if any reveal'd Doctrine in particular can be suppos'd to contradict the most clear and most evident Light of Reason that can be, so that it ought to be set aside and disbeliev'd as false; Then that Doctrine does therein overthrow both its own Credit, and the belief of any Revelation in general, and even of a Deity: And consequently it is, as I said, an impossible Case, and a perfect Inconsistency; for at once it supposes the belief of a Divine Revelation, and yet destroys the belief of any such thing.

A Second Five Year's Struggle

The Gentlemen of the *Port Royal*, in their Logick or Art of Thinking, have advanc'd this Rule of *Cartes* to the state and degree of an Axiom, or undoubted Principle: For in *Part 4. Chap. 7.* they make this, together with two other Axioms which usher it in, to be the Foundation of Faith. I shall consider them all three.

AXIOM VIII.

A man ought not to deny that which is clear and evident, for not being able to comprehend that which is obscure. This is but a lame Axiom; for tho it be Truth, yet it is not the whole Truth in this matter: For a man ought not to deny that which is clear and evident, upon any account whatsoever. He ought not to go against known Truth (for that is the *English* of what is clear and evident) for the sake of any thing, either known or unknown.

AXIOM IX.

It is of the nature of a Finite Mind, not to be able to comprehend that which is infinite. This is an undoubted Truth, and no man can gainsay it; only it has the misfortune to be found here in bad company, and to be apply'd to false purposes, as we shall see by and by.

AXIOM X.

The Testimony of a Person infinitely powerful, infinitely wise, infinitely good, and infinitely true, ought to have more force to persuade our Minds, than the most convincing Reasons. But I ask again, Have we any more than the most convincing Reasons, to persuade us that there is any such Person thus qualify'd? Or that this infinitely credible and adorable Being has given any Testimony at all? If not, then I say, that this Axiom is an Inconsistency, it supplants it self, and undermines the very Ground on which it stands. That must needs be a very tottering and ruinous Foundation of Faith, which is establish'd upon a Contrariety and Opposition to the most convincing Reasons; But an absurd Religion may be glad of such Axioms as it can get, and must be content to be serv'd with an absurd Logick.

The *Messieurs* promise us here to say somewhat more of Faith afterwards, which accordingly they do, *Chap. 11.* and therefore thither we will follow them, and see how they apply these Axioms to establish *Transubstantiation*. Where first they inculcate their former Axiom in these words, "*Il est certain, &c.*" It is certain that Divine Faith ought to have more power over our Minds, than our own Reason. And this is certain, even by Reason it self, which shews us, that we ought always to prefer that which is more certain, before that which is less certain; and that it is more certain that what God says, is true, than what our Reason persuades us; because God is more incapable of deceiving us, than our Reason of being deceiv'd." Now, if what Reason persuades us, be not certain; when for instance, it persuades us that there is a God, then there is no possible Certainty of a Revelation, which shall stand in competition with Reason, and be prefer'd before it. And therefore this is the old Enchantment over again, which perfectly turns the Reason of Mankind into a Stone, so that it cannot move one step either forward or backward. For if the most clear and evident Light of Reason that can be, (as *Cartes's* word is) if the most convincing Reasons (as the *Rort-Royal* word is) may be false, Then it is impossible for us to know any thing: Nay, it is impossible for us so much as to know, that we know nothing.

But in the very next words they relent, and tell us quite another Story. "*Neanmoins a considerer, &c.*" Nevertheless to consider things exactly, that which we evidently perceive, both by Reason, or by the faithful report of our Senses, is never contrary to that which Divine Faith teaches us. But that which makes us believe so, is, that we take no heed where it is that the evidence of our Reason and of our Senses ought to stop, and to go no further." Methinks Men shou'd consider things exactly before they lay down Axioms and first Principles, and not after: For now it seems that Revelation is never contrary to the Evidence of Reason, or the faithful report of our Senses (for if they are never contrary to that, then that is never contrary to them) and therefore the opposition which was suppos'd to be betwixt them, and the renouncing of Reason, and cleaving to Faith, which

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follow'd thereupon, proves to be wholly a mistake. So that they have plainly given up their tenth *Axiom* for Nonsense; and now they are upon a new Question, which is concerning the just bounds and full extent of Sense and Reason, and to shew how short-sighted they both are in discerning a bit of Bread.

Their next words are these: *Par exemple, &c.* "For example, Our Senses shew us clearly in the Sacrament some Roundness and Whiteness; but our Senses do not teach us whether it be the Substance of Bread, which causes our Eyes to perceive this Roundness and Whiteness: And thus Faith is not contrary to the Evidence of our Senses, when it tells us, that this is not the Substance of Bread, which is abolish'd, having been chang'd into the Body of Jesus Christ by the Mystery of *Transubstantiation*; and that we see nothing more than the Species and Appearances of Bread, which still remain, altho the Substance be abolish'd, and be no more." When the Papists are dispos'd to make themselves merry with the Follies of us poor Hereticks, there is no such happy Subject of their Drollery as this, That we pretend to see Substances, and have such exquisite Senses as will penetrate farther and deeper than all other mens. Now, on the other hand, we can tell them very seriously, that we never saw Roundness or Whiteness in our lives, nor can any of our Senses shew us any such Rarities: We cannot deny but that we have seen round and white Substances or Bodys, or pieces of Matter, call them what you will; but as for Roundness and Whiteness, we believe them to be Objects so dazzling, that they wou'd certainly blind us. The Roundness, and Whiteness, and Sweetness which they see and taste in the Sacrament without a Subject, are the round, and white, and sweet nothings which we never yet saw nor tasted, tho we sometimes promise them to our Children for Fairings. But Substances we continually see, and cannot look beside them: For every thing which is seen, heard, smelt, tasted or felt, is a Substance; and which is more, it is a gross material Substance, or else it cou'd not affect and make an Impression upon such gross material Organs of Sense as ours are. What is it that so feelingly moves our Senses, and resists our Touch, but a Body or material Substance? For ten thousand Roundnesses and Whitenesses will not make up one Object of Sense. And as for the Instance which lies before us, of a piece of Bread, it is a Substance the most familiar, and best known to us of all others. We can see, and taste, and feel, and smell it, and know it blindfold. And not only we, but most of the Creatures about us can see, and taste, and smell the Substance of Bread as well as we, and know it very distinctly, and will single it out from twenty other round and white Substances whatsoever. And their Senses were certainly given them to discern Substances and not Accidents; for otherwise a round and white Stone, or a round and white Chip, wou'd serve their turn as well: but Figure and Colour are not their business, but a Substance, which will nourish them, and which will be alter'd and assimilated into the Substance of Flesh and Blood. And therefore whether the Substance of a Wafer be Bread, or whether it be a Human Body, I will refer it wholly to all the Animals in the World, which love Bread, and will not seize upon a living Man; for they are competent and indifferent Judges in this matter: Always excepting those Animals which are the Masters of the *School of the Eucharist*; for they are all Partys and Bigots, and especially the Dog of *Lisbon*. In short, I challenge all the World to tell me what there is belonging to the Substance of Bread, which we do not see and discern by our Senses, and which is not faithfully reported to us by them. And therefore when our Senses evidently shew us, that a Wafer is the Substance of Bread, and on the other hand, the Popish Faith teaches us that it is not the Substance of Bread, but the Substance of a Human Body, that Faith is plainly contrary to the Evidence of our Senses; which because the *Messieurs* said before, Divine Faith never is, it leaves their Faith under a different Character from that which is Divine.

They proceed in the following words: *Nostre raison de mesme, &c.* Our Reason in like manner shews us that one single Body is not at the same time in divers places, nor two Bodys in one and the same place; but this ought to be understood

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Good of the natural Condition of Bodys, because it wou'd be a Defect of Reason for a man to imagine that our Mind, being finite, is able to comprehend how far the Infinite Power of God reaches. And therefore when Hereticks, in order to destroy the Mysterys of Faith, as the Trinity, Incarnation and Eucharist, do object those pretended Impossibilitys which they draw from Reason, in this very thing they themselves do visibly depart from Reason, in pretending to be able to comprehend in their finite Mind the infinite Extent of the Power of God.

In this short Passage there are many things liable to Exception. For (1st.) Our Reason does not only shew us, that one single Body is not at the same time in divers places, but it shews us also that it cannot be in divers places at once, for this reason; because in that case one single Body wou'd be divers Bodys, which is a Contradiction. And therefore (2^{dly}.) The Limitation which follows, is false, that this ought to be understood of the natural Condition of Bodys, and restrain'd only to that. For whether Bodys be in a natural Condition, or supernatural, one single Body cannot be divers Bodys at the same time, for then it is no longer one single Body. No supernatural Case or Condition can make a Contradiction to be true. For instance, St. John Baptist told the Jews that God was able of those Stones, which lay upon the Banks of Jordan, to raise up Children unto Abraham. In their natural Condition they were Stones, but in this supernatural Condition they wou'd have been Men; but in no Condition was it possible for them to be both Stones and Men at the same time, because it is a Repugnancy. For to say, a Stone is a Man, is to say a Stone is not a Stone; that is to say, it is not, or it is nothing at all, which I hope no man will say is the Work of an Infinite Power. And therefore (3^{dly}.) in saying, That one Body cannot be in divers places at once, we do not thereby imagine that a finite Mind can comprehend how far the infinite Power of God reaches: This is both a false Charge, and a false Inference. For what has Omnipotency to do with nothing? To effect nothing is a Derogation to all Power, much more is it beneath that which is infinite. When therefore we vindicate the Divine Power, and assert the Infinity of it, and say it is remov'd at the greatest distance from all Defect, is this to say that a finite Mind can comprehend it? No; God forbid that our Heads shou'd be fill'd with such cross Popish Contradictions, as to say, that every Contradiction is impossible, and yet this Contradiction is possible; that a Finite may hold an Infinite, and that the Greater may be contain'd by the Less. We admire and adore the infinite Power of God, and we are sensible of it every minute, for in him we live, and move, and have our Being, and yet we do not comprehend it; neither have we the least Thought or Imagination of comprehending it; for we know that this is utterly inconsistent with the necessary Imperfection and Limitation of a Creature-state. The infinite Power of God stands like a great Mountain. Now we can see a great Mountain only by parts, and cannot view it all round at once, much less can we grasp or comprehend it, and take it up in our Arms. But yet as we know and see, that this incomprehensible Mountain (which is an Object too big for our Senses) is not a Valley; so we are full as sure that Perfection is not Imperfection, and that infinite Power (tho we never pretended to measure the extent of it) is free from all Impotency, and cannot atchieve Impossibilitys and Nothings. As we know by his necessary Existence that God cannot cease to be, and by his Infinite Wisdom that he cannot err, and by his Infinite Truth that it is impossible for God to lye: So, we are assur'd, by his Infinite Power that he cannot make a Contradiction, a Nothing, an Inconsistency, which is always unmade again as fast as it is made. If God shou'd create and annihilate a thing at once, he wou'd plainly effect neither, and nothing wou'd follow upon such an impossible Act. (4th.) The Messieurs insinuate, as if the Impossibilitys which are brought against Transubstantiation were of the same sort, and as false and pretended, as those which are objected against the Trinity, and the Incarnation of our Saviour: but I shall leave that to the Judgment of every indifferent Reader, after he has weigh'd and consider'd the following Discourse.

And thus I have at least shaken those Axioms, which were purposely erected as Strong-holds, to cover and shelter the absurd Doctrines of the Church of Rome, and especially that of *Transubstantiation*, by feigning that Revelation and Reason are at variance, and that in that case Reason is to be abandon'd. It may justly be admir'd that *Cartes*, a man of clear Sense, shou'd begin such Rules: but it is to be remember'd, that he was to make some amends for the bold Truths he had elsewhere deliver'd; and likewise, that he was able to complement the Church of Rome, as well as he did particular Persons, without being a Slave to his Complement: for when he was press'd with what he had said upon such occasions, and with his own very words, he us'd to tell them, *Quodcumque Sentio Gallico se loquor*, you did not understand a French Complement. I doubt not but the learned Men of the *Rort Royal* did very well understand it: But it is their Craft to make Silver Shrines for *Diana*; and all the Commendation we can give them, is to say, that they are very able Workmen, and Masters of their Trade, such a one as it is.

To conclude, Reason is that whereby we chuse our Religion, and judg whether it be a Revelation which came from God, and whereby we distinguish betwixt the Bible and the Alcoran. And, as *Cartes* says, If a Turk or a Heathen, being induc'd by some false Reasonings, shou'd embrace Christianity, and did not know that it came from God, he wou'd not thereupon be a Christian, but rather he wou'd be guilty of a Sin, in not using his Reason aright. Reason is that whereby we interpret a Revelation; or else a Man can give no reason why he interprets it in that manner, rather than in another. And as *St. Paul* speaks in another case, *Do ye not know that the Saints shall judg the World?* Do ye not know that Reason must judg of the Sum of Religion? And if the whole must be judg'd by it, Is it unworthy to judg in the smallest matters, such as a Phrase, or a Figure? Shall it not judg in so plain and so easy a case as this? That *Christ's Body* on which the Woman pour'd her Alabaster Box of Ointment, *Matth. 26. 12.* was his living Natural Body: And the Body which *Joseph of Arimathea* beg'd and bury'd, *Matth. 27. 58.* was his dead Natural Body: And the Body of *Christ*, which is to be edify'd, *Eph. 4. 12.* is the Church, or Society of all Christian People; and the Body of *Christ*, which is to be eaten, *Matth. 26. 26.* is the Sign, or Sacrament, or Memorial of his Body? If Reason may not judg in this case, by considering and examining these several Places, but is to be set aside or renounc'd, and the Letter of Scripture is to determine it; then I am sure, that if the Communicant, by virtue of these words, *This is my Body*, eats the Natural Body of *Christ* either dead or alive, at the same time he also eats up all Christian People by virtue of *St. Paul's* words, who in like manner expressly calls them *the Body of Christ*. In a word, whatsoever is believ'd or done in Religion, must be by Reason, or else it is an irrational Belief and Practice. For Reason is the Principle of a Man; and whatsoever is not done by it, is not done by the Man, it is not a Human Act, but the Act of a Brute. Whenever therefore I become a Scholar in the *School of the Eucharist*, and renounce the Reason which God has given me, to embrace the *Romish* Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, I am fully resolv'd to keep a decorum in it, and I will certainly go over to that Church upon all Four.

I have not thus much insisted upon Reason, because we are destitute of Scripture-Proof, to shew that *Transubstantiation* is false; for we have not a clearer and fuller Evidence from Revelation, that our Saviour came into the World, than we have that his Body, even since his Resurrection, is such, as cannot possibly be present in form of Bread. As to name no more, *Luke 24. 39. Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is I my self; handle me and see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have.* These are the Scripture-marks of our Saviour's Body, which he himself gave on purpose to know it by. But can we possibly behold Hands and Feet in a Wafer? Can we handle and see Flesh and Bones in it? If we cannot, then it is not he himself; otherwise these are fallacious Marks of him, for Roundness and Whiteness, and no Hands and Feet, and no Flesh and Bones, might have been the Marks as well. But I was hereby willing to shew, that as Scripture is against *Transubstantiation*,

Resp. ad 2.
Obj. Art. 5.

so

so the primitive Light of Reason is against it too, the unwritten as well as the written Word of God: and that as *Transubstantiation* tends to the destruction of all that is Man or Christian in us; so on the other hand, Common Sense, Reason, Christianity, and all that is within us, does rise up in opposition against so monstrous and mischievous a Doctrine.

The Absolute Impossibility of TRANSUBSTANTIATION Demonstrated.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION is not the name of one single Absurdity, but it signifies, as *Legion* does, many Thousands in one. For which reason it is very hard to draw them up, or put them into any good Order, which however I shall endeavour to do under these two Heads:

First, Of *Intellectual Absurditys*. And,
Secondly, Of *Practical Absurditys*.

1. The first Head is of *Intellectual Absurditys*; by which I mean such Falshoods as are repugnant to the common Reason and Understanding of Mankind. And I purposely wave all those Absurditys of *Transubstantiation* which contradict our Senses; because if a man be bent upon it, and will outface me out of all my Senses, as I cannot believe him, so I cannot disprove him. If he says the Sun does not shine, when at the same time I am really dazzled with the Light and Brightness of it, I can only say as I find, and appeal to his own Senses, and desire him to do me right. In case a Papist should bear me down, that an Apple is an Oyster, I cannot tell how to help my self; especially if he pretend to have chang'd it into an Oyster, by saying some powerful and charming words over it. And further, If in condescension and compliance with the Frailty of human Sense, he likewise acknowledges that it looks like an Apple, and is cloth'd with all the Qualitys and Propertys of it, but that one part of the Enchantment lies in this, that tho in all appearance it is an Apple, yet in reality it is an Oyster: In this case I cannot plead my Senses, because he has already foreclos'd the Use and Evidence of them. But if he proceed to tell me utter Impossibilities, and to say that the pretended Oyster which I now have in my hand at *London*, is also at the same time at *Colechester* and at *Wallsfleet*, and in ten thousand other very remote and distant places; he then puts me into a way to break the Enchantment, and to overthrow his Delusion with such Arguments as will not be satisfy'd by saying, *That the Senses may be deceiv'd, and cannot dive into the Essence of things.*

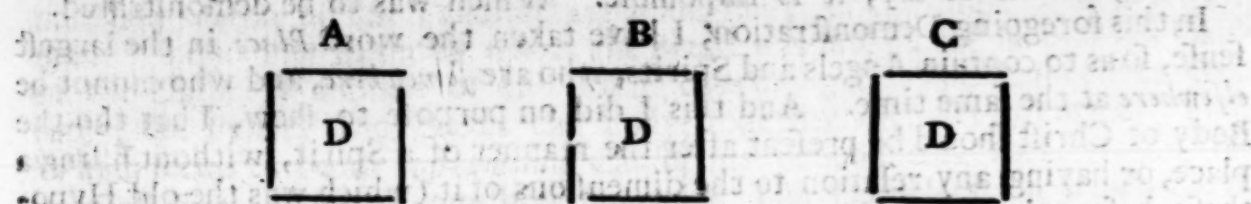
It is not such a light and ludicrous Cheat as this I have now been speaking of, which the Church of *Rome* has put upon the World for many Ages together; for then I question whether I should ever have employ'd my Pen against it (tho it is a barbarous Indignity to Mankind to impose upon them, to deceive and make Monkys of them.) But the *Romish* Delusion is of a higher nature, for it is the Cheat of a bit of Bread which you must believe to be a man's Body, nay to be a God: And accordingly if you will not worship and bow down to this bit of Bread, and acknowledg it to be your Maker, then shall you be condemn'd for an *Heretick*; then will they zealously tell you, *That they will no more pray for you than they will for a Dog; and that as your Body fries in a Smithfield Fire, so your Soul shall for ever burn in Hell.* And therefore it is of as great consequence to Men, as their Souls and Bodys are worth, to know the Truth of this matter; for which cause I earnestly intreat them to weigh and ponder the Arguments, and carefully to attend to the Demonstrations, which I shall here lay down before them.

See the Book of
Martyrs in Q.
Mary's Reign.

To proceed with the more strength and clearness in this matter, and to avoid needless repetitions, and such like, incumbrances of a Discourse, I shall here premise some very reasonable Demands, which without any man's leave I shall take for granted: 1. That a Doctrine which consists of Impossibilities, is an impossible Doctrine. 2. That Omnipotency it self cannot make an impossibility; for what cannot be done at all, cannot be done by Almighty Power. Supposing an infinite excess of Power (as we are sure there is in God) yet it cannot do what cannot be done. 3. That a Contradiction is an impossibility.

From these Premises I shall infer, That every Contradiction which is contain'd in the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is an undoubted proof of the impossibility of it; so that it never was, is, or can be true, and that the pretence of Omnipotency it self cannot support it.

1. The first and most obvious Contradictions in it, are those which follow upon asserting, That the self-same Body is in Heaven, and Earth, and upon innumerable far distant Altars at once.



For let A B C be so many different and far distant Places, and let D be the same Body in those distant Places, and then you may behold these manifest Contradictions. First, D is in A, and D is not in A; for it is in B, which is not in A. Again, D is wholly in B, and D is wholly out of B; for it is in C, which is wholly out of B. And thus you may ring Changes of endless Contradictions; for still as you multiply these Places, the Contradictions will all along increase and multiply upon you, till they come to exceed Millions of Millions.

To avoid the force of this and such like Demonstrations, the Representer of Popery tells us, "That Christ gives to his Body a supernatural manner of Existence, by which being left without Extension of Parts, and render'd independent of Place, it may be one and the same in many places at once, and whole in every part of the Symbols, and not obnoxious to any corporeal Contingencies." Thus far he. It may be a few new-devis'd terms, and half a dozen inconsistent words contradictionally jumbled together, are able to overthrow a Demonstration. We will try whether they can or no. As for the Privileges and Prerogatives of this Body (which it must always be carefully remember'd is an organiz'd human Body) to exist without extension of Parts, to be whole in every part of the Symbols, and not to be obnoxious to any corporeal Contingencies, they are Mysterys which will keep cold, and we shall consider them by and by. The thing to be thought of at present, is, *A supernatural manner of Existence, whereby this Body is render'd independent of Place, and may be one and the same in many places at once.*

This Body, which exists in a supernatural manner, must either, (1.) Be every where, and in all places; which manner of Existence is Immense and Infinite, and peculiar to God alone. It is a Divine Attribute; and where there is one Divine Attribute, there are all the rest. But if by an impossible supposition this manner of Existence were communicable to a Body, yet it wou'd not serve their purpose; for then this Body wou'd be in *too many* places at once, in all other places out of the Sacrament, as well as in it: and so there wou'd be no need of Priests to make Christ's Body in the Sacrament, which wou'd be a thing very inconvenient, at least for that Order of Men. Or else (2.) This Body which is independent of Place, must be in *no place*: and then with its supernatural manner of Existence, it does not exist at all; for that which is no-where, is nothing. Or (3dly and lastly) It must be *somewhere*; for let the manner of Existence be what it will, Natural, or Supernatural, or Infinite, still this Body, which is independent of place, must either be every-where, or some-where, or no-where. If this Body be *every-where*, as was shew'd

before, it wou'd be Infinite, which is Blasphemy; for if a Body may have Divine Attributes, and be a God, then God may be a Body. And then again, if this Body be *no-where*, it is non-existent, and nothing. And therefore it remains that it be *somewhere*. And this is easily granted; for it is said to be in many places at once, which is many *somewheres*. Well, if it may be in many places at once, it may be in one of those many places: This is undeniable, and must be granted us. Let us make use therefore once again of the former Scheme, and let this one place be A, and D the Body in it; and now at last, tho this Body D be independent of place, yet we are sure of it in one place, for it is in A. But it seems it may be in several other places at the same time: Be it so, and let B and C be two of those other places, and let D be the self-same independent Body in those places, and then we are haunted again with all the former contradictions. D is in A, and at the same time D is not in A, for it is in B, which is not in A. Again, D is wholly in B, and D is wholly out of B at the same time, for it is in C, which is wholly out of B. So that this pretended supernatural manner of Existence, is full of Contradictions, that is to say, it is impossible. Which was to be demonstrated.

In this foregoing Demonstration, I have taken the word *Place* in the largest sense, so as to contain Angels and Spirits, who are *somewhere*, and who cannot be *elsewhere* at the same time. And this I did on purpose to shew, That tho the Body of Christ shou'd be present after the manner of a Spirit, without filling a place, or having any relation to the dimensions of it (which was the old Hypothesis, before the Representor came with his new Jargon) and tho it took up no more room than a thought does in a man's mind, yet it were impossible for it to be in many places at once. So that if we shou'd grant Matter to be Immaterial, and a Body to be a Spirit, yet the Papists are so intangled in the absurdity of this Doctrine, that it wou'd do them no good to allow them half a score Contradictions, neither wou'd it any way relieve them, or free them from the rest. Whereas on the other hand, a Body is known to fill and possess the place in which it is, and is circumscrib'd by the bounds and limits of the place, which is commensurate to the magnitude and figure of the Body: So that if a Body shou'd be in many places at once, it might not only have quite contrary Situations, and be *East, West, North and South* of it self, be *above* it self, and *below* it self all at once; but also it wou'd be *circumscrib'd* and not *circumscrib'd* at the same time; which is a very plain and open Contradiction.

2. The Second Head of Contradictions are those which attend the Doctrine of Transubstantiation in point of *Time*. Every thing that has now a Being, either always had a Being, and is *Eternal*, which only God is; or else it had a beginning of its Being, in which it has continued ever since, which is the condition of all Creatures: and this continuance of a Creature in being we call the *duration* of it, which is so essential to all Substances, whether Material or Immaterial, that it is absolutely inseparable from them: For when their Being began, their Duration began; and when their Duration ceases, their Being ceases. This Duration is counted by Days, Months, and Years, and such like greater or lesser portions of Time; which *Time* is nothing else but the measure of Duration, whereby we reckon how long a Substance has continu'd or persever'd in being. And now we have a Test in our hands, to try whether it be not absolutely impossible for the Transubstantiation-Body in the Sacrament to be the very Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*.

The Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary* has continu'd in Being 1688 years, whereas the Body which the Priest * made yesterday, has continu'd in being but one day; but the Duration of one Day only, cannot be the Duration of 1688 Years: And the Duration of 1688 Years is now inseparable from the Body of Christ born of the Virgin *Mary*, for the Duration of a Substance is inseparable from the Substance; therefore the Body which the Priest made yesterday, cannot be the Body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*. Which was to be demonstrated.

* Conficiunt
Christi Cor-
pus & Sangui-
nem. Catech.
Trid. de Euch.
ff. 82. Edit.
Lugdun. 1676.

Again,

Again, If the Body in the Sacrament which was made, that is, began to be yesterday, is the same Body which has continu'd 1688 Years, then the same Body continu'd 1687 years, and upwards, before it began to be : but before it began to be, it was not in being ; and consequently, in every minute during that 1687 years, the same Body was in being, and was not in being. Which amounts to millions of Contradictions.

Once more. It must be granted, *That the Cause is in being before the Effect* ; and it wou'd be a double repugnancy to say the contrary : for then the Effect wou'd be both before it self, for it is not an Effect till it be caus'd ; and also before its Cause, and so wou'd be caus'd by that which is not. Now the Causes of the Transubstantiation-Body are these amongst others. 1st. The Bread out of which it is produc'd ; which is so necessary, that this Change cannot be wrought out of any other Substance in the World, Flesh nor Fish, Pillar nor Post, nor any thing else that can be nam'd ; and therefore this is the necessary Matter of the Transubstantiation-Body, or the Cause out of which it is made. 2^{dly}. The Baker by whom the Bread was made ; for he that is a Cause of the Cause, is a Cause of the Thing caus'd. 3^{dly}. The marvellous Operator, the Priest, who makes the Body, together with his Intention. 4^{thly}. Which seems to be an *instrumental* Cause, his pronouncing these words, *Hoc enim est Corpus meum*, in one breath. 5^{thly}. The Consideration which mov'd him to say a Mass at that time.

But neither the Bread nor the Baker, nor the Priest nor his Intention, nor his Voice nor his Breath, nor the Proposal, suppose of twelve pence, to him to say a Mass ; neither all nor any of these, which were the causes of that Transubstantiation-Body, which was made yesterday, and did contribute more or less to the producing of it : I say, none of these Causes were in being a hundred years ago ; and if the Causes were not in being, much less was the Effect in being, otherwise the Effect must be before the Cause, which is impossible. But the Body of Christ, born of the Virgin *Mary*, was in being 1600 years ago, which is more than one hundred years ago ; and this is impossible for the Transubstantiation-Body, which was made yesterday : therefore it is impossible for the Transubstantiation-Body to be the Body of Christ born of the Virgin *Mary*. Q. E. D.

I wonder, that when the Representer's hand was in, and he had made Christ's Body *independent of Place*, he had not likewise made it *independent of Time* ; for that was full as necessary to be done as the other.

3. The third Head of Contradictions are those which relate to *Quantity* : under which Head I was going to demonstrate, that the same Body cannot at the same time be bigger and less than it self ; That it cannot be an organiz'd human Body, five foot and a half long, and at the same time bestow'd within the compass of a Wafer no bigger than a Six-pence, nay within the compass of every crumb of that Wafer, tho not so big as a pin's head. But I am interrupted from proceeding any further in this Attempt : for by a slight Conveyance, the very Subject-matter of my Demonstration is taken away ; and instead of a solid Body, with Figure and Dimensions, with different and distinct parts, divisible and measurable, they have left me only the Ghost of a Body, which no Demonstration can fasten upon. For they say, *That this Body is indu'd with a supernatural manner of Existence, by which being left without Extension of Parts, it may be whole in every part of the Symbols, and not obnoxious to any Corporeal Contingencies*. Now, tho we cannot demonstrate any Property of such an incomprehensible Body as this is (no more than we can draw the Picture of a Non-entity, or weigh it in a pair of Scales) for it scorns and tramples upon all the Principles and Axioms of *Euclid* ; yet we may a little consider the terms of Art by which it is exprest.

1. It is a *Body without Extension of Parts*. So that it is a Whole which has Parts, tho those Parts are without Extension ; and accordingly, as it follows, *It may be whole in every part of the Symbols*. But if the Parts be without Extension, so is the Whole ; for the Whole is nothing else but all the Parts put together. Now at this rate, a Part is as big as the Whole, and has as much Extension, because either of them has none at all. Is this indeed the Body which the Wonder-working Priest produces ! A Body without Extension is a

mere Nothing, and a perfect Contradiction in terms: for Extension is the very Essence of a Body, and the Foundation of all the other Property's that are in it; the three Dimensions, as also Figure, Divisibility, and Impenetrability, do all flow from it. Again, so much as you add to the Quantity of a Body, so much you add to the Substance; and so much of the Extension as you take away, just so much of the Substance goes along with it. In a word, Body and Extension are reciprocal; for every Body is an extended Substance, and every extended Substance is a Body; so that they are but different names for the same thing.

2. This Body is *whole in every part of the Symbols*, that is of the Elements of Bread and Wine. But the Bread has, suppose, a hundred distinct parts, one of which is not the other: and therefore this Body being whole in every distinct part, has a hundred distinct Wholes; one of which is not the other, and yet is but one Body all the while, which, as I take it, is contradiction by wholesale.

3. This Body is *not obnoxious to any Corporal Contingency's*. If it be a Body, what may happen to one Body, may happen to another. To use Terence's words in this case, *Homo sum, nihil Humanum a me alienum puto*; I am a Man, and what is incident to a man, is incident to me. And so if a Body cou'd speak, it wou'd say, *Corpus sum, nihil corporeum a me alienum puto*; I am a Body, and what belongs to a Body, belongs to me. Whatever Body is subject to be eaten, is subject to be press'd and grinded with the Teeth, to be swallow'd down, and afterwards voided; and I suppose this last Clause was added on purpose to avoid such Inconveniences, and to save the Honour of this Body, which they call *God's Body*. But in my Opinion it was a needless Clause, for a Body without Extension can never take hurt, nor come by any damage at all; for a man may bite till his Jaws ache, and grind all his Teeth out of his head, before he can fasten upon that which is not, and which never yet had any existence in the World, save in a parcel of insignificant words ill put together on purpose.

It is an endless thing to encounter shadows, and to oppose these manifest impossibility's, which are so contrary to the Reason of Mankind, that the Papists themselves own they wou'd not hold them, were it not for the sake of Revelation: which is to be believ'd, they say, before Reason, and ought to outweigh all other Reasons. They are over-ru'd, they say, in this case, by the express words of our Saviour, who, in the same night in which he was betray'd, took Bread, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body; do this in remembrance of me*: And who has all power in Heaven and Earth to make his words good. We allow these words to be our Saviour's, neither do we question his Power, but conclude, that he accomplish'd all that he intended, and did make the Bread his Body in that sense in which he meant it shou'd be. So far we are agreed on both sides. The Question therefore in short is this, What he did to the Bread, when he said, *This is my Body*? Whether he metamorphos'd and chang'd the nature of it? or only alter'd the use of it, that it might be a Token of his Body, and serve to remember him by, to all those excellent purposes of Religion, which we acknowledg to be design'd by him.

The latter is undoubtedly the true sense, considering all the Circumstances of the Place. As (1.) considering that our Saviour was upon his Departure, at which time men use to leave Memorials of themselves with their Friends, to be remembered by in their absence. (2.) Considering that the frequent use of the word *is*, imports no more than *signifies*. As in very many places, where the Scripture says one thing is another, it means only that that thing must be expounded by the other, it signifies or stands for the other; and consequently, *This is my Body*, i. e. this signifies my Body, is the literal sense. And (3.) considering that Clause which shews the end and meaning of this whole Passage, and is the very Key to unlock it, *Do this in remembrance of me*. For it is an absurd Speech to say, Take my Body in remembrance of my Body; take me for a Token to remember me by. So that if there were not one Contradiction or Impossibility, or any such Rock to be shun'd in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, yet every thing in the Text leads us into this sense, which I have now deliver'd; we are plainly determin'd to this sense, by reasons

was taken out of the very bowels of the Text; the Text expounds it self.

But still the Papists are very urgent and pressing upon us, and say, That unless we believe the Bread to be chang'd into Christ's Real and Natural Body, when he says it is his Body, we make him a *Liar*. Take heed of that. For our Saviour calls many things by the name of those things into which they never were substantially chang'd. He call'd his Body a Temple, when he said, *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will rear it up*; and yet his Body was never substantially chang'd into a Pile of Building. And so likewise when that Temple was in destroying, and our blessed Redeemer was hanging upon the Cross, we have a marvellous tender Passage of his dutiful care to provide for his Mother, when he was in the extremity of his Sufferings, *John* 19. 26, 27. seeing his Mother and his Disciple *John* standing together by the Cross, he said to her, *Woman, behold thy Son*; which was equivalent to this Proposition, That Man is thy Son. And he said to *John*, *Behold thy Mother*; wherein he calls the Virgin *Mary*, *John's Mother*, which she was not. But upon this *John* took her for his Mother, and carry'd her home to his own House. And so in this present case, *This is my Body*. Look not upon this as common Bread, for it stands for my Body; consider it under that notion, and remember me by it. *Behold thy Mother*; repute her as such. But if it be a Reflection upon our Saviour to say that it is Bread, when he calls it his Body, is it not the same Reflection upon *St. Paul* to say, that it is not Bread, when he calls it Bread three or four times over? *1 Cor.* 10. 16. *They are even now eating and drinking*

No, no, it was not Scripture which led the Papists into the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, but by engaging themselves in the defence of Image-worship, they were betray'd into it; and were driven to take shelter and sanctuary in it, to avoid the force of an Argument which they cou'd not otherwise answer. Every body knows, that when Image-worship was first set up, there was a great number of Christians who stoutly oppos'd it, and gather'd Councils to condemn it; and these went by the name of *Image-breakers*. On the other side, the *Image-worshippers* were furiously bent upon it, and gather'd Councils to maintain it, particularly that famous one of blessed memory, the second *Nicene Council*. In these Oppositions and Disputes, one Argument which the *Image-breakers* made use of in reference to the Images of our Saviour, was this. If our Saviour has left one Image of himself, which is of Divine Institution; then it is not lawful to erect other Images of him which are of human Invention: but he has left one Image of himself (namely in the Sacrament) which is of Divine Institution; ergo, to make it good, that the Sacrament was an Image of our Saviour of his own appointment, they shew that all the antient Fathers had call'd it the Image, the Figure, the Type, the Antitype, the Resemblance or Representation of our Saviour. This very Argument was us'd by the preceding Council at *Constantinople*, and is recited by the *Nicene Council*, which was presently after. But how does the *Nicene Council* answer it? They cou'd not deny the major Proposition, and therefore they were forc'd to break thro' the minor after this fashion: They say that the Sacrament is not the Image, Resemblance, Figure, Type, Antitype of our Saviour, but his own Body; for he himself expressly says, *Hoc est corpus meum*. It is not therefore an Image or Figure of him, but it is he himself in Person. And thus they rescu'd and disingag'd themselves from a very close and distressing Argument, and so their show of Image-worship went on.

This is the first time that the literal Interpretation, as they call it, of *hoc est corpus meum*, is to be met with; which it is plain likewise the former Council was not aware of; for if they cou'd have foreseen so full and so ready an Answer, common sense wou'd never have suffer'd them to make use of that Argument. Now after the literal Interpretation was thus broach'd to serve a present turn, and they had us'd it as a man does the next thing that comes to hand, to stop a gap, it was yet a long time before Transubstantiation was impos'd as a Doctrine of Faith: It had done good service in solving an Argument, and the *Image-breakers* were all broken and destroy'd themselves, and therefore there was no further occasion for it. But in process of time they cou'd not but discover many other advantages in it; as, amongst the rest, that it wou'd deck the Priesthood with the highest Honour in the World, and advance

vance them above all Thrones and crown'd Heads; if it were once believ'd that they cou'd make their Maker when they pleas'd. And therefore it is no wonder that they were so very sharp upon *Berengarius*, when he set himself to oppose it. And from that time forwards they were forming this Doctrine into shape, and at last, four hundred and odd years after the first Invention of it, it was made an Article of Faith in the great *Lateran Council*, and christen'd by the name of Transubstantiation. This was done by a good Token in King *John's* time, when the Pope made himself Landlord of the Realm of *England*, and put it under a servile Tribute, which lasted for several Kings Reigns. Thus you see the Rise of Transubstantiation, which came not into the World by the Papists sticking close to the Scripture, but by their cleaving to the Idolatry of Image-worship; whereby they are fallen, according to *David's* Imprecation, from one Wickedness to another; and to the Worship of their Holy Images, they have join'd the Idolatry of Host-worship.

Catech. Trid.
de Euch. §. 31.

But what we call an Idol, that they say is God's Body, which they affirm to be the plain and literal sense of those words, *This is my Body*; let us therefore see at last what their literal Exposition is. Now it runs after this manner. This which I now give you to eat, was lately Bread, but I have chang'd the Substance of the Bread into the self-same Body with which I now deliver it to you; I tell you the late Bread is I my self, it is mine own Body. For in that which you now have in your hands, assure your selves there is whole Christ; I am there Body and Soul, yea and my Divinity is there also: So that there is contain'd, under the appearance of that bit of Bread, my Divine Nature, and my whole Human Nature, which consists of my Soul, and all the parts of my Body, together with my Blood. My true real natural Body, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, is there, together with whatsoever belongs to a true human Body, as Bones and Sinews.

* §. 44. Ipsa
se, nulla alia
re nisi sub-
stantant.
† §. 46. Nam
cum a com-
muni Homi-
num natura
maxime ab-
horreat hu-
manæ carnis
esca, &c.

|| §. 43.

You will say that notwithstanding all that I have said, it appears to be Bread still. That is true; for tho the Substance of the Bread be gone, yet the Figure, Colour, Smell, Taste, and all the other Qualitys and Conditions of the Bread remain, and hang * by Geometry. † And this I have most wisely order'd: For these Accidents of Bread disguise my Body, that it may the better go down, and that you may not be fill'd with horror at the eating of man's Flesh, which human Nature detests. And then besides, what wou'd the Infidel World say, if they saw you devouring your Lord, and eating him up in his own shape? And lastly, this way of receiving my Body, the more remote it is from your senses, the better it is for the Improvement of your Faith, and will make it the more meritorious. But you will wonder, especially now I am by in Person, and you have an opportunity of comparing this one same Body together, how this large Body which you see is at least five foot and a half long, and of a proportionable Bulk, can be contain'd at the same time within the compass of a small crumb of Bread, without any alteration at all; for it is the self-same Body within the Sacrament, as it is without. Now you may soon be satisfy'd in that Point: || For as I am now sitting at Table, I am in the condition of other Bodys which are in a place, which are always endu'd with Magnitude; but the other same I which am in the Sacrament, am not as in a place, but I am there as a Substance, and under that notion I am neither big nor little, for that belongs to Quantity, which is in another Predicament. For the Substance of the Bread is turn'd into my Substance, not into my Magnitude or Quantity. Now no body doubts but a Substance may be contain'd in a little room as well as in a great: For both the Substance of Air, and its whole nature, must be alike in a small portion of Air as in a greater, as also the whole nature of Water no less in a small Pitcher than in a River. Seeing therefore that my Body succeeds and comes in the place of the Substance of the Bread, you must acknowledg, That my Body is in the Sacrament plainly after the same manner, as the Substance of the Bread was before the Consecration. But to say, whether the Substance of the Bread was under a greater bulk, or under a less, was nothing at all to the thing.

Now

Now this Exposition of these words, *This is my Body*, is an Authentick and infallible Exposition; for it is the very Interpretation of them which the Romish Church delivers to all her Parish Priests in the Trent-Catechism, which was written on purpose for their Instruction: so that I have taken it from the Fountain-Head, and have it at the first hand. This they say is the meaning of those words of our Saviour, *This is my Body*; and therefore they make our Saviour to say all this: which is such a sense of his Words, as any considerate Christian would sooner die than put it upon them.

Is this the *Literal* sense, and proper meaning of an Organiz'd human Body, That it has no Magnitude, and is neither little nor big? That it is a solid, massy Bulk, consisting of Flesh and Blood, Bones and Sinews, and yet can be perceiv'd by no Sense; can neither be seen, felt, nor understood, but only believ'd? That it has a Head, Trunk, and four large Limbs, which may all be contain'd in the compass of a Pin's-head; which, according to the *Letter*, will not hold the fourth part of a little Finger-nail? Methinks these are all strange *Figures*, and the most harsh abuses of Speech imaginable. At this rate, the *Literal* sense of *East* is *West*, and the *Literal* sense of Noonday is Midnight. The *Private Spirit* never made such Expositions as these, neither would any man alive receive them, if he were not first practis'd upon, and his Belief widen'd for that purpose. We have an Instance of these preparatory Arts in the 42d Section, where the Pastors are charg'd, if they cannot otherwise avoid discoursing of these matters, *To remember in the first place that they fore-arm the Minds of the Faithful with that saying, Luke 1. 37. For with God nothing shall be impossible.*

This is neither better nor worse than one of their pious Frauds; for I am sure they know, that this Scripture is very deceitfully apply'd to the case of Transubstantiation. The Virgin Mary scrupl'd the possibility of her being a Mother, when she knew not a man, and ask'd *How this thing cou'd be?* Upon this the Angel told her, That the most High would employ his Power in it, and bring it to pass in an extraordinary way, to whom nothing was impossible: And the Omnipotence of God was a just ground of her Belief upon this occasion; who very well knew, That as God had made the first *Adam*, so if he pleas'd he cou'd make the second, without the concurrence of either Man or Woman; and as he had form'd *Eve* of her Husband's Rib, so he cou'd make the Messiah of the Substance of his Mother. So that tho this was besides the common course of Nature, yet God was not ty'd to that; for what he had done, he might do again. But what Argument is this to induce the Belief of Transubstantiation, which involves manifold Contradictions, which the Papists themselves acknowledg do not fall under the Divine Power? They themselves know full well that the Scripture says, *It is impossible for God to lye*, to whom nothing is impossible: and he who can do all things, cannot deny himself, because these are Contradictions to his own Being. And for the like reason, they know that he cannot make a Contradiction in any kind, because a Contradiction destroys it self, it has within it self an utter repugnance to Being. To make a thing to be, and not to be, at the same time, is such an inconsistency, that one part of it overthrows the other; and therefore it is no act of Possibility, but is an utter Impossibility, which is the Contradiction of all Power, even of that which is Infinite. Methinks St. *Austin* very well lays open the Reason, why an Almighty Power cannot make a Contradiction. *Contra Faustum* l. 26. c. 5. *Quisquis dicit, si Omnipotens est Deus, faciat ut qua facta sunt facta non fuerint, non videt hoc se dicere, si Omnipotens est, faciat ut ea que vera sunt, eo ipso quo vera sunt, falsa sint.* Whoever says, If God be Almighty, let him make those things which have been done, never to have been done, does not see that he says this in other words, If he be Almighty, let him make the things which are true, to be false, even wherein they are true. So that the Angel does not tell us in this Text, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation shall not be Impossible with God; he does not tell us that God can make a heap of Contradictions: No, for if all the Angels of Heaven (according to St. *Austin's* expression) shou'd say, *That a thing may be false, even wherein it is true*; so may what they say be, and consequently there is no believing of them, nor indeed of any Being in the World upon those terms. We are able therefore to bring their Expositions of Scripture upon this

this occasion, to this infallible Test. If they contain in them Things Contradictory and Impossible, then they are not the true sense and meaning of that Revelation which came from God; for if he cannot do an Impossibility, neither can he say it.

Sect. 43.

And just such as their Divinity Expositions are, so deceitful are their Philosophical Illustrations: As particularly, when they shew how the whole Body of Christ may be in the least particle, or crumbling of the Bread, by the two Instances of Air and Water. Their words are these: "The Substance of Bread is turn'd into the Substance of Christ, not into his Magnitude or Quantity. Now no body doubts but a Substance may be contain'd in a little room as well as in a great. For both the Substance of Air, and its whole Nature, must be alike in a small portion of Air, as in a greater; as also the whole Nature of Water, no less in a small Pitcher-full than in a River." In these words there are no less than two egregious Fallacys. For, 1. Their Instances are of homogeneous or similar Bodys; that is, such Bodys whose Parts are all alike, and which have the same Name and Nature: so every part of Air is Air, and every drop of Water is Water, and has the whole Nature of Water in it, as well as that aggregate Body of it, which is in the Ocean. But these Instances are very deceitfully apply'd to an heterogeneous dissimilar organiz'd Body, as a human Body is, which consists of Parts altogether unlike, and of different names and natures. For Bone is not Flesh, nor either of them Blood, nor any of them Brain. The Thumb-nail has not the whole Nature of the Eye, nor the Skull of the Cawl: The Hand is not the Heart, nor the Head the Foot. And as these Parts are of different natures, so there is a necessity of their keeping a considerable distance in their Situation, because there are many essential parts of the Body interpos'd betwixt them, which won'd otherwise be swallow'd up.

But 2^{dly}, Suppose a Human Body were no Compound, but as pure Element as Air or Water, yet the same Substance cou'd not be contain'd in a less room as well as in a greater. For the Air which is contain'd in a Bubble, is indeed a Substance of Air, but it is not the same Substance of Air as fills a Chamber, for it is not the hundredth part of that Substance. Nor is a Spoonful of Water the same Substance with a Hoghead of Water; for a Hoghead of Water cannot be contain'd in a Spoon, but is at least a thousand Spoonfuls: And in common Arithmetick, Units are not the same with Thousands. So that when they bring Air and Water, to prove that the same Substance may be contain'd in a little room as well as in a greater, their Proofs seem to partake of the nature of those two Elements; for they are as light as the one, and as weak as the other.

This tedious Digression, which has proceeded to an unexpected length, has not been wholly unprofitable; for I have again recover'd Materials out of the Infallible Exposition it self, to furnish my intended Demonstration, which I shall now re-assume. In the 31st Section we are told, That the real Body of Christ is in the Sacrament, and whatsoever belongs to the Nature of a Body, as Bones and Sinews: And that all the parts of the Body are contain'd in it; and in the smallest crumb of it, Sect. 42. From whence I gather, That if all the parts of the Body are contain'd in the smallest Crumb, then the Hand is, which is one of the parts of the Body; and if the whole Hand, then all the Fingers and Thumb, for they are parts of the Hand, which is part of the Body: and for the same reason, if all the Fingers, then all the Joints of those Fingers. Now I want but one Joint of any one Finger to manifest the Contradictions and Absurditys of this Doctrine; nay, the Bone in the first Joint of the fore-Finger will serve the turn. Now a Bone is a solid firm hard Substance, which, as to its use, serves to strengthen the Fabrick of the Body. And if it have not these Propertys, it is not a Bone, it is not the thing we speak of; for a fluid, loose, or soft Substance is not a Bone, neither will it serve for the above-mention'd use in the Body. Having therefore these Propertys, it consists of parts extended, impenetrable, and firmly join'd together, so that they cannot be separated without great force, and consequently they resist the Touch, and feel hard. Besides, this Bone in particular is of a Cylindrical Figure, an Inch long, and as much in compass round about. Now, if any of the parts of this

Bone

Bone be diminish'd, then all the parts of the Body are not there; for the parts of this Bone, which are parts of the Body, are not there: And if the parts be alter'd, the nature of the thing is destroy'd, and it is not a Bone.

So that with much ado we have gain'd a Bone intire, of an inch in magnitude, which according to the infallible Doctrine is contain'd in a crumb of the Sacrament of the compass of a Pin's-head. Now the fortieth part of this Bone is equal to that Crumb, as is manifest either by applying them to one another, or by their filling the same place; but the Crumb is greater than the whole Bone, for it contains it, and therefore the fortieth part of the Bone is greater than the whole Bone, which is impossible. So that the whole Bone cannot possibly be contain'd in that Crumb, but yet it is contain'd in it, which is a plain Contradiction, *Q. E. D.*

Corollary. Now if that Bone cannot be contain'd in such a Crumb of the Sacrament, much less can the whole Body, for that Bone is not the five hundredth part of the whole Body: which we have prov'd, by the Hypothesis, to be there full and intire, and in its just Dimensions; because *all the parts of the Body are there*, and consequently every part of every Member of the Body, which make up the Integrity of the whole. So that we have here at once about twenty thousand Contradictions, that is to say, so many Impossibilities.

Again, this is an everlasting Truth, *Those things which are equal to one and the same thing, are equal to one another*: Inasmuch that all the Syllogisms and Demonstrations in the World are in a manner built upon this Axiom: And whoever gainsays it, must assert one of these two things, either that one and the same thing is not the same; or else that what is equal, is not equal at the same time. Now a Body of five foot and a half long, and one foot Diameter, is equal to the natural Body of Christ; but a Crumb of bread less than a Pin's-head is equal to the self-same natural Body of Christ, for a Crumb of bread as big as a Pin's-head is bigger than the natural Body of Christ, and contains it: therefore a Crumb of bread less than a Pin's-head, is equal to a Body of five foot and a half long, and one foot Diameter.

Furthermore, by another undeniable Maxim, which says, *If of equal things you take as much from the one as from the other, the Remainders shall be equal.* Let us take the quantity of a Pin's-head from the Body of five foot and a half long, and there remains a Body of five foot, five inches, and two barley-corns, and somewhat better. Let us likewise take the same quantity of a Pin's-head from the Crumb of bread which is less than a Pin's-head, and there remains *Transubstantiation*, that is to say, something worse and less than nothing. Nevertheless, because they are the equal Remainders of equal Bodys, as much having been taken away from the one as from the other, I say that the remainder of the Crumb is equal to the remainder of the Body of five foot and a half long, which is clearly impossible. *Q. E. D.*

In this last Demonstration, for dispatch sake, I have been forc'd to do as the Papists do, and to lay Contradictions and Impossibilities upon heaps, because I hasten to proceed to other Heads: Only I must stay to demonstrate some gross Contradictions, which may be refer'd either to this head of *Quantity*, or to the former of *Place*.

Supposing Christ's natural Body to be five foot and a half long, and one foot Diameter; if the self-same Body be in another place at the same time, wherever it is, the self-same Body must have the self-same Dimensions, as we have * already prov'd: and consequently if it be in four several places at once, * *Coroll. 1.* it is but five foot and a half long, and at the same time it is four times five foot and a half long, which is two and twenty foot long. And so likewise it is but one foot Diameter, and at the same time it is four times one foot Diameter, which is four foot Diameter. And by the vast number of places in which the Papists have bestow'd it, it will be but five foot and a half long, and one foot Diameter; and at the same time it will be as big as Mount *Atlas*, or *Pen-Men-Maur*, or the *Pic of Teneriff*.

4. The fourth Head of Contradictions are those which relate to *Number*, in spite of which the Papists make ten thousand several Bodys to be but one and the same Body. Now as we have already prov'd it to be impossible for one and the same Body to be in several distant places, so we shall here demon-

strate

strate that it is equally impossible for what is in several distant places to be one and the same Body.

|| Trent. Cat. de
Euch. Sect. 30.
Admirabili In-
tegumento.

The Unity of a Body consists in this, *That it be undivided from it self, and divided from all other Bodys*; so that if a Body be an individual Body, that is to say, one and the same, it must be undivided from it self. Now if Christ's Body in the *Pix* at *Limestreet* be the same individual Body which is in the *Pix* at *St. James's*, or at *Posnanie* in the *Higher Poland*; then the self-same individual Body is both undivided from it self, and divided from it self. For in the former case the same individual Body is divided from it self, not only by two || *Wonderful Coverlets* of the Accidents of Bread, and by the less wonderful Covers of two *Pixes*, but also by the greatest part of two great Citys, *London* and *Westminster*. And in the latter case of *Posnanie* in *Poland*, it is divided from it self by vast Tracts of Land, and a very wide Sea; so that the self-same individual Body is undivided from it self, and yet at the same time is divided from it self, which is impossible. *Q. E. D.*

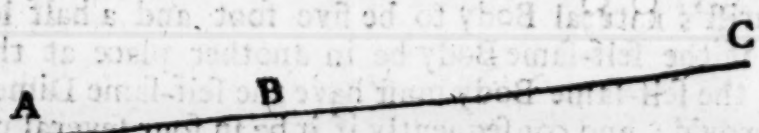
On the other hand, there is not any thing which more infallibly proves a real distinction betwixt Substances, and shews that they are diverse, and that the one is not the other, than this, *That the one can be without the other, and that they can exist separately and apart*. Now Christ's Body at *Limestreet* in *London*, and Christ's Body at *Posnanie* in *Poland*, do exist separately and apart; for it is a long and weary Pilgrimage to go from one to the other: And the one can be without the other; for that Body at *Posnanie* was many years without the other, and had rais'd thirty six Persons from the dead, long before the Body at *Limestreet* was made. And therefore these are distinct and diverse Bodys, that is to say, they are not the same Body; and yet they are the same Body, which is impossible. Which was to be demonstrated.

* Translated
into English,
and printed at
London, 1687.
† School of
the Eucharist,
p. 2, 4, 7, 8,
19, &c.
|| Preface to the
School of the
Euch. p. 22.

Corollary. It is to be suppos'd that when Antichrist comes with lying Wonders, no body will be so unmannerly as to call them lying Wonders; and therefore we shall not question the Truth of any one of those Miracles which are in the *School of the Eucharist* *: Only thus much we gather from the former Demonstration, That the good Example of the Birds, † Beasts, and Vermin, which worship'd God's Body in other Ages and Countryes, is wholly useless to us. For the God's Body which is at *Limestreet*, and *St. James's*, or any where hereabouts to be had, is not the same God's Body which those devout Creatures meekly worship'd, and which the stubborn black Horse || was forc'd to worship with one knee; and therefore we are not in a capacity of worshipping the same God's Body, if we wou'd.

5. The next Head of Contradictions is of those that arise from the consideration of that Space or Distance which is betwixt one Body and another, which is always measur'd by a streight Line drawn from a Point of the one Body to a Point of the other Body; which is the shortest Line that can be drawn betwixt them, and consequently there can be but one streight Line drawn betwixt the same Terms, which measures and describes the just distance of them. Now we are allow'd to draw a streight Line from any one Point to another.

We will therefore draw a streight Line from a Point of Christ's Body


at *St. James's* A, which shall touch the self-same Point of the same Body at *Wild-House* B, and be continu'd to a Point of the Monument in *Fishstreet* C. Now I say, That the Line B C, and the Line A B C are one and the same Line, because each of them is a streight Line drawn betwixt the self-same Terms, which can be but only one streight Line; and therefore the Line B C, and the Line A B C being one and the same Line, are equal: but the Line B C is only a part of the Line A B C, and consequently a Part is equal to the Whole, which is impossible. So likewise the distance from the Monument to *Wild-house*, and the distance from the Monument to *St. James's* House is all one, tho *St. James's* be half a mile farther off from it than the other, which is impossible. *Q. E. D.*

Corollary.

Corollary. From the same Demonstration it follows, that St. Peter's in Rome, Corpus Christi Church at Posnanie in Poland, and other the remotest places in the world, where God's Body is, are as near Neighbours to the Monument in Fishstreet as the very Mass-House in Limestreet is. And there is likewise an infinite variety of other Contradictions, which wou'd result from drawing but half a score right Lines from God's Body, which is in so many several Quarters, which shou'd all meet together in the point C. For this, as the meanest Mathematician easily understands, wou'd not only confound all Distances, but also overthrow all the everlasting Principles of Geometry.

6. The sixth Head of Contradictions is in reference to *Quality*, whereby a thing is render'd like or unlike to another. Now the self-same Body of Christ, by the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, has quite contrary Qualities, and is like and unlike to it self at the same time. For in Heaven it is in form of a human Body, and in Earth it is in form of Bread. And so again upon Earth, it has a Light about it like a Pillar of Fire which reaches up to Heaven, and it has not such a Light about it at the same time. It is stab'd by a Jew, and is red with Blood; and at the same time the same Body has no redness nor mark of Blood upon it: It is mark'd with a Crucifix, and at the same time it is not mark'd with a Crucifix, but with IHS and a Glory. Now these are manifest Contradictions; for the self-same thing is affirm'd and deny'd of the self-same Body at the self-same time.

But before I proceed to demonstrate the Contradictions and Impossibilities which fall under this head, lest I shou'd lose all my pains in so doing; it will be fit to consider a shuffling Answer which the Papists have invented to rid their hands of all Contradictions of this kind. It is in these words: *A Body in two places is equivalent to two Bodys; and therefore one may say of it the most opposite things without contradiction.* It seems this is no new Answer, but I confess it was new to me; for I first met with it in the late *Six Conferences concerning the Eucharist*, p. 89. where that very Learned and Judicious Author has answer'd it, and sent it home again with such Arguments *ad hominem*, as wou'd close the mouths of any body but Papists. But because it now also lies just cross my way, I ought likewise to say something to it.

1st. Therefore I say, That the Supposition of one Body in two places at once, is an utter Impossibility; which I have already demonstrated over and over again, both under the first Head of *Place*, and also under the fourth Head of *Number*. 2^{dly}. One Body equivalent to two, that is, one Body which to all intents and purposes is two, is a Contradiction in Terms: for at this rate One and One is Three, and Three and One is Five; and in short, there is a full end of all Arithmetick. 3^{dly}. It is not one Body in two places which will serve their turn, but it must be one Body in ten thousand places. For it must be one Body in form of Flesh, and the same Body in form of new Bread, and the same Body in form of old Bread, and the same Body in form of sweet Wine, and the same Body in form of sour Wine, and the same Body at Limestreet, at Rome, at Avignon; and in a word, in all places where a bit of Bread, a Mass-Priest, and a Slate are to be found together. And this, as I have already shewn, draws after it millions of millions of Contradictions. 4^{thly}. I say, That even the impossible Supposition of one Body in several places, does plainly deny all Difference and Dissimilitude in that Body; it allows indeed a Multiplication of the same Body, but it perfectly excludes any Alteration of it: For if it be alter'd, it is not the Body which was suppos'd to be multiply'd. For instance, I will suppose the same Pint of Milk to be in several places; but then it must be a Pint of Milk in all those places. For I cannot say, without contradiction, That the same Pint of Milk in another place is neither Pint, Half-pint, nor Spoonful, but perhaps an unperceivable Drop; for then it is a Pint, and not a Pint. And so likewise I cannot say, That it is a Pint of Milk in this place in the form of Milk, and in another place it is a Pint of Milk in form of *Aquavita*, having the Smell, Taste, Colour, and Virtues of *Aquavita*: In another place it is a Pint of Milk in the form of a Penful of Ink: And in another place it is a Pint of Milk in the form of a Bandelier-full of Gunpowder. For in these cases it is so alter'd that it is not Milk, it is not the thing we spoke of, and which we suppos'd

to be multiply'd: And at the same time tho it be neither Milk nor Measure, yet in the way of Transubstantiation it is still a very good Pint of Milk. These men had better let their Contradictions alone, than offer to assail them; for the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is perfectly of the nature of Birdlime, the more they stir and flutter in it, the faster they are caught.

So that this sorry Evasion being of the same piece with *Transubstantiation* it self, or rather an Aggravation of Contradiction; I shall set it aside as if it had never been, and proceed to my intended Demonstration.

We have not in our Minds a clearer and brighter first Principle than this is, *That nothing can be present and absent from the same Subject at the same time.* Now the Mark of IHS is present to Christ's Body, being imprinted upon it, and at the same time it is absent from the self-same Body, having instead of IHS a Crucifix upon it; and therefore the Mark of IHS is present to Christ's Body, and absent from the self-same Body at the same time, which is impossible. *Q. E. D.*

Again, God's Body in form of Bread is not God's Body in form of Wine: for if it were, then the Form of Bread, and the Form of Wine wou'd be the same; Wine wou'd be Bread, and Bread wou'd be Wine; that is to say, Bread wou'd not be Bread. But according to the Papists, God's Body in form of Bread is God's Body in form of Wine; that is to say, Bread is not Bread, which is impossible. Which was to be demonstrated.

7. The last Head of Contradictions arises from this part of the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; which says, "That when the Substances of Bread and Wine are abolish'd, and wholly cease to be, still all the Accidents of Bread and Wine are seen to remain without any Subject at all. For the Substances of Bread and Wine are departed and gone, and these Accidents cannot cleave and be united to the Body and Blood of Christ; and therefore it remains, that in a supernatural way they must subsist of themselves." This is their own infallible Doctrine: *Trid. Catech. de Euch. §. 25, & 44.* In which few words there is plenty of Contradictions.

For (1st) I shall demonstrate, That Accidents subsisting without a Subject, are Substances; that is to say, are not Accidents. And because the Papists themselves are sensible how absurd and impossible this Doctrine of theirs is, therefore they fly to Miracle and Omnipotency; which is no Refuge nor Sanctuary for Contradictions and Impossibilities, as we have already shewn.

Now the very Essence of an Accident is to subsist in a Subject, and the Essence of a Substance is to subsist of it self without a Subject: so that if God by his Omnipotency shou'd make an Accident to subsist of it self without a Subject, he wou'd give one and the same single thing two contrary Natures; whereby the same thing wou'd be what it is, and wou'd not be what it is: it wou'd subsist in a Subject, and not subsist in a Subject at the same time, which is impossible. *Q. E. D.*

I have been beholden to the great Philosopher *Des Cartes*, a man of their own Communion, for this Demonstration; and have gather'd it out of his Answer to the fourth and sixth Objections which were made against his Meditations, and out of his Notes upon the *Programma* of *Regius*, as I suppose. And it has been heretofore no small diversion to me, to see how the Papists stood on tip-toe, when that great Restorer of natural Knowledge appear'd, expecting whether his new Philosophy wou'd favour their old Transubstantiation. But when they found that he was not a man for substantial Accidents, and such kind of contradictory stuff, Dr. *Arnauld* of the *Sorbonne* puts it home to him in the fourth Objection, and tells him, That according to his Philosophy, the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Sacrament of the Altar cou'd not remain safe and sound; because it is of Faith, that the Accidents in the Sacrament remain without a Subject: whereas Monsieur *Cartes* seem'd to hold (for he had not as yet spoke out, nor express'd himself fully in that matter) That Accidents are inseparable from a Subject, and that a Body, and the Affections of that Body cou'd not subsist apart, nor be made to exist separately by an Infinite Power. Wherefore Monsieur *Arnauld* prays him to take great care, lest that while he is proving

a God, and the Immortality of the Soul, he shou'd endanger that Faith by which himself hop'd to be sav'd.

Here *Cartes* was beset; and forc'd to declare himself, and therefore was put upon his Invention, which was first to contrive a way of solving the Appearances of Bread and Wine which are in the Sacrament, by a new Hypothesis of the Superficies; which he told them he shou'd more fully make out in his *Physicks*. And when he had thus first entertain'd them with a new Hypothesis, then he shews them what impossible Absurditys real Accidents are, and how full of Repugnancy and Contradictions; and that these Contradictions made Men Dissenters from the Church of *Rome*. And then he concludes, That he hop'd the time wou'd come, when the Divines of that Church wou'd hiss the Doctrine of Real Accidents out of the World, as an unreasonable, incomprehensible, and unsafe Doctrine to be believ'd; and that his Superficies wou'd be embrac'd instead of it, as certain and indubitable. Monsieur *Arnault* was a Man of Sense, and therefore I doubt not but he let fall his Ears at this Answer. And the *Paris* Divines sent *Cartes* word afterwards in their six Objections, *Scruple* the 7th, That they did not understand his Superficies, and knew not what to make of it: And that tho he put them in hope that he wou'd make things plainer in his *Physicks*, yet they were inclin'd to believe they shou'd never part with their old Opinion concerning Accidents, for his new one.

But tho they were of this mind, yet we find a very considerable Person, *Epist. Vol. 2. Epist. 3.* who had better thoughts of it, and says, That he had happily shewn how the Inseparableness of Accidents from a Substance, might be consistent with the Sacrament of the Altar: but then he desires to know of *Cartes*, whether he had bethought himself of a way to reconcile another part of his Philosophy with Christ's Body, being without local Extension upon the Altar; for otherwise he wou'd expose to great peril the most sacred thing in the World. Upon this *Cartes* stops short, and does not care to give any thing more concerning the Sacrament under his Hand, but offers to meet him if he pleases, and to tell him his Conjectures by word of Mouth. *Ibid. Epist. 4.*

And was not this a pleasant way of proceeding? Which is in effect as if they had said, Sir, You are a great Philosopher of our own Church, you know we hold the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and you your self hope to be sav'd by it; see therefore what can be done for it, pray make it as reasonable as you can. It is like the comical Story of the Woman, who went to *Rabbi Buisy*, and prays him to make the eating of *Pig* as lawful as he can. And is it not likewise a neat turn, to quiet them with his Doctrine of the Superficies?

Now the Superficies is much such another *Rationale* of *Transubstantiation*, as the following Argument is a proof of Purgatory. If there be one whose Words are recorded in Scripture, who when he dy'd went neither to Heaven nor Hell; then there is such a middle-place as Purgatory. But there is one whose Words are recorded in Scripture, &c. *Ergo.* I have seen a Papist catch at this Syllogism very greedily, and as impatient to know who that one was, as if he wou'd presently have gone a converting with the Argument. But he was as blank when he was told that it was *Balaam's* Ass, as I fancy Dr. *Arnault* was, when he had read and consider'd the long Story of the Superficies; which, I believe, never yet drew one of those back again to the Church of *Rome*, whom *Cartes* complains the Doctrine of real Accidents drove away.

2. This Proposition, *Nihil nulla possunt esse Affectiones*, That Nothing cannot possibly have any Qualitys or Affections, is a necessary and everlasting Truth; and it is so clear and self-evident, that all Words and Discourse about it wou'd but darken the natural Light which is in it. Now a Wafer, or singing Cake, is an extended, round, white Substance, having all the Qualitys and Affections of Bread; and when this Substance * wholly ceases * *Self. 25.* to be, it is nothing. But if the Extension, Roundness, Whiteness, and *Uc omnino esse definant.* all the bready Qualitys of it still remain, then at the same time there do remain

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remain the Extension, the Roundness, the Whiteness, and the bready Qualitys or Affections of Nothing, which is impossible.

And that Nothing, whose Extension, Roundness, Whiteness and bready Qualitys are still remaining, is an extended, round, white and bready Nothing; which are so many Contradictions and Impossibilities. *Q. E. D.*

I see that I must either break off abruptly, or never have done. For I find the dividing of the Accidents of a Wafer into three Parts, which is one of the Operations perform'd in the Mass; and with the self-same division, the dividing of Christ's Body into three Wholes; and many more of their Absurditys coming thick into my Head: and therefore I shall here conclude in time.

All these Demonstrations hitherto are Arguments to all Mankind. I have now an Argument or two *ad Hominem*, or to the Papists themselves.

And 1. By their own infallible Doctrine of Concomitancy I shall demonstrate, That there has been never a God's Body, as they call it, upon Earth these 1600 Years; provided they will allow me, *First*, That Christ's Body has been in Heaven these 1600 Years. And *Secondly*, That Heaven and Earth are different and distant Places. I reckon that Infallibility her self, either has granted me both these *Postulata* already, in these following words, *Tr. Cat. de Euch. Sect. 37.* But it is plainly impossible, That the Body of Christ shou'd be in the Sacrament, by coming out of one place into another, for so it wou'd come to pass, that the Body of Christ wou'd be absent from its Seat in Heaven (Now I presume, if it has not been absent from its Seat in Heaven, to come and be present in the Sacrament these 1600 Years, it has not been absent upon any other account;) Or else I reckon that because the things demanded are very reasonable, she will not now stick at the granting of them. Now the Rule of Concomitancy is this, *Tr. Cat. de Euch. Sect. 33.* *Si enim duo aliqua inter se reipsa conjungantur, ubi unum sit, ibi alterum etiam esse necesse est.* If any two things are really join'd together, where the one is, there of necessity the other must be also: that is to say, it is impossible for it to be in any other Place. But no two things in the World are more really join'd together, than one and the same thing is with it self: and if it were not so, no one thing cou'd be really join'd to another. The Union of one and the same thing with it self, is the most close and intimate that can be, and consequently the Concomitancy must be the strictest. Nay the very Reason, Ground, Bottom, and Foundation of the Rule of Concomitancy is this, Because from two single things really join'd together, there results one Compound. The Union is the Cause of the Concomitancy, because it is impossible for the same thing to be divided from it self. So that if two things which are really join'd together, must always of necessity keep company together, then it is utterly impossible for one and the same thing to straggle from it self, but it must ever be its own individual Companion.

From these Premises I say, That Christ's Body having been in Heaven these 1600 Years, if in that space of time it has been upon Altars here on Earth, then it has not been at the same time where it has been, but it has broken the Rule of Concomitancy, and has strangely straggled from it self; which is impossible. *Q. E. D.*

I have study'd with all the application of Mind of which I am capable, to forecast in my thoughts what fault the Papists wou'd find with any of the former Reasonings, or with this last in particular, and cannot foresee nor imagine any. For tho we shou'd allow Christ's Body to be independent of Place, or to have any other impossible Prerogatives which they list to invent, yet still this Body must be subject to the Rule of Concomitancy, because they themselves are forc'd to make use of it, to prove the Body of Christ is under the Species of Wine, and the Blood of Christ is under the Species of Bread; and it is the only Proof they have. Now if of necessity the Body must be by Concomitancy where the Blood is, then by an antecedent Necessity the Blood must be where the Body is; for the Blood's being there, is the cause of the Body's being there likewise. So the Body being under the form of Bread, is the reason that the Blood is there also; but then to be sure the Body must be there. From whence, as I shew'd before, it undeniably follows,

That

That Christ's Body is only in Heaven, or else it is not where it is; which overthrows the very Foundation of Concomitancy.

2. The second Argument shall be drawn from their Form of Consecration, *For this is my Body*, being the words of our Saviour from whence they have wrested the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. Now to give them a Sampler of their own, and to shew them how they themselves interpret Scripture, I say it appears by the very words of Consecration, That the Priest himself is also transubstantiated; for the Body is Christ's, and yet the Priest says it is *My Body*, which cannot be true, unless the Priest and Christ be the same: And that cannot be, but by an admirable Change and Conversion, which the Holy Catholick Church has conveniently and properly nam'd Transubstantiation. No, say the Papists in great anger, There is no such Change at all, for the Priest only stands for Christ, and * sustains his Person; he only represents him in that Action, and is in Christ's stead: so that we are not to look upon the Priest in that solemn Action as Fryar John, but as Christ himself. And therefore the Priest may say with truth, this is *My Body*; tho' literally and properly, and in strictness of speech, it is *Christ's Body*, and not his. To which I again reply: Why this is the very Exposition of these words of our Saviour, for which the Hereticks have all along been burnt, namely, This Bread stands for my Body, and represents it in this Action; it is instead of my Body, and bears the Character of it; and you are not so much to consider it as Bread, but to look upon it as the Representation of my Body, which is given for you. And therefore with truth I can say it is *my Body*, tho' literally and properly, and in strictness of speech, it is *Bread*, and not *my Natural Body*.

* *Self. 82.*
Personam
suscipiunt
Personam
gerens.

Now therefore let the Papists give or take. Either the Bread is not transubstantiated; or if it be, by virtue of the self-same words the Priest is transubstantiated too. For every word in the Prolation with one breath, (except the word *Enim*, Sect. 20.) does operate as well as signify, and does what it says; and therefore if the word *Corpus* be effectual to make it a Body, then the word *Meum* makes it the Priest's Body. The Wit of Man cannot find an Evasion, and I doubt not but I am able to maintain this Argument against all the Popish Priests in the World. For all the Advantage lies clearly on the Protestant Side. For our Saviour visibly took Bread, and gave it the Office of representing him, and made it the Figure of his Body, as *Tertullian's* word is: He erected it as a standing Memorial to be us'd in Remembrance or Commemoration of him, as *St. Luke's* word is; To shew forth his Death till he come, as *St. Paul* speaks. 'Tis true, he commanded his Disciples to repeat the same Action, and to do as he had done: But where did he bid the Priest to personate him? That he gave us the Bread by the name of his Body, Three of the Four Gospels witness; and by the name of his Broken Body, *St. Paul* witnesses: But where did he ever say, That he himself wou'd always sacrifice himself by the Priest's Hands, and say, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, to the end of the World, by the Priest's Mouth? And further, There is not one word which the Papists have said in behalf of the Bread being transubstantiated, but holds as strongly for the Priest's being transubstantiated; which makes full as much for the Dignity and Majesty of the Sacrament, for the abasing and mortifying of our deceivable Senses, and for the improving and exalting our Faith, and making it meritorious, as the other can.

We have gain'd such considerable Advantages by the foregoing part of our Discourse, that now we are able to tread the Doctrine of Transubstantiation under our feet. For having demonstrated the Impossibility of it, we have thereby demonstrated, that tho' Heaven and Earth shou'd pass away, yet that Doctrine can never be true. We have likewise at the same time demonstrated the Protestant Exposition of those words of our Saviour, *This is my Body*, to be the true and necessary Sense of them; for either there is a Change of the Bread into the Body of Christ, or there is not: But because such a Change is an utter Impossibility, as we have abundantly prov'd, therefore it remains, That the Protestant Doctrine, which asserts there is no such Change, is demonstrably true. We have also made it as clear as the Light, that neither the Letter of a Divine Revelation, nor the Pretence of an Infinite Power, nor any thing in the

World

World can support one single Contradiction; because if one single Contradiction cou'd stand, it wou'd destroy the very Being of God himself, and deprive the World of the Adorable Object of all Religion. For supposing it *impossible for a Being of necessary Existence to exist*, which is but supposing a Contradiction, and we have immediately lost the Author of all Divine Revelation: And not only so, but the whole Universe likewise must presently sink into Nothing, or rather indeed it cou'd never have been at all.

But more particularly we shall find the Benefit of the former Demonstrations in the short remainder of our present Discourse; for they will add to what we have further to say against Transubstantiation all the Force and Strength which Demonstration can give. *Costerus* the Jesuit acknowledges (and I suppose all Papists with him) that *If the Bread be not chang'd into the Body of Christ, the Worship of the Host is gross Idolatry*. But we are past all *Ifs* and *Ands*, and have demonstrated that there can be no such change of the Bread into Christ's Body: And consequently we have demonstrated, that the Papists in worshipping of the Host, are guilty of gross Idolatry, and the best Friends they have in the World cannot free them from it. So likewise it can be no longer a Moot-point, or a disputable matter, whether it be criminal to call the Host their *Lord God, their Maker, their Former, and their Creator*; when we have demonstrated that it cannot be so, and that it is only a bit of Bread; and to affirm Bread to be a God, if it be not Blasphemy, it wants a name in our Language. In short, That can never be a Divine Mystery which is not in a possibility of being a Divine Truth: And consequently the *Mystery and Miraculousness of Transubstantiation*, which has been the old and dark Strong-hold of Popery, is utterly demolish'd: And the Papists having lost that shelter, not only all the Absurdities of their Belief concerning it will fall upon them with their whole weight, but also all their absurd Practices in reference to it, to which I shall now proceed.

II. The second general Head is of *Practical Absurdities*, by which I mean such unreasonable and unworthy Actions, as are done by the Papists in pursuance of their Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. And here I can by no means charge them with eating their Maker, or eating Man's Flesh, and drinking Man's Blood in the Sacrament: For I have shewn it to be impossible for them to do either of these. But yet because they intend and profess to do both, perhaps the guilt is no less than if they really did them. And the Absurdity of their Practice in this behalf, is very equally match'd with the Absurdity and Contradictionousness of their Belief. For as they hold the Sacrament to be the Natural Body of Christ, and yet say it is in several places at once, and is made at several times, and is in the form of Bread, whereby it appears to be not the Natural Body of Christ, but a piece of Bread; wherein they say and unsay at once: So likewise they worship and serve, and pray to that which I have demonstrated to be a bit of Bread, as if it were a God; and immediately they undo all that they have done, and treat him not at all like a God, but eat him up as if he were a bit of Bread. So also they say expressly, That the common Nature of Mankind abhors the eating of Man's Flesh, and drinking of Man's Blood; and yet they eat and drink that, of which they say they have greater assurance that it is Man's Flesh, and Man's Blood, than the Testimony of all their Senses can give them.

But omitting these things, and the great Indignity which is offer'd to our Blessed Saviour by such like Practices, I shall first take notice of their Idolatry in worshipping a piece of Bread as if it were God himself. And this Practice is unavoidable Idolatry, if the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* shou'd chance to be false: And if it be not false, then a thousand Millions of Contradictions must be all of them true. So that if the Apostles rent their Clothes, when the *Lycaonians* said that the *Gods were come down in the Likeness of Men*, and were going to give them Divine Honour; surely they wou'd hardly spare their Flesh, but rend that too, if they shou'd be shewn more than a hundred God-Almightys together in the *form of Bread*, and shou'd see Divine Worship paid to them: Especially, since the Apostles evangeliz'd Men to turn away from Idolatry to the Living God who made Heaven and Earth; if moreover the Papists shou'd plead Gospel for their

Idolatry, and say that they were evangeliz'd into it: I have often thought what St. Paul and Barnabas wou'd have said and done in that case. But what they then cry'd out and said to the *Lycanians*, *Sirs, why do ye these things? for we are Men of like Passions with you*; methinks the Host it self says as loud every day to the Papists: "*Sirs, why do ye these things? for I am no Object of Worship, but like another piece of Bread. I have all the Propertys, and am subject to all the Casualties of any other bit of Bread: For either I am presently eaten and swallow'd down as any other Bread is; or else if I be kept, I grow stale and mouldy. I am put into a Box for fear of Mischances; for if the Mouse gets me, I am gone. Alas! I am Bread, I am no God.*" Thus to my apprehension the Host it self continually cries out, and reasons with them. And Oh! wou'd to God that they wou'd consider to as good purpose as the *Lycanians* did! I shou'd be content to endure great Hardships to see that happy Day.

2. The Reproach which is done to our Saviour in the worshipping of the Host is intolerable. For wou'd it not be an unufferable Affront to the Majesty of earthly Princes, to take a Bundle of Rags, and place it in the Throne, and serve it upon the knee, and cry, *God save the King*, and treat it in every respect like a Crown'd Head; and to destroy every good Subject that wou'd not join in this contumelious Pageantry? And is it nothing for the Great God of Heaven to be us'd in a more reproachful manner? For I appeal to all Mankind, considering the infinite distance there is betwixt the Persons, whether it be not a less Scorn and Indignity to set up a King of Clouts than a Breaden God? A contemptible Crumb of Dough, which is kneaded, and bak'd, and cross'd, and mutter'd into the most High God, God over all, Blessed for evermore.

I might descend to many more particulars, and enlarge upon them; but this has already been done by learned hands, and therefore I shall only mention the following absurd Practice.

3. They imprint IHS upon their Idol, to fortify mens Imaginations, and to possess them with a belief, that it is really the Saviour of the World: whereas, by the vast number of better Christians than themselves, whom they have all along sacrific'd to it, one wou'd sooner take it to be *Moloch*. For in this small Kingdom there were more in number (and those Persons of whom the World was not worthy) who pass'd thro' the Fire upon the account of Transubstantiation, than for ought appears ever did to that ancient Abomination in all parts of the World.

And now, O ye Papists, I have discharg'd my Conscience; for it has troubled me that I had not long since laid these things plain and open before you: And if I knew how to incline you to consider them, I wou'd not think much to kneel down at your feet. But if you will not consider them with that Evenness of Mind which is always necessary to Conviction, but rather will consider them with that Prejudice and Indignation which shall put you upon contradicting, and objecting, and using all your Subtilties and Evasions; then I beg of you to do this thorowly, and spare me not. For I have written this Discourse only for the honour of God, and out of love to Truth, which never loses any thing by being try'd and examin'd, but still comes the brighter out of the fire. It is the Cause of God my Saviour who died for me; and I am willing to spend the remainder of my days in it, or lay down my Life for it, even which of the two he shall please.

And as for you, O ye Protestants, you have great reason to bless God, that you were born into the World since the Reformation; whereby you enjoy the Benefit of having God's own Book in your own vulgar Tongue: And thereby are taught to know God and his Creatures asunder, and have learnt to distinguish our Saviour Christ from his Sacraments, and to know your Maker from a Bit of Bread. Who have the Advantage of reading God's pure Word, without either *Romish* Comments or *Rhemish* Annotations, which overthrow the Text, Who are allow'd to see with your own Eyes, That if Scripture shou'd be so forc'd and wrested as the Papists have us'd it in this case, then we must all be *Anthropomorphites*, and either believe that God is of *Human Shape*, or else give him the Lye I know not how oft. For the Right Hand of God, and many other

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other Bodily Parts of him, are ten times oftner asserted in Scripture, than *This is my Body*. If the Papists say, That the Scripture in affirming that God is a Spirit, does sufficiently rectify all such blockish Mistakes; I say so too; And withal, that our Saviour has done abundantly more to prevent and foreclose the no less blameable Mistake concerning Transubstantiation. For after he had call'd the Cup his *Blood*, he afterwards again call'd it *the Fruit of the Vine*; and after his Resurrection it self, he gave his Disciples this Test to judge and discern his Body, and to know it by, *Luke 24. 39. Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is I my self; handle me and see me; for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as you see me have.* From whence we are bound to conclude, That where we cannot see Hands and Feet, where we cannot see and feel Flesh and Bones, where we cannot handle and see Christ's Body, there it is not he himself: Well may there be some Sign, or Token, or Memorial of his Body, but it cannot be *he Himself*. I shall not stand to enquire whether this be the Criterion to know Human Bodys from those Bodys which Angels heretofore assum'd; but we are sure that these are infallible Marks to know our Saviour's Body by, and that is all our present business.

But as for the Noise they have lately made about our Saviour's surprizing the Disciples, and entering into the Room, *when the Doors were shut*, there never was any thing more incongruous than the Sense which the Papists have put upon that Place, as if our Saviour had *pass'd thro the Doors*. For there were two things, as appears by the Scripture, which disturb'd the Disciples: First, That a Person shou'd come into the Room without knocking or giving them any warning, when they had made all fast, and kept themselves close for fear of the Jews: And the Second was, That he enter'd in such a manner as made them apprehend him to be a Spirit. Now how did ever Angels or Spirits enter into a Room, or St. Peter come out of Prison under the Conduct of an Angel, but by the Doors opening before them of their own accord, and shutting again after them? As in the case of all the Apostles, where the Officers found the Prison shut with all safety, *Acts 5. 23.* And I never yet heard or read of Angel or Spirit, which enter'd a Room thro Crannys or Key-holes, or thro Inch-boards. But let that be as it will, if our Saviour had enter'd in any such manner, It had absolutely overthrown the Criterion which he gave them at the same time to judge of his Body, and to demonstrate that he was not a Spirit. For common Sense wou'd have taught the Disciples to reply, "It is true indeed, whatever you are, Man or Spirit, that you have now a gross human Body, and we cannot deny it; but that, it seems, is only when you please, for you had not such a one a while ago, when you were pleas'd to come in at the Key-hole." Whereas there was nothing at all of this; but they knew and own'd him, and were glad to see the Lord. But to conclude; Is not this a very pertinent Proof of Transubstantiation, when the Doctrine of Transubstantiation asserts a thing quite contrary to the *passing thro doors*? For it asserts that our Saviour's Body is present in a Room, not by being translated, or by passing out of one place into another; but by being produc'd in all fresh places; and by being *within doors and without doors* at the same time.

In short, O my Protestant Countrymen, you see what infinite reason there is, that you shou'd for ever renounce Transubstantiation; for otherwise you owe your Saviour but little service, if you will not do him so much right as to say, *That he is not a Bit of Bread*. And there is the same reason that you shou'd renounce that Church, which employs her Infallibility in contradicting the plainest Scripture; in defacing those eternal Truths, which are deeply engraven upon the Minds of men; and in doing the utmost dishonour to our Saviour, by making his Religion the Scorn of Mankind. What *Averroes* said, is recorded by Papists, and is too well known to be repeated upon this occasion; and for my part, I shou'd take it much more patiently to be forc'd to believe that I my self am a Wafer, than that a Wafer is my God. So that the Blessed Martyrs were infinitely in the right, to stake down their Lives against this Doctrine; for they plainly saw that it was not a Moot-point, or a disputable matter (against which no wise man wou'd lay down a hair of his head) but they saw that it was a bottomless Pit of Falshood, which

swallows up all the Natural and Theological Veritys which ever came from God. And he that dies for so much important Truth, most certainly dies for God. You see moreover that the Papists are very ill holpen up, when they have recourse to the Almighty Power of God, to support their Doctrine of Transubstantiation: For, for that very reason, because he is Almighty, he is infinitely remov'd from the Imperfection of making an endless number of impossible Falshoods. Shall that Nonsense and Inconsistency, which it is a very great Imperfection even in imperfect Creatures to affirm, be a Perfection to make? No certainly: for the farther any thing is from Truth, the farther it is from God.

Lastly, You see what a thick and palpable Darkness overspreads the Papacy, when you, thro the undeserv'd distinguishing Mercy of God, have Light in your Dwellings. You are happy, if you know your own Happiness, and are not weary of it. While you have the Light, rejoice in it, and walk worthy of it; and then God will continue it to you and your Posterity. *So be it.*

THIS Paper was first made publick in April 1688. and afterwards procur'd a Licence in July; but that cou'd not secure it from being seiz'd by Order from the Lord Sunderland. The Union of Protestants (which may easily be attain'd by laying aside those indifferent things which have made all our Differences, and by pulling down the Partition-Wall) is a Blessing which I doubt not is reserv'd to compleat the Happiness of this present Reign.

The Way to Peace amongst all **PROTESTANTS.**

Being a Letter of Reconciliation sent by Bishop
Ridley to Bishop Hooper.

With some Observations upon it.

To my Dear Brother, and Reverend Fellow-Elder in Christ,
John Hooper, Grace and Peace.

MY dearly belov'd Brother, and Fellow-Elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your Captivity and mine I have not saluted you by my Letters: whereas I do indeed confess I have receiv'd from you (such was your Gentleness) two Letters at sundry times; but yet at such time as I cou'd not be suffer'd to write unto you again; or if I might, yet I was in doubt how my Letters might safely come unto your hands. But now my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your Works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thorowly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the Grounds and substantial Points of our Religion, against the which the World so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past in certain By-matters and Circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom and my Simplicity I grant hath a little jarr'd, each of us following the abundance of his own Sense and Judgment: Now I say, be you assur'd that even with my whole heart, God is my witness,

Book of Martirs, 3d Vol. in Hooper's Life.

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in the Bowels of Christ I love you in the Truth, and for the Truth's sake, which abideth in us, and as I am persuaded shall by the Grace of God abide in us for evermore.

And because the World (as I perceive, Brother) ceaseth not to play his Pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible Force and Power, exalting high things against the Knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lies, let us shake those high Altitudes, not with carnal but with spiritual Weapons: and withal, Brother, let us prepare our selves to the Day of our Dissolution, by the which after the short time of this bodily Affliction, by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in Glory.

I pray you, Brother, salute in my name your Reverend Fellow-Prisoner and Venerable Father, D. C. by whom since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly Constancy in confessing the Truth of the Gospel, I have conceiv'd great Consolation in the Lord. For the Integrity and Uprightness of that Man, his Gravity and Innocency all *England* I think hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, who in such abundance of Iniquity and decay of all Godliness, hath given unto us in his reverend Old Age such a Witness for the Truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the Godliness and constant Confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a Man, will not move to acknowledg and confess the Truth of God.

I do not now, Brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I stand much in fear lest your Letters shou'd be intercepted before they come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your Constancy and Fortitude in the Lord's Quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice (as I cou'd) sent unto you my mind, touching the matters which in your Letters you requir'd to know. Neither can I yet, Brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many Perils, whereby I am earnestly mov'd to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your Works, especially under the Title of your own Name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth shou'd be stop'd hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the Prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many.

Farewel in the Lord, my most dear Brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's Cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose Prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend my self and my Fellow-Prisoners and Captives in the Lord. And yet once again and for ever in Christ, my most dear Brother, farewel.

N. RIDLEY.

Some Observations upon the foregoing Letter.

THERE cannot be a more blessed Work than to reconcile Protestants with Protestants: And a man wou'd think it shou'd be one of the easiest, because we are able to say to them as *Moses* did to the two contending Israelites, *Sirs, ye are Brethren, why do ye wrong one to another?* The meekest Man in all the earth took another course with the *Egyptian*; but as for Brethren, he endeavour'd all he cou'd to set them at one again. This is the only Design of this Paper, in laying before you the Example of two Protestant Bishops, who wisely found out the way to put a happy period to their unhappy Differences; which are the very same as have been since taken up by Protestants again, after these two good men had laid them down. In the strugglings of *Ridley* and *Hooper* there were two Nations struggling in the womb, the two great Partys of the Conformists and Nonconformists: For those two Persons differ'd about the self-same matters as we do now; the Establish'd Ceremonys, the Dress of Religion, certain By-matters and Circumstances of Religion, which *Hooper* the Nonconformist cou'd not comply with;

with; and Ridley the Conformist, because they were according to Law, insisted upon and wou'd not abate. So that in their old Differences, we find exactly our present Distemper: and therefore in their Cure why shou'd we not also find our own Remedy? It is an approv'd Remedy; it cur'd men, who thought one another superstitious and imposing on one side, and stubborn and intolerably wilful on the other side: and yet they came afterwards to believe one another to be, as they really were, upright men on both sides. We have the Receipt in these few, but very weighty words: *But now, my dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your Works, which I have but superficially seen, That we thoroughly agree, and wholly consent together, in those things which are the Grounds and Substantial Points of our Religion, against the which the World so furiously rageth in these our days; howsoever in time past in certain By-matters and Circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom and my Simplicity, I grant, hath a little jarr'd, each of us following the abundance of his own Sense and Judgment: Now, I say, be you assur'd, that even with my whole Heart (God is my Witness) in the Bowels of Christ, I love you in the Truth, and for the Truths-sake, which abideth in us, and as I am persuaded, shall by the Grace of God, abide in us evermore.*

1. The first Consideration which arises from these words, is this, That the Agreement there is amongst Protestants in the main matters of Religion, shou'd drown and extinguish all lesser Differences. The Substance of Religion which we all hold, ought in reason to have more Power to unite us, than all the By-matters and Circumstances in the World to divide us. We have all but one Rule of Faith and Life, one Standard of Religious Worship and Practice, which is one and the same *English Bible*: And why shou'd we not then be all of one Heart, and one Soul? We all believe that there is one God, in opposition to Polytheism. We believe that this God is to be worship'd in Spirit and in Truth, in contradiction to Idolatry; without absurdly changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God into the similitude of a corruptible man, or worshipping our Maker in form of Bread. We all believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose Names we are Baptiz'd. We are all taught of God to hope for everlasting Happiness through the Merits of our only Redeemer, Mediator and Advocate, *Jesus Christ* the Righteous, who is the Author of eternal Salvation to all those that obey him. We are all assur'd by many infallible Proofs, that he is gone to Heaven to prepare a place for all his true Disciples and Followers; and that the Heavens must contain him till the Resurrection of all things: And that therefore he is not in any Tabernacles or Boxes here below. We all know assuredly, That *in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted of him*: And that the Church of God is not now limited or confin'd to the *Jewish*, or to any other Nation, but is truly Catholick and Universal.

We all believe the two future States of Heaven and Hell, for the Just and for the Unjust; and neither our Books nor we know of any other, nor indeed of any other sorts of men; nor do any of us believe one word concerning the profitableness of singing for a Soul. In a word, since we are so Unanimous in these and many other the most important Truths, shall we fall out about Ceremonys, about Postures and Gestures, about the Hat and the Knee, about dignifying and distinguishing Titles, about Garbs or Garments, about Modes and Fashions, and things which are very far from the Heart, and many removes from the essence of Religion; nay things which are Shadows and mere Nothings, when compar'd with the substantial matters wherein we are agreed? Nay further, I am bold to say we are all agreed in these inferior matters of Difference, and do not know it. For instance, we are all agreed, That kneeling at the Sacrament is no part of our Saviour's Institution; That kneeling at the most solemn Prayer that can be, is a fitting posture; That kneeling to the Sacrament in imitation of, or compliance with the Popish Worship of the Host, is absolutely unlawful: And yet we squabble, and will not hear one another out, nor understand one anothers meanings; but scuffle in the dark, when we are all Friends, and all of a side. In short, all the distance that is betwixt *English* Protestants, is occasion'd by little mistakes and misapprehensions about very little matters; and still they are so much of one mind

mind even as to the matters in difference, that if the Conformists thought the Ceremonys Popish, they wou'd immediately turn Nonconformists; and if the Nonconformists did not apprehend them to be Popish, they wou'd never have scrupled them. So that they both of them plainly mean the same thing.

Hooper scrupl'd the Ceremonys under the Notion of Popish Ceremonys, and under the same Notion *Ridley* wou'd have hated and rejected them. *Ridley* and the other Bishops said in defence of these Ceremonys, *That they were small matters, and that the Fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves; and that Hooper ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffer'd.* And wou'd not *Hooper* himself have pass'd the same censure upon his own refusal, if he had had just the same Thoughts and Opinion of the Ceremonys? But he thought that a thing in it self indifferent, but having been abus'd to superstitious purposes, cou'd never after be look'd upon as indifferent and innocent; but it must of necessity pass under that Notion which common and corrupt usage had put upon it, and that it was spoil'd, and had utterly lost its former indifferency. For which reason, *these Rites and Ceremonys were offensive to his Conscience*, as the King's Grant of Dispensation to him, by the Advice of the Privy-Council, expresses it: But *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, and the other Bishops, were so far determin'd by the Laws, that the King's Dispensation granted to *Hooper* upon that occasion, did not take place. Nor indeed was it in their power to admit of it. For seeing these Ceremonys were enacted by Law, and fasten'd to the Freehold, and made part of the Establishment by the universal Consent of the Nation, nothing but the same Consent cou'd take them away again.

Now therefore the nicety of the Difference betwixt them lay in this, Whether Ceremonys which were once indifferent, and had been abus'd, might be so purg'd and freed from those abuses, as to become indifferent, and fit to be us'd again: And this is a matter so hard to be decided, that it must be weigh'd in Gold Scales, where the very least moment, or even a man's breath on the one side or the other, is sufficient to incline the Ballance. For it is with indifferent Ceremonys and Usages, as it is with Words that are indifferent. The word Ballad was once an innocent and inoffensive word, and signified as the word Song now does; but the word has been abus'd, and apply'd to the meanest and most rascally sort of Poetry, and has for a long time been taken in the worser sense. Suppose therefore that some men desirous to speak as their Fore-fathers did, who call'd the Book of *Canticles* the Ballad of Ballads, as reverently as we now call it the Song of Songs, shou'd say, That if Authority require that this word be us'd in its first and best sense, why then we may very lawfully and reverently use it in that sense again: Because tho the word has been abus'd and ill apply'd, yet the fault is in the abuse of the word, and not in the word it self. And further, that no man ought to refuse to read that Book upon this trifling account, because he dislikes the Title of it: Especially when a publick Law has declar'd, That the self-same is meant by this Title, as if the Dissenter had had the wording of it himself to his own mind, and had call'd it the Hymn of Hymns. This is the Substance of what *Cranmer* and *Ridley* said.

On the other hand, *Hooper's* Opinion in this suppos'd Case was, That tho our Fore-fathers had us'd that word very religiously and reverently, yet it had since been so corrupted and abus'd, and had contracted so profane a signification, as no Authority cou'd wholly deface, nor cou'd so inoffensively restore the word to be us'd in religious matters any more, but that sober men wou'd always have a prejudice against it. This was *Hooper's* very sense. He look'd upon the reform'd Ceremonys as still retaining a Popish Tang. But tho a Law cou'd not cure his prejudices, yet that, and the higher considerations of doing Service in the Church of God, did quite over-rule them: And he wisely comply'd with those Ceremonys, which if he had been left to his choice, he wou'd rather have forborn.

Obj. But now it may here be objected and said, That when the Clergy of the Church of *England* saw that good Men, and great Men, and the glorious Martyrs of Jesus Christ, such as *Hooper* was, were offended with these Ceremonys they,

they shou'd have us'd their utmost endeavours to have gotten them discharg'd by Law, as they were impos'd by Law, and not have left them to remain as a standing Offence, and a perpetual Stumbling-block to all others of *Hooper's* mind.

Answ. This I confess wou'd be an Objection very much to the prejudice of the Church of *England*, cou'd it not be truly said, that the Clergy did heartily endeavour to procure this case to scrupulous Consciences, tho without success. For all the eminent Bishops of *England* in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, *Sandys*, *Jewel*, *Horn*, *Grindal*, &c. nay Dr. *Cox* himself, Bishop of *Ely*, who was the unhappy occasion of all the Troubles at *Frankfort*, did all of them labour in this Point, and cou'd not prevail with the Queen to consent to it: As appears by a heap of their Letters written to *Bullinger* at *Zurick*, which is still extant. Which being the remains of those great Men, and so noble a monument of the Church of *England's* Moderation, is very well worth the going thither to see it. But to conclude, make your best and your worst of Ceremonys, they are, in *Ridley's* words, but circumstances and by-matters; they are of as little concern to Religion as those Meats, which occasion'd differences in the Apostles times; and they will not bear the charges of falling out about them, either on the one side, or on the other.

2. Especially in the second place, when Protestants have somewhat else to do: or, as *Ridley's* words are, *When the World so furiously rageth against the Grounds, and substantial Points of our Religion in these our days.* Is it a time for us to trouble our heads with trivial matters, when the Sum and Substance of our Religion is in danger, and lies at stake? For have we not lately seen the Papists, laying the Axe to the root of the Tree, and the weekly Representer in particular for several weeks successively ridiculing and making sport with our Bible, which is the whole Religion of Protestants? Does he not say that we have as many Bibles as Heads? that is to say, That the Bible it self, without their Infallible blind Guides to interpret it, is wholly useles to us, and every man may as well frame a several Religion of his own head, without any Bible at all? Truly, if it be so useles and so mischievous a Book as that Author has represented it, it is not enough to put a stop to the printing of it, but it ought also to be prohibited. Do they not daily make scandalous Attempts and Efforts against the Trinity of Divine Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose Names we are baptiz'd, only because we will not also believe in a Breaden God Almighty? In a word, Do they not endeavour to wrest all Scripture out of our hands, because they will not receive their false and forg'd Traditions with the same Reverence? Our present business therefore is, to lay a dead hold upon our Bibles, and to maintain the Grounds and substantial Points of our Religion, and to suffer Circumstances and By-matters to take their chance. Nay, we ought to be in a readiness to compound for our Bibles, and rather to throw all Ceremonys over-board with our own hands, than to endanger the Protestant Religion, which is infinitely more valuable. And tho I know not of any one Ceremony injoin'd in the Church of *England*, which is not both Lawful and Primitive, and of an elder date than Popery; yet because the slovenly Papists have spit in them, and by corrupting and abusing them, have endeavour'd to make them their own; I hope the Wisdom of the Nation may hereafter suffer them to be so, especially since all wise Protestants know very well, that we can live without them. And we ought the rather to be of this mind, because

3. In the third place, we see to what terms of Abasement and Accommodation that blessed Martyr *Ridley* has descended in these following words: *Howsoever in time past in certain By-matters and Circumstances of Religion, your Wisdom and my Simplicity I grant have a little jarr'd, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment.* *Ridley* had sincerely follow'd his own great Judgment in this Dispute; but because that Judgment had jarr'd with the Sense of as hearty a Protestant as himself, therefore you see how he undervalues, and disparages it. We take it for granted that *Hooper* was in the wrong, and *Ridley* was in the right, especially because a Law had interpos'd in that behalf: And yet here it seems, that the two contending Partys were *Hooper's* Wisdom, and *Ridley's* Simplicity. A little of these good mens inward

ward Humility, Self-denial, and mutual Condescension would heal our Breaches, and compose our Differences much better than the most strict outward Uniformity could. For as the Levelling Project, to make all mens Estates equal, was only a Project for a day, for on the morrow all their Estates would have been unequal again; whereas Contentment is that standing Leveller, which makes every man always as rich as another. In like manner, a perfect Uniformity in these Circumstances and By-matters, if it were possible to be attain'd, would not last long; because, as our Church in the Preface to the Common Prayer has wisely observ'd, Rites and Ceremonys are in their own nature alterable and changeable according to the variety of times and occasions, whereby they are expedient at one time, and inexpedient at another; for which reason even the same persons, and those the most constant, and the farthest from Newfangledness, cannot be always alike satisfy'd with them: much more they will be sure to be lik'd and dislik'd by several persons according to their several apprehensions, who must needs differ about them. But on the other hand, a mutual Forbearance, Allowance, and Condescension in these By-matters, would supply the place of a perfect Uniformity to the World's End.

I must confess, that *Ridley* says these diminishing things of himself in the absence of the Law, and after those Statutes which enacted these Ceremonys were repeal'd, and swallow'd up by Popery: For which cause, it cannot be expected that the Church of *England* Clergy should make such Condescensions at this time as *Ridley* did, and acknowledg their Simplicity in adhering to the Laws. For Laws, while they are in being, have as much reverence due to them as is owing to the Wisdom of the whole Community by which they were made; and nothing else but our preingagements to God himself can excuse us from the observance of them: And therefore it cannot be requir'd by the Dissenters, in order to that good understanding which I here endeavour, and humbly beg there may be amongst Protestants, that we should arraign five and twenty Statute-Laws at once, under the infamous name of *Draconica*; especially when by one of the *Draconica*, the whole Church of *England*, and under the covert of the Church of *England*, all the Dissenters in *England* hold their Bibles. No; every wise and considerate Protestant, tho he be not a Nonconformist, would rather lie under all the penaltys of Nonconformity, than go about to weaken or undermine the Authority of the Laws, which secure to all Protestants their Lives, and a much greater thing than their Lives, I mean the Bible, which I say again, is the whole Religion of all Protestants. As for By-matters, they may very well be left where the Law for Ages immemorial has lodg'd all the Concerns of the *English* Church, which is in a lawful *English* Parliament; whose necessary Power in that behalf appears by the very Writ, both of their Summons, and of their due Election: And in the mean time, notwithstanding our different Apprehensions about them, let us love one another. And, which brings me to the next Point.

4. Let us mutually express our selves in the following words of the blessed Martyr: Now I say be you assur'd, that even with my whole Heart, God is my Witness, in the Bowels of *Jesus Christ* I love you in the Truth, and for the Truth's sake which abideth in us, and as I am perswaded shall by the Grace of God abide in us for evermore. Men that love the Truth for God's sake, will love other men for the Truth's sake, which they all profess. And I am satisfied that this was the reason which mov'd *Hooper* to seek first to *Ridley*, and to prevent him with two kind Letters before his present Answer was written. For when *Hooper* saw *Ridley* stand up as a Champion for the Protestant Religion (whom perhaps formerly in their unhappy Differences he mistook to be Popishly affected, or not far enough remov'd from Popery, and too zealous for the Rags of *Rome*) Then he writes, then he sends to him, then he consults him as an Oracle. And I have often thought, that it must needs produce the same Effect in all the sincere and hearty Protestants amongst the Dissenters at this time, when they see the Clergy of the Church of *England*, of whom they have had jealous thoughts lest they were too much Popishly inclin'd, now approving themselves the Defenders and Champions of the Protestant Cause: Which they have maintain'd with that Clearness and

Strength,

Strength, that I doubt not but the Downfall of Rome will hereafter be dated from the time of their Writing. Blessed be God (must the Dissenters needs say) That we are so happily disappointed, and that the Clergy are not the men we took them to be, but as hearty Protestants as our selves; and from this day forward we will own and love them as such.

The Priests and Jesuits, and their Assistants, have not indeed been wanting to revive and heighten the Dissenters old Jealousys in this kind, by several late Pamphlets, pretending a wonderful Agreement betwixt the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and that new Popery, as they are pleas'd to call it, is as bad as the Old, or the Daughter as bad as the Mother: but this is Transubstantiation-work, and goes on but heavily, for men will not be out-fac'd out of their senses. And therefore they have almost drop'd the Cry of Popery, to set up a louder one of Persecution, and to lay all the miseries which the Nonconformists have suffer'd to our Charge. But if any body take my Right Hand, and therewith bruise and batter my Left; is my Right Hand therefore become a Persecutor? Is it not really persecuted as well as the other? And has it not a fellow-feeling and a share of the Misery? And suppose my Left Hand were so over-rul'd and manag'd against the Right, wou'd it not be the same thing? And wou'd not the Design be the same; to mischief, and maim, and disable both Hands? And after all, wou'd it not be the addition of a Scorn to this misery, to accuse or blame either of my Hands in this case for hurting its Fellow? To conclude, There is a Charm in the very naming of Hooper and Ridley, to reconcile Nonconformists and Conformists together; for their Differences were alike, their Misunderstandings of one another were alike, and the Papists in Queen Mary's time lov'd those two Protestants, and us'd them just alike. For they were both of them so long and miserably tormented in the Flames, that they were forc'd to mingle with their Prayers to God these doleful out-crys to the people. *For God's Love (good people) let me have more Fire, says Hooper. For Christ's sake let the Fire come unto me, says Ridley.* Our Enemy made no difference between those that are for Ceremonys, and those that are not: And why shou'd we? Let us rather bless God for the concurring Testimony which these good men, tho of different Persuasions in By-matters, have both given to the Protestant Religion; and let us exceedingly value and prize the free use of our Bibles, which was the purchase of theirs and of the other Martyrs Blood: According to what Latimer said when he and Ridley were both at the Stake; *Be of good Comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the Man: We shall this day light such a Candle by God's Grace in England, as (I trust) shall never be put out.* And we ought to unite and hold close together, that we may shield and cover this Light from the open Mouths and impetuous Blafts of those who seek to extinguish it, and to leave us and our Posterity in the old Egyptian Darkness.

5. For this is the End, and the very Use and Advantage we are to make of our Reconciliation, and of our mutual Love and Agreement, as we see by the following words of this blessed Martyr: *And because the World (as I perceive, Brother) ceaseth not to play his Pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour with all possible Force and Power, exalting high things against the knowledg of God; let us join hands together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our Power, as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high Altitudes, not with Carnal but with Spiritual Weapons.* The World conspires, as Bishop Ridley's word is, against Christ our Saviour; Regulars and Seculars, Jesuits and Dominicans, Pope's-men, Council-men and Blackloists, and the rest of that Colluvies and Gallimaufry of Sects, of which the Church of Rome is made up, do lay aside all the Differences of their several Factions, and are Confederate against God's true Religion: And tho none of them are agreed in other things, yet they are all for extirpating the pestilent Northern Heresy, and they all march steddily to the same end. And shall not we all then unite in our utmost endeavours to support that true Faith, which they call Heresy? Shall we not be as ready to give one another the right hand of Fellowship, and to join hands together in Christ, and for him, when we see how unanimous they are in banding together against him? This is the common Concern of us all. For every man has a Soul to be sav'd, one as well as another; Every man has an equal share in the Bible; Every

man's stake is the same; and they have all a like Interest in their Religion. And therefore all the Protestants of England ought to be as one man in the maintenance and support of their Religion; and every single man in his several capacity, and according to his power, ought to be as zealous for it, as if he alone were to support it; and he should say to our Saviour, and hold to that Saying, *The all men forsake thee, yet will not I.* By this means under God we shall preserve our Religion, and transmit it to our Posterity at a far cheaper rate, than *Ridley* and *Hooper*, and the rest of the blessed Martyrs convey'd it down to us. By this means we shall disengage our selves from all needless Disputes about Meats and Drinks, and such like things, in which the Kingdom of God does not consist; and from those Skirmishings which have detain'd us too much upon the frontiers of Religion, without cultivating and reaping the fruits of that Holy Land, in that measure as we ought to have done. By this means our private Animositys and groundless Quarrels will cease, when we all engage in the *Lord's Quarrel*, as *Bishop Ridley* calls it in this Letter. In a word, by this means we shall be freed from Divisions, and those unhappy Diversions which have been purposely given us, to hinder us from exercising the Power of Godliness; both in reforming our own Lives, and in putting a stop to that deluge of Impiety, which has been let into the Nation in order to make way for Popery: And we shall have an opportunity to employ our united Endeavours in promoting the Gospel, to the high Honour of God, and to the Edifying of his Church, and the Salvation of our Souls.

As for the Contents of the latter part of this Letter, they are of so nice and difficult Application, that a man may be soon thought to say either too much or too little of them; for which reason I shall wholly forbear, and leave them to the Reader as they are, that he may make his own Observations.

I Wrote the following Paper upon occasion of the issuing out of Writs in September 1688. for the calling of a Parliament. It was publish'd and dispers'd by the Care, and at the Charge of my good Friend Mr. Gee.

A LETTER from a Freeholder to the rest of the Freeholders of ENGLAND, and all Others who have Votes in the Choice of Parliament-Men:

THE Power of Parliaments, when they are duly elected and rightly conven'd, is so very great, that every man who has any share in the Choice of them, has the weight of his whole Country lying upon him. For it is possible for my single Vote to determine the Election of that Parliament-Man, whose single Vote in the Parliament-house may either save or sink the Nation.

And therefore it behoves men, who thus dispose both of themselves and their Posterity, and of their whole Country at once, to see that they put all these into safe hands, and to be as well advis'd, and as much in earnest when they chuse Persons to serve in Parliament, as they usually are when they make their last Will and Testament. And if this is to be done at all times, certainly a much greater proportion of care is to be taken at this time, when endeavours have been us'd not only to forestal the Freedom of Elections, but even

even the Freedom of Voting in the Parliament-House ; and when the Countys of *England* have been practis'd upon, to be made Repealers, both within doors and without : They have been catechis'd, Whether, if they were Parliament-Men, they wou'd repeal the *Penal Laws* and *Tests* ? or if they were not chosen themselves, whether they wou'd chuse such as wou'd ? And as for the *Boroughs*, they have been all of them sifted to the very *Bran*. Nay, some Persons have been wrought upon to enter into Engagements beforehand, in their Addresses: But, I suppose, those that have been so very forward to promise themselves to serve a turn, will never be thought worthy to serve in Parliament. And at the same time others have made it their business, to render these Laws very odious to the People, and to hoot them out of the world ; they have been arraign'd and condemn'd as *Draconicks*, as *Bloody and Cannibal Laws*, as *Ungodly Laws*, and contrary to the Divine Principle of *Liberty of Conscience*, without the common Justice of ever being heard : For the Preambles of these Laws, which shew the Justice and Equity of them, and the Reasonableness both of their birth and continuance, have been industriously suppress'd. This indeed has been a very bold Adventure ; for I am apt to think there is much truth in my Lord Chief Justice *Coke's* Observation, *That never any Subject wrestled a Fall with the Laws of England, but they always broke his neck* : And therefore, according to the Courtesy of *England*, I shall wish Friend *Will. Pen*, and his Fellow-Gamesters, a good Deliverance. But while they have taken the liberty to say their pleasure of these Laws, which are now in as full force as the day they were made, I shall take leave, according to the Duty of a Loyal Subject (with whom the Laws of the Land are a Principle, and who must always own the Majesty and Authority of them, till such time as they are repeal'd) to offer a few words in their behalf, which shall be dictated by nothing but *Law, Truth, and Justice* ; and if every word that I say do not appear to be such, I am content to have this whole Paper go for nothing, and be as if it had never been written.

And to proceed the more clearly and distinctly, I shall first consider the *Penal Laws* (as they are call'd) against the Papists, and the two *Tests* ; and secondly, the *Penal Laws* against the Dissenters.

In the Statute 3 *Jac. 1. c. 1.* which is read every fifth of *November* in our Churches, the Laws made against the Papists in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and the Confirmation of them 1 *Jac.* (against which the great outcry is now made, and for the sake of which they then attempted to blow up both the King and Parliament) are call'd *Necessary and Religious Laws* : And if I prove them to be undoubtedly such, I hope the good People of *England* will look upon them a hundred times, before they part with them once.

First, The Laws against Papists are *Religious Laws* : they are Laws made for the high honour of God, as well as for the common profit of the Realm ; which is the old Title of all our Laws, and is the right end to which all Laws ought to be directed. But why are they call'd *Penal Laws* ; for have not all Laws a *Penalty* annex'd to them ? Perhaps they mean, that these are Laws which interpose in matters indifferent, such as the eating of *Flesh* on *Fridays*. But is not Popery *malum in se* ? Is Idolatry an evil only by chance, and by happening to be prohibited ? Is not the Worship of a *Waser-God*, an *Onion-God*, or a *Redcloth-God*, an unspeakable dishonour to the God of Heaven, in all places, in every season of the year, every day of the week, and all hours of the day ? Is it not eternally evil ? The Laws of the Land found Idolatry prohibited to their hands by the written Law of God, and even antecedently to that, it was prohibited by the Law of Nature ; and no Municipal Laws in the world need desire a better warrant : And therefore to repeal the Laws made against the *Idol of the Mass*, *Agnus Dei's*, *Blocks-Almighty*, and the infinite Idolatry which is interwoven with Popery, is neither more nor less, than to undertake to repeal the Laws of God.

Secondly, The Laws made against the Seminary Priests, and Romish Missioners, are *Religious Laws*, because they are made in pursuance of *St. John's* Precept, *Epist. 2. 10, 11. If there come any unto you, and bring not this Doctrine, receive him not into your House, neither bid him God-speed : for he that biddeth him God-speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.* But do the Seminarys come and bring

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us the true Doctrine of Christ? Do they not bring us another Gospel? As Dr. *Sherlock* hath unanswerably prov'd upon them, in the second part of his *Preservative against Popery*. And therefore as every private man is bound to shut his doors against these Deceivers and Seducers, by the same reason every Community is bound to expel and drive them out of the Nation. And I think there were never such errant Cheats and Impostors as these are: for they, by their Masses, can fetch Souls out of Purgatory, of their own putting in; they can forgive Sins, in the Sacrament of Confession; they can drive away the Devil, with Crosses and Holy Water; and they can make their God, in the Sacrament. *They make a God! they make a Pudding!*

Again, The Laws against the Papists are call'd *Necessary Laws*, and so they were to the very Being of the Kingdom. In the first of *Elizabeth*, the *Oath of Supremacy* was absolutely necessary to throw off the Romish Yoke, and that intolerable Usurpation and Tyranny of the Pope, under which both the Crown and Kingdom were perfect Slaves: And afterwards, was it not time to look after the Pope's Chaplains, when they had rais'd a Rebellion in the *North*, and he himself had sent a Bull to depose the Queen, and to absolve her Subjects from their Allegiance? I do not mention the continual Minings of the Queen of *Scots*, in which the Popish Party always join'd with her; and besides, had drawn in several deluded Protestants: which made a great jest to the Papists, That Protestants shou'd be so infatuated, as to assist the Queen of *Scots* to their own destruction; as is to be seen in Sir *Francis Walsingham's* Letter, written from *Paris*, still extant in the *Cabala of Letters*. In short, it appears by the Preambles of all those Statutes in that Reign, that the Kingdom made every one of them in their own defence, and to preserve themselves from Popish Attempts, and that the Nation had utterly perish'd without them.

And then in King *James's* time, did not the Papists dig under the very Pillars of the Kingdom, and make them shake, when they laid so many Barrels of Gunpowder under the Parliament-House? And was it not high time to tie their hands by the Acts which follow'd; by more closely confining them to their Houses, by banishing them ten miles from *London*, by disabling them not only from all Offices, but from being in any publick Employment; and by thorowly disarming them, so much as from wearing a Sword?

And was it not time, in the late King's Reign, to put new life into the disabling Acts, by the addition of a *Test*, when several Papists had gotten the greatest Offices of the Kingdom into their hands? And then as for the *Parliament Test*, that the Papists may not be our *Law-givers*, besides the perpetual Necessity of such a Law, the Occasion of it is still upon record, both in mens minds, and very largely in the Journal of the House of Lords, and in other inferiour Courts of Record.

And if these were all of them *Necessary Laws* when they were made, they are become ten times more necessary since: for now Popery has beset us, and hem'd us in on every side. We have an Army of Priests and Jesuits, the true Fore-runners of Antichrist, in the bowels of the Kingdom: nay, the Pope himself, who by several Laws is declar'd to be the publick Enemy of the Kingdom, has arriv'd some time since in his *Nuncio*, and is now compassing the Land in his four Apostolick Vicars. And therefore to talk of repealing Laws, when we want the strictest execution of them, is talk only fit for *Bedlam*: and that Nation which repeals *Necessary Laws*, when it has the greatest necessity for them, must be concluded to be weary of its own life, and is *Felo de se*.

Secondly, I am now come to the *Penal Laws* against the Dissenters; concerning which I shall say the less, because God's time for the repealing of those Laws is not yet come. For if they cannot be repeal'd in this juncture of time, unless the Dissenters put forth their hands to the setting up of Idolatry, then they cannot be repeal'd: and therefore what cannot be now done without manifest Impiety, must even be let alone till it can be done with a good Conscience. As for the good Disposition which is in the Conformists, to repeal those Laws with the first opportunity, that is always to be measur'd by Actions rather than Words; and therefore I shall give them an instance of

it in the Bill for repealing the 35th of Elizabeth, which pass'd both Houses of a Church-of-England Parliament, tho the Dissenters lost the benefit of that Pledg and Earnest of their Good-will, and are not ignorant which way it was lost. But in the mean time, if our Dissenting Brethren shou'd endeavour to get these Laws repeal'd, by parting on their side with the Laws against Popery, then I beg of them to mind the plain English of such Conditions. It is as if the Dissenters shou'd say thus to the Papists: *Do you help us to set up Meeting-Houses, and we will do as much for your Mass-Houses: Let but the pure Worship of God be establish'd without Ceremonys, and we are content that Idolatry it self shall go share and share-like in the same Establishment: To make a Magna Charta which shall be equal, let Christ have his part in it, and Antichrist shall be sure to have his. Our business is, to receive the Sacrament without kneeling; and upon that condition, we will join in the making of Laws, which shall authorize the deifying a bit of Bread, the worshipping of it for a God, the praying to it, Idolatry, Blasphemy, any thing in the world for them that like it.*

Now is not this a very fair Speech, and does it not well become the mouths of Protestants! I wou'd fain press this home upon the Consciences, both of those Dissenters who are hir'd, and of those who are not hir'd, to labour the Repeal of our Laws. Do you fear the Informers more than God? Will you, for the sake of your little Conveniencys, do the greatest Evils, which you know to be such? You know in your very hearts, that the Worship of Images, Crosses, and of a Wafer, is abominable Idolatry; that the Half-Communion is Sacrilege; and that many other points of Popery are blasphemous Fables: And will you set up this for one of your Religions, as by Law establish'd? Will you do all that hands can do, entail Idolatry upon the Nation, not only *Removendo prohibens*, as Divines distinguish, by pulling down the Laws which hinder it; but also *Promovendo adjuvans*, by making a perpetual *Magna Charta* for it? The Laws and Constitution of a Country do denominate that Country: if *Atheism* were authoriz'd by Law, this wou'd be an *Atheistical Nation*; and if *Idolatry* be set up by Law, it is an *Idolatrous Nation*: and all that have any hand in it, make it the Sin of the Nation, as well as their own. Think therefore of these things in time, before you have involv'd both your selves and your Country in a miserable estate; and remember poor *Francis Spira*, who went against Light.

But Secondly, There is just as much Prudence as Conscience in these Proceedings: for by repealing the Laws against Popery, you reverse the Outlawrys, and take off those legal Disabilitys which the Papists now lie under, and which have hitherto ty'd their hands from destroying Hereticks. When Papists shall be right Justices and Sheriffs, and not Counterfeits; when they shall be *probi & legales homines*, and pass muster in Law; when they shall be both our legal Judges and our lawful Jurys; and when Protestants shall come to be try'd by their Country, that is to say, by their twelve Popish Godfathers: they may easily know what sort of Blessing they are to expect. The Papists want nothing but these Advantages to make a fair riddance of all Protestants; for we see by several of their late Pamphlets, that if any thing be said against Popery, they have a great dexterity in laying it Treason. Now this is a civil way of answering Arguments; for which we are bound to thank them, because it so plainly discovers what they wou'd be at, if it were in their power. But how comes it to be Treason, to speak against a Religion which is it self High Treason, and is proscrib'd by so many Laws? Why, their Medlum is this, That Popery is the King's Religion; and therefore, by an Innuendo, what is said against that, is meant against him. But is there any Law of England, that Popery shall be the King's Religion? Or is it declar'd by any Law, that Popery either is or can be his Religion? On the other hand, we are enabled by an Act in this very Reign, to pronounce Popery to be a false Religion, and to assert the Religion which is now profess'd in the Church of England, and establish'd by the Laws of this Realm, to be the true Christian Religion. [Act for building St. Ann's Church, p. 133.] But these Gentlemen, it seems, are for hanging men without Law, or against Law, or any how; and therefore we thank them again, for being thus plain with us beforehand. Now if they be thus insolent, when they are so very obnoxious

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obnoxious themselves, and have halters about their own necks; with what a Rod of Iron will they rule us, when they are our masters? What havock will they then make of the Nation, when we already see *Magdalen-College*, which was lately a flourishing *Society of Protestants*, now made a *Den of Jesuits*; and that done too in such a way, as shakes all the Property in *England*? Or who can be safe after our Laws are repeal'd, when endeavours have been lately us'd, to extract *Sedition* even out of Prayers and Tears; and the Bishops humble Petition was threaten'd to be made a *Treasonable Libel*?

But here the Dissenters have a plausible excuse for themselves; for say they, We have now an opportunity of getting the Laws which are against us repeal'd, which is clear gain. And as for our refusing to repeal the Laws against Popery, there is nothing gotten by that, either to us or any body else; for they are already as good as repeal'd by the *Dispensing Power*: and therefore such Discourse as this, only advises us to stand in our own light, without doing any good to the Nation at all; for there will be Popish Justices, Sheriffs, Judges and Jurys, whether we will or no; for whatsoever we refuse to do, the *Dispensing Power* will supply.

To which I answer, Do you keep your hands off from repealing the Laws, let who will contravene or transgress them; for then you are free from the Blood of all men, you have no share in the guilt of those mischiefs which befall your Country, which wou'd sooner or later be a heavy burden and a dead weight upon the Conscience of any Protestant. But besides, let the Laws alone, and they will defend both themselves and us too: for if the Law says, That a Papist shall not nor cannot have an Office, then he shall not nor cannot; for who can speak louder than the Laws?

As for a *Dispensing Power*, inherent in the King, which can set aside as many Laws of the Land as he pleases, and suspend the Force and Obligation of them (which has been lately held forth by many false and unlawful Pamphlets) the Dissenters know very well, that there is *no such thing*. But that no body may pretend Ignorance, I shall here prove, in very few words, That by the establish'd Laws of the Land the King cannot have such a *Dispensing Power*, unless dispensing with the Laws, and executing the Laws, be the same thing; and unless both keeping the Laws himself, and causing them to be kept by all others, be the *English* of dispensing with them. For in the Statute of *Provisors*, 25 *Edw. 3. c. 25.* we have this laid down for Law, That the King is bound to execute those Statutes which are unrepeal'd, and to cause them to be kept as the Law of this Realm. The words are these (speaking of a Statute made in the time of *Edward the First*) *Which Statute holdeth always his Force, and was never defeated or annul'd in any point. And by so much our Sovereign Lord the King is bound by his Oath to do the same to be kept as the Law of this Realm, altho by Sufferance and Negligence it hath since been attempted to the contrary.* So that the *Coronation-Oath* and the *Dispensing Power* are here by King *Edward the Third*, and his Parliament, declar'd to be utterly inconsistent. Now the *Coronation-Oath* is a fundamental Law of this Kingdom, for it is antecedent to the Oath of Allegiance. Accordingly if you look upon the *Coronation-Oath* in the Parliament-Roll, 1 *H. 4.* you shall there find, that in the third Branch of it, the King grants and promises upon his Oath, *That the Laws shall be kept and protected by him, secundum vires suas, to the utmost of his power*; and therefore he has no Power left him to dispense withal.

By which it appears, that those men are the wretched Enemys both of the King and Kingdom, who wou'd fain persuade the King, that he has this *Dispensing Power*; because therein they endeavour to persuade him, that Perjury is his Prerogative. Heretofore, in *Tresilian's* time, some of the Oracles of the Law were consulted, Whether it cou'd stand with the Law of the Kingdom, that the King might obviate and withstand the Ordinances concerning the King and the Kingdom, which were made in the last Parliament, by the Peers and Commons of the Realm, with the King's assent, tho (as the Courtiers said) forc'd in that behalf? And they made answer, That the King might annul such Ordinances, and change them at his pleasure into a better fashion, because he was *above* the Laws. *Knighton*, Col. 2693. Now this was very false Law, as those Judges found afterwards to their cost; and it

it was grounded on the worst Reason that could be. For they must needs know from all their Books, and from the *Mirror* in particular, p. 282. That the first and sovereign *Legem* of the Law (that is, the chief Contrariety and Repugnancy to it) is for the King to be above the Law, whereas he ought to be subject to it, as is contained in his Oath. Neither could they be ignorant of that Argument which the Peers used, to shew the Absurdity of such a Supposition; it is recorded in the *Annals of Barron*, set forth as I take it, by Mr. *Obadiah Walker*. *Si Rex est super Legem, unde est Rex? nam Rex Anglia est Electus? Si Rex est super Legem, tunc Rex est sine Legem. What! is the King of England an Outlaw? And as for the words of Bracton, they were too plain either to need a Comment or Translation; *Rex habet Superiorem Deum, item Legem per quam factus est Rex, item Curiam suam, scil. Comites & Barones*. As likewise those other words of his, *Ubi Voluntas imperat & non Lex, ibi non est Rex*. Where he makes it the very Essence of our King to govern according to Law.*

Having therefore shewn, that the Laws are always in full force till they are revok'd by the same Authority which made them, and that all Persons whatsoever are bound to the Laws, and that the Laws themselves were never in bondage to any man; we know from thence, what we are to conclude concerning those Papists, who pretend to be in Office in defiance to the Laws. We had once a mischievous distinction of Sheriffs *de Jure*, and Sheriffs *de Facto*; but those who pretend to be in Office without taking the Test, are no Officers either in Right or in Fact: for the 25 Car. 2. says, That their Offices are *ipso facto* void; and then those Officers are *ipso facto* no Officers, and can do us no more hurt than if they were under-ground: and therefore we need not trouble our heads about them, tho they may in all likelihood fall under the Care and Consideration of a Parliament.

After all, some Persons may possibly be so far deluded, as to think there is somewhat of Equity in the Toleration of Papists, and that it is the Christian Rule, *Of doing as one would be done by*. Now for any Papist to plead this Rule of Equity himself, or any body else in his behalf, is just as if a Highway-man shou'd thus urge it upon his Judg: *My Lord, if you hang me, you break the Golden Rule; for I am sure you are not willing to be so serv'd your self, nor to hang with me*. Now the Equity of the Judg in this case does not lie, either in forbearing to punish the Offender, or in hanging with him for Company; but in being content to submit to the same Law, if he himself shou'd commit the same Crime. And so are we willing to lie under all the penal Laws, whenever we turn Papists: And therefore no body can tax us with want of Equity; because we do no otherways to the Papists, than we are willing to be done by, in the same case. But it may be said, that our Conscience does not serve us to be Papists, tho theirs does. Neither does the Judg's Conscience serve him to rob, tho it seems the Highway-man's did; and therefore take heed of *Liberty of Conscience*. Still it may be further reply'd, That this is properly a judicial Cause, because Robbery is a Breach of the Peace and of Property, and therefore ought to be punish'd: whereas the Worship and Service of God according to a man's Conscience, tho it be amiss, yet it ought not to be punish'd by human Laws, but is to be reserv'd to the Judgment of God alone, who is Lord of Conscience.

Now this is the new Doctrine which I shall prove to be false, by positive and expresse Scripture. For Job says, Chap. 31. Ver. 28. That if his Heart had been secretly persuaded, and he had thereupon kiss'd his hand to the Sun or Moon, *This were an Iniquity to be punish'd by the Judg*, because he had therein ly'd against the God above. So that tho a man's Heart and Conscience lead him to Idolatry, yet Job tells us, this is inditable; it is *Avon Pelili*, a judicial Crime, and as punishable by human Laws, as Adultery with another man's Wife is, as you have it in the same Phrase in the eleventh Verse of the same Chapter.

The second Instance of a punishable Conscience in the Service of God, is that which our Saviour gives us, John 16. 2. *Tea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doth God service*. Now I wou'd fain know, whether such a Conscience as this ought not to be restrain'd and punish'd; and whether it be

Sacrilege

Sacrilege for human Laws to controul Conscience, I mean such a one as kills and murders for God's sake? And I ask again, whether there be no Consciences of this stamp now in the world? And whether there has not been a Holy Inquisition, Religious Crusades, and Meritorious Massacres, to extirpate Hereticks, and abundance of this Divine Service in the Church of Rome? Whether they have not offer'd up whole Hecatombs of these Sacrifices in most Countrys? And whether a neighbouring Prince has not been highly extol'd, and had all his most Christian Titles double-gilt with the Flatterys of his Clergy, for the late Merit of his Religious Service in this kind? And therefore if men will do things in order, let them first fend for a Breed of *Irish Wolves*, and give them *English Libertys*; let them dig down their Walls, and let in the Sea; let them begin with some of these *Preliminaries*, before they think of repealing the Laws against Popery, and of letting loose such Consciences as these upon us.

To conclude therefore; It highly concerns you, in the Choice of Parliament-men, to decline all those men, who are willing to consent to so *Great* and so *Fatal a Revolution*, as the Repeal of so many Laws at once; which wou'd plainly expose the Protestant Religion to be swallow'd up. You want men like their Ancestors, who had the Courage and Resolution to declare in Parliament, *Nolumus Leges Anglia mutari*: We will not have the Laws of England alter'd. Chuse such as will not betray the great Trust you repose in them. The Writ for Elections says, That you empower your Representatives: Tell them therefore for what you empower them; for the Maintenance and Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and of our good Laws, and not for their Destruction. And when you have done this, and taken all the care you can, you have done your Dutys: And I have nothing more to add, but, *GOD speed your Elections.*

I shall finish this Collection with the two following *Practical Discourses*; the one of which was ready for the Press, and the other printed, according to the Date which they bear.

Religion founded upon a Rock: Or, The Eternal Obligations of being Religious. In a Discourse upon 1 TIM. I. 17.

1 TIM. I. 17.

Now to the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only Wise God, be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE more we know of God, the better we shall understand our Duty to him, and the more wisely and willingly we shall serve him. We shall see what Right and Title he has to our Obedience, and that Religion is a very just and reasonable Service. And to this end are the Attributes of God so often display'd in Scripture, that we might know, as far as is possible, that great God with whom we have to do, and might read our

our own Duty in the description of his Greatness and Authority. And accordingly this present Doxology consists of these two parts :

I. It tells us what God is; *The King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only Wise God.*

II. It tells us what thereupon belongs to him; *Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*

I. It tells us what God is; *The King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only Wise God.*

And, *First*, He is a *King*; which word expresses his Sovereignty and Dominion, his Authority and Right of governing the World. And to this he has an undeniable Title upon these two accounts especially: *1st*, By the Excellency of his Nature: And, *2dly*, By Right of Creation.

1st. By the Excellency of his Nature. It was a Distinction of *Aristotle's*, that there was *Natura Dominus*, and *Natura Servus*; That some men were naturally made for Command, and others for Subjection and Obedience. And there is some truth in this; for wise and valiant Men seem to be born for Rule, they have in them the Spirit of Government, and are best fitted and enabled for the Direction and Protection of others. Yet this signifies but little amongst men, because there is not so great a difference betwixt man and man in this point, as to be the foundation of Dominion and Sovereignty. For whether natural Endowments are equally distributed amongst men or no, it is all one as to this purpose, if men think they are. If there were really an Inequality of Souls, what signifies it, if men will not allow any such thing, and are so well satisfy'd with their own, that amongst all their extravagant Desires, they never wish for any other? But if there were *confessedly* some higher Being in the world, more excellent and perfect in his Nature, far exceeding and surpassing all Mankind both in Wisdom and Power, the Reason of Mankind wou'd teach them to submit to such a Being. The very Acknowledgment of a superior Wisdom and Power in any Person does engage men to be directed by that Wisdom, and to yield to that Power; otherwise it is plain they prefer their own Understanding and their own Strength before his. So that if we had no other relation to God, and were not his Creatures, yet the Dignity and Excellency of his Nature, the Perfections and Advantages of his Condition, do set him above all Mankind, and make him King of the World.

But, *2dly*, That which contains in it all the Titles to Sovereignty and Dominion which can possibly be, is the *Right of Creation*. Because he made the World, therefore it ought to be govern'd by him. This is so plain a Consequence, that it can hardly be made plainer. To say that God created the World, is to say, he is Owner and Proprietor of it in the highest sense that can be; but to say it is not under his government, and at his disposal, is to say, it is none of his. So that a lawless Creature is a plain contradiction; it is affirming and denying, saying a thing, and then unsaying it again. Creation is the true Fountain and Original of Dominion, and God's Sovereignty is both as large and as antient as the Beings of things themselves. Inheritance, Gift, Purchase, Conquest, these are Titles which suppose the thing to have had a former Owner; but he who produces a thing of new, gives himself such a Title as cannot be deriv'd from another. He is the first Founder of a new Right, which no one cou'd have before him. And then as for deriv'd Titles, they are all bounded and limited. He who claims by Inheritance, has right to no more than what his Ancestors had right to; Deed of Gift is what the Donor pleas'd; Purchase is only buying out another man's Title, let that be to more or less; and Conquest it self gives a man right only to the Bodys and Goods of those poor Captives whom he has subdu'd, or to those Conditions to which they have submitted to gain their Freedom. But God is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, of Body and Soul; his Dominion is without bounds or limits, without condition or reservation. The Clay in the hands of the Potter is but a faint resemblance of that Sovereignty and Dominion which God has over his Creatures. The Potter indeed has power over the Clay, to mould and fashion it as he pleases, to put it into what shape

and figure he likes best; but he cannot make the Clay, that is no part of his Workmanship: nor can he unmake it; he may dash it in pieces, but he cannot strike it out of being. Now what a vast difference is there betwixt this and Creation; where things arise out of nothing, and do not only put on a new shape, but the Mass and Lump are wholly new? We cannot fully conceive the manner of Creation, because it is the Act of Infinite Power, the notion and comprehension of which cannot enter a finite and limited Understanding: Much less can we imagine it how a whole World shou'd suddenly grow up without either Seed or Plant, and at one call be brought into being; I say, we cannot imagine this, because there is nothing like this done in the course of Nature, from whence we derive all the Images of things. But now this that follows we do understand concerning the Creation, because we are able to prove it.

1. That there is such a thing as Creation; that is, things come into being which were not in being before. And we need not go far for a proof of this, we know it by our own inward Experience. We all now, blessed be God, have reasonable Souls and Understandings, Time was when we had them not; for we cannot pretend to have been from everlasting: alas, we know that we are but of yesterday, we can reckon our Age, and others can do it for us.

2. Whoever made us, was able to make us: He must have as great Perfections as we; for no one can give more than he has; nay he must have greater Perfections than we, or else we might as well have made our selves. Now here is the advantage which Religion has against Atheism. We assign a sufficient cause of our Being, but they one which is impotent and utterly insufficient. We say that we had our Souls from the Father of Spirits, our Reason and Understanding from a wise, intelligent and powerful Being; we name a likely Author, one that is every way sufficient and able to produce such Creatures as we are. But now whence do they derive their Original? Why truly they fetch Life from dead Matter, and Sense from a Stone. They say we are the Off-spring of a Material World; whereas Sense and Reason are not Matter, nor the Result of it, nor within the Sphere of it, nor have any affinity with it. There is as wide a distance betwixt Thought and a piece of Matter, as there is betwixt Heaven and Earth. For that which can move no other-wise than as it is mov'd, and must needs go which way it is driven (which is the known condition of Matter) can never be capable of judging and determining, of chusing or refusing; it can never be the Subject of Wisdom or Folly, of Vertue or Vice. So that when men ascribe the Reason and Understanding, the inward Freedom and Liberty of mens Minds to the power of Matter, which is not only void of these Excellencies and Perfections, but likewise for ever incapable of them, they commit the same Absurdity in Reasoning, as he would be guilty of in Arithmetick, who in Subtraction of Numbers shou'd take twenty out of ten. As an excellent Person has already observ'd, their Philosophy is as senseless as an Idolater's Prayer which he makes to a wooden Image, as the Wisdom of Solomon describes it, *ch. 13. v. 18. For Health he calleth upon that which is weak, for Life prayeth to that which is dead, for Aid humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help, and for a good Journey, asketh of that which cannot set a Foot forward.* And so do they: they derive a Being which is full of Desires, from that which is listless, and has none at all; they derive Consciousness, or a power of redoubling our Thoughts, and knowing that we do know, from that which has no Knowledge at all; and in a word, they derive Liberty from Necessity. Whereas he that considers the Perfections of a reasonable Soul, and concludes from thence, that they were produc'd by some more perfect Being, argues as reasonably as he that seeing excellent pieces of Painting, does judg they were done by some able Master.

3. We not only know, that there is such a thing as Creation, and by the Works themselves are led to the knowledge of the Maker; but likewise we understand in the third place, what the Condition of Creatures is. Our Being is precarious and dependent; and we lay at the mercy of our great Creator, whether we shou'd be, or not be, any thing at all. We are the Product of mere Bounty and Goodness: For wherein can a man be profitable to his Ma-

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ker? Our Being is a great Benefit, and consequently we have contracted such a Debt to the Divine Goodness, as we are not able to pay. Our Condition is a State of Subjection; May not God do what he will with his own? We were subject to his Will and Pleasure when he was pleas'd to make us, and why shall we not be so now? Are we the freer by having more Obligations laid upon us? We were born under his Protection, and within his Allegiance; nor if we wou'd turn Fugitives, can we make any escape out of his Territorys. We can think of nothing, but it teaches us to acknowledg him for our Lord, and King, and Governor: We can turn our selves no way, but we find what a firm Title, and a manifold Right he has to our Obedience, and the Obedience and Subjection of all his Creatures. And thus much for the first thing, the Right he has to this Dominion.

Secondly, Let us now consider the *Exercise* of this Dominion, and how he governs the World. David has join'd both of them together, *Psal. 89. 11. The Heavens are thine, the Earth also is thine; as for the World and the Fulness thereof, thou hast founded them. The North and the South thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy Name. Thou hast a mighty Arm; strong is thy Hand, and high is thy right Hand. Justice and Judgment are the Habitation of thy Throne; Mercy and Truth shall go before thy Face.* He made all things, and he gives them Laws sutable to that Nature which he has given them. From men he expects a reasonable Service, and that they shou'd live up to the Excellency of their Nature. He commands them nothing but what is for their Good, and tends to their Perfection: And the Sum of what he forbids them is, That they wou'd not spoil their Souls, nor deface that Image of his which he has imprinted upon them. To contain us in our Duty, he has shewn us the evil Consequences of Sin beforehand, that men might not know them at their own cost; and he has justly threaten'd that Sinners shall eat the Fruit of their doings: And on the other hand, he has graciously promis'd to reward our Obedience, tho it be impossible for us to merit. He exacts no hard Services from us, for he knows whereof we are made, he remembers that we are but Dust. If we will confess the Truth, we must needs say that his Yoke is easy; and if we find it otherwise in the course of our Lives, we must lay the blame upon our own evil Habits and corrupt Affections. He does not burden us with any arbitrary Impositions; but every Duty which he requires, is recommended to us by its own inward Worth and Goodness. We are his Vassals, but he does not treat us as such. Our Service is not so arbitrary and uncertain, that we know not over-night what we are to do the next morning; but we are govern'd by settl'd and establish'd Laws which we know beforehand, and cannot but approve them, and consent to them as Holy, Just, and Good.

And that we may the better govern our outward Actions, he gives Laws to our Thoughts, and the inward motions of our Hearts. And this is so far from being any hard or severe restraint upon us, that it is a great help to us in the ways of Obedience, and secures the rest of our Duty. For if we were indulg'd in sinful Thoughts, what shou'd hinder us from breaking forth into sinful Actions, and into open Wickedness? But by forbidding evil Thoughts and Desires, he has choak'd up that impure Fountain, which wou'd have stream'd forth into all the Actions of our Lives. If God had not forbidden us to covet, we shou'd have been very prone to have gone farther, and to have defrauded our Neighbour of what is his: And so in all other things.

Besides, these spiritual Laws which reach our Hearts, and suppress our unlawful Desires, and even the first Inclinations towards Sin, are no such hard Restraints, and uneasy Fetters, as men may be apt to think them, upon this further account; because God has given us more prevailing Motives for the Observance of these inward and spiritual Laws, than the Sanction of any human Lawgivers can amount to. No Lawgiver upon Earth can enforce his Laws with such Rewards and Penaltys as God has enforc'd his. He may threaten Imprisonment or Death, but he cannot threaten Hell or everlasting Destruction: Nor can he propose any such Rewards as God has laid up for them that obey him. He cannot continually watch and overlook his Sub-

jects, nor have Spies upon all their Actions: Whereas we are assur'd that God is always present with us; and the most secret Thought is not hid from him; that he sees into the innermost corner of our Hearts, and observes all our private Designs and Intentions, and will call us to a strict account for them. Now these are Considerations so weighty, as wou'd make us struggle with the greatest Difficultys. But on the other hand, the Government of our Wills, and Desires and Intentions, is much more in our power, than the observance of human Laws is, or than even the command of our own Body. It is plain therefore, that we are capable of observing these inward and spiritual Laws of God; and were it not for our Heedlessness, and want of Consideration, they wou'd be easy: and we have no reason to complain of that as grievous in it self, which we have made to be so. The greater and weightier Motives we have to the doing of a thing, the more Necessity there is for it: And the more we are convinc'd of the Reasonableness of it, the more we are dispos'd to the performance of it. Reasons and Arguments are a sort of inward Aid and Assistance, and *moral Strength*. Now we have the greatest Reasons and Arguments that can be for a strict watch over our selves, and, as *Solomon's* Advice is, *to keep our Heart with all diligence; for out of it are the Issues of Life*. And this may serve for a brief account of God's Government of the World, especially of us Men; what Laws he has given us, how he overlooks all our Actions, and will bring us to an account for them.

Let us make this Use of what has been said.

1st. Let us know and acknowledg our Happiness, in being under the Government and Protection of God, the great King of the World; that we are in the hands of a faithful Creator, who made us, and therefore, we need not fear, designs our good, and is able to save us to the uttermost. Men have been very thankful for smaller matters. As the Philosopher, who thank'd God that he was born in *Greece*, and not in a barbarous Country; and then of all the parts of *Greece*, that he was born in *Athens*, the most civiliz'd part. What an uncomfortable thing wou'd it be to live under the Reign of blind Chance, and the fortuitous Concourse of *Atoms*, where we might be destroy'd in a moment, without the least hopes of reparation, or living again? Whereas now, as our Blessed Saviour tells us, *None can pluck us out of his Father's hand*; but if any outward Violence shou'd deprive us of this Life, he can give us a better. What Light is to the Eyes, and the Sun to the visible World, that and much more is a sense of God to the Souls of men; it cheers and revives them, and is the Joy of their Hearts. *Psal. 97. 1. The Lord reigneth, let the Earth rejoice; let the multitude of the Isles be glad thereof.* And so the Prophet *Jeremy* to the same purpose, *ch. 9. v. 23. Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his Wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his Might; let not the rich man glory in his Riches: But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-Kindness, Judgment and Righteousness in the Earth; for in those things I delight, saith the Lord.* This indeed is matter of Triumph, and we may deservedly make our boast of it; for it is the Top of human Preferment, and that alone upon which Mankind can justly value it self. It is that which makes our Being considerable, that we are thereby capable of knowing God, and arriving at the knowledge of such an excellent Being; that we have thereby an opportunity of knowing so much Goodness, of beholding so great a Glory, of admiring such Perfections, and have the honour of doing Homage to the great Majesty of Heaven and Earth.

And that indeed, 2^{dly}, is the End of our knowing God, that we may be the better instructed in our Behaviour towards him, and learn our Duty to him; and what that is, his very Name implys. The Title of a King bespeaks Subjection and Obedience. *If I be a Father, where is my Honour? And if I be a Master, where is my Fear, saith the Lord of Hosts?* And if he be a great King, as he calls himself in the same Chapter, *Mal. 1. 14.* where is the Homage and Obedience which is due to him? And indeed we do not know God, nor consider who he is, if we do not fall down before him, and worship him with the greatest Humility; if we do not resign our Wills to the Sovereign Will of Heaven and Earth; if we are not content

tent to be dispos'd of as it shall seem best to infinite Wisdom; in a word, if we be not wholly made up of Obedience. This our Condition requires, this is naturally becoming to a Creature. When we disobey God, we go about to turn the World upside down, and change the everlasting Order of things; we pluck down the Will of God, to set up our own. How perverse and monstrous is this, that the Will of the great God shou'd give place to the Will of one of his own Creatures, and stoop to ours! And yet this is the presumptuous Nature of Sin, and of Disobedience to God; this every wilful and deliberate Sinner does in effect say, The Will of God is otherwise, but mine is so, and so it shall be. These words are too horrid to express, but they are the language of a man's Soul, and of the thing it self, as oft as he commits a deliberate Sin against God. On the other hand, I appeal to the Reason of mankind, whether it be not as it shou'd be, when we are govern'd by the God that made us; when the thing form'd does willingly submit it self to him that form'd it; when a Creature acts like a Creature, and suitably to his condition: I say, I appeal to the Reason of mankind, whether it be not fit, meet and right so to do. We are not our own; and then no Consequence can be plainer than this, that we ought not to speak our own Words, nor think our own Thoughts, nor live as we list.

Secondly, The second thing whereby God is describ'd to us, is his *Eternity*; *The King Eternal*. By Eternal, we mean that which is without Beginning, and without End. This is *Moses's* Acknowledgment in *Psal. 90. 2. Before the Mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst form'd the Earth and the World, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God.*

1st. He is from *Everlasting*; the *Antient of Days*, as the Prophet *Daniel* calls him, and before all time. Time it self is but a Novelty, a late and upstart thing in respect of him. When created Beings were first made, then Time began; for it is nothing else but the measure of their Duration, whereby we reckon how long things have lasted from their first Beginning. Now that which had no Beginning, cannot fall under the limits of Time, it cannot be measur'd by that short Line; there is no numbring the Days of Eternity, for no man can tell where to begin the Account. It must be confess'd, that poor Creatures as we are, that have our Beings fetter'd in the moments of Time, that grew up together with Days and Years, cannot comprehend the Nature of Eternity; we cannot comprehend such a steady Duration wherein there is no Flux of Time, nothing before or after, nothing past or to come, but all present, where one Day is as a thousand Years, and a thousand Years is but as one Day: This is a Gulph to human Apprehension. When we set our selves to think of Eternity, we launch out into a vast and wide Ocean, which has neither shore nor bottom. Nevertheless God has not left us destitute even of natural means to know, and to acknowledg him to be thus Eternal. This the Apostle says concerning the Heathens themselves; *Rom. 1. 20. For the invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his Eternal Power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse.* Finite things lead us to the Knowledg of an infinite God, and things temporal and transient teach us that there is a Being Eternal.

We may take our rise from the meanest thing in the Creation, to prove a first Cause, an *Eternal Power and Godhead*. If there be any thing now in being, as both our Reason and all our Senses inform us there is, then there has been something from Everlasting: For if there had been nothing from all Eternity, it is plain that there wou'd be nothing now. If there had been no World yesterday, nor any Eternal Author to have produc'd it, it cou'd not have been to Day; for of nothing comes nothing. An Infinite Duration must be allow'd to somewhat or other; for if once there had been no Being in the World, there cou'd have been none to all Eternity. So that we are sure, by what we now see, that there was always something. There is not a firmer Conclusion in the world, nor is the Mind of man capable of a clearer Truth than this is; There is something in being, therefore there ever was. For it is a like repugnancy, to take Numbers from Cyphers, and to derive Being from Nothing. Now if there were some Being from all Eternity, it must be Self-existent;

jects; nor have Spies upon all their Actions: Whereas we are assur'd that God is always present with us; and the most secret Thought is not hid from him; that he sees into the innermost corner of our Hearts, and observes all our private Designs and Intentions, and will call us to a strict account for them. Now these are Considerations so weighty, as wou'd make us struggle with the greatest Difficultys. But on the other hand, the Government of our Wills, and Desires and Intentions, is much more in our power, than the observance of human Laws is, or than even the command of our own Body. It is plain therefore, that we are capable of observing these inward and spiritual Laws of God; and were it not for our Heedlessness, and want of Consideration, they wou'd be easy: and we have no reason to complain of that as grievous in it self, which we have made to be so. The greater and weightier Motives we have to the doing of a thing, the more Necessity there is for it: And the more we are convinc'd of the Reasonableness of it, the more we are dispos'd to the performance of it. Reasons and Arguments are a sort of inward Aid and Assistance, and *moral Strength*. Now we have the greatest Reasons and Arguments that can be for a strict watch over our selves, and, as *Solomon's* Advice is, *to keep our Heart with all diligence; for out of it are the Issues of Life*. And this may serve for a brief account of God's Government of the World, especially of us Men; what Laws he has given us, how he overlooks all our Actions, and will bring us to an account for them.

Let us make this Use of what has been said.

1st. Let us know and acknowledg our Happiness, in being under the Government and Protection of God, the great King of the World; that we are in the hands of a faithful Creator, who made us, and therefore, we need not fear, designs our good, and is able to save us to the uttermost. Men have been very thankful for smaller matters. As the Philosopher, who thank'd God that he was born in *Greece*, and not in a barbarous Country; and then of all the parts of *Greece*, that he was born in *Athens*, the most civiliz'd part. What an uncomfortable thing wou'd it be to live under the Reign of blind Chance, and the fortuitous Concourse of *Atoms*, where we might be destroy'd in a moment, without the least hopes of reparation, or living again? Whereas now, as our Blessed Saviour tells us, *None can pluck us out of his Father's hand*; but if any outward Violence shou'd deprive us of this Life, he can give us a better. What Light is to the Eyes, and the Sun to the visible World, that and much more is a sense of God to the Souls of men; it cheers and revives them, and is the Joy of their Hearts. *Psal. 97. 1. The Lord reigneth, let the Earth rejoice; let the multitude of the Isles be glad thereof.* And so the Prophet *Jeremy* to the same purpose, *ch. 9. v. 23. Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his Wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his Might; let not the rich man glory in his Riches: But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-Kindness, Judgment and Righteousness in the Earth; for in those things I delight, saith the Lord.* This indeed is matter of Triumph, and we may deservedly make our boast of it; for it is the Top of human Preferment, and that alone upon which Mankind can justly value it self. It is that which makes our Being considerable, that we are thereby capable of knowing God, and arriving at the knowledge of such an excellent Being; that we have thereby an opportunity of knowing so much Goodness, of beholding so great a Glory, of admiring such Perfections, and have the honour of doing Homage to the great Majesty of Heaven and Earth.

And that indeed, 2^{dly}, is the End of our knowing God, that we may be the better instructed in our Behaviour towards him, and learn our Duty to him; and what that is, his very Name implys. The Title of a King bespeaks Subjection and Obedience. *If I be a Father, where is my Honour? And if I be a Master, where is my Fear, saith the Lord of Hosts?* And if he be a great King, as he calls himself in the same Chapter, *Mal. 1. 14.* where is the Homage and Obedience which is due to him? And indeed we do not know God, nor consider who he is, if we do not fall down before him, and worship him with the greatest Humility; if we do not resign our Wills to the Sovereign Will of Heaven and Earth; if we are not content

tent to be dispos'd of as it shall seem best to infinite Wisdom; in a word, if we be not wholly made up of Obedience. This our Condition requires, this is naturally becoming to a Creature. When we disobey God, we go about to turn the World upside down, and change the everlasting Order of things; we pluck down the Will of God, to set up our own. How perverse and monstrous is this, that the Will of the great God shou'd give place to the Will of one of his own Creatures, and stoop to ours! And yet this is the presumptuous Nature of Sin, and of Disobedience to God; this every wilful and deliberate Sinner does in effect say, The Will of God is otherwise, but mine is so, and so it shall be. These words are too horrid to express, but they are the language of a man's Soul, and of the thing it self, as oft as he commits a deliberate Sin against God. On the other hand, I appeal to the Reason of mankind, whether it be not as it shou'd be, when we are govern'd by the God that made us; when the thing form'd does willingly submit it self to him that form'd it; when a Creature acts like a Creature, and suitably to his condition: I say, I appeal to the Reason of mankind, whether it be not fit, meet and right so to do. We are not our own; and then no Consequence can be plainer than this, that we ought not to speak our own Words, nor think our own Thoughts, nor live as we list.

Secondly, The second thing whereby God is describ'd to us, is his *Eternity*; *The King Eternal*. By Eternal, we mean that which is without Beginning, and without End. This is *Moses's Acknowledgment* in *Psal. 90. 2. Before the Mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst form'd the Earth and the World, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God.*

1st. He is from *Everlasting*; the *Antient of Days*, as the Prophet *Daniel* calls him, and before all time. Time it self is but a Novelty, a late and upstart thing in respect of him. When created Beings were first made, then Time began; for it is nothing else but the measure of their Duration, whereby we reckon how long things have lasted from their first Beginning. Now that which had no Beginning, cannot fall under the limits of Time, it cannot be measur'd by that short Line; there is no numbring the Days of Eternity, for no man can tell where to begin the Account. It must be confess'd, that poor Creatures as we are, that have our Beings fetter'd in the moments of Time, that grew up together with Days and Years, cannot comprehend the Nature of Eternity; we cannot comprehend such a steady Duration wherein there is no Flux of Time, nothing before or after, nothing past or to come, but all present, where one Day is as a thousand Years, and a thousand Years is but as one Day: This is a Gulph to human Apprehension. When we set our selves to think of Eternity, we launch out into a vast and wide Ocean, which has neither shore nor bottom. Nevertheless God has not left us destitute even of natural means to know, and to acknowledg him to be thus Eternal. This the Apostle says concerning the Heathens themselves; *Rom. 1. 20. For the invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his Eternal Power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse.* Finite things lead us to the Knowledg of an infinite God, and things temporal and transient teach us that there is a Being Eternal.

We may take our rise from the meanest thing in the Creation, to prove a first Cause, an *Eternal Power and Godhead*. If there be any thing now in being, as both our Reason and all our Senses inform us there is, then there has been something from Everlasting: For if there had been nothing from all Eternity, it is plain that there wou'd be nothing now. If there had been no World yesterday, nor any Eternal Author to have produc'd it, it cou'd not have been to Day; for of nothing comes nothing. An Infinite Duration must be allow'd to somewhat or other; for if once there had been no Being in the World, there cou'd have been none to all Eternity. So that we are sure, by what we now see, that there was always something. There is not a firmer Conclusion in the world, nor is the Mind of man capable of a clearer Truth than this is; There is something in being, therefore there ever was. For it is a like repugnancy, to take Numbers from Cyphers, and to derive Being from Nothing. Now if there were some Being from all Eternity, it must be Self-existent;

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existent; there must be such Infinite Perfection in his Nature, that he cou'd not chuse but be; there must be such an excess of Power and Perfection in himself, that he needed not the help of any Cause. In a word, he must be the very Spring and Original of all Being, and of all possible Perfections; which are but so many Expressions of God. Wherever therefore you find Being, tho but in a Fly, or in a Grain of Sand, or in any thing more contemptible, you have a Clue in your hand, which will lead you to the Throne of this Eternal King.

2dly. As he has been from everlasting, so he is to everlasting; *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*: This doubling of the word is very emphatical, and extends the signification of it beyond all measure; *Psal. 102. 24. Thy Years are throughout all Generations. Of old hast thou laid the Foundations of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea all of them shall wax old like a Garment. As a Vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be chang'd; but thou art the same, and thy Years shall have no end.* That which had no beginning can have no end, for it is impossible that necessary Being shou'd cease to be. He is infinitely above the Power of Chance and Contingency, his Nature is fixt and unchangeable, nothing of Alteration can approach or come near him, with him is no Variableness nor Shadow of turning.

And when the Reason of Mankind is fully satisfy'd in this point, when we have thus discover'd the Eternal Power and Godhead, with what Awe and Admiration (in the first place) shou'd it fill our Minds! Here we behold that unexhaustible Ocean of Being, that overflowing Fountain of Life, from whence the whole World is deriv'd. Angels and Spirits, Soul and Mind, Matter and Body, whatsoever we know, and ten thousand times more, all things visible and invisible, have all their dependance upon this eternal King. He made them all, and he upholds them all by the Word of his Power. In him we live, and move, and have our Being; and he is the stay of all the ends of the Earth, without whose Support all wou'd fall into nothing again. He is *Alpha and Omega*, the first and the last, who was, and is, and is to come; in a word, he is all in all.

2. With what Humility shou'd it possess us! *Lord, what is Man that thou art mindful of him, or the Son of Man that thou so regardest him?* How came an Eternal Being to stoop to the consideration of one of his Creatures, or to make us any part of his Care and Concern? He has no need of us, for of his Fulness we have receiv'd all that we have or are. *Where is boasting then?* as *St. Paul* says, *it is excluded.* How can Men value themselves upon a borrow'd Being? They may as well be proud of their being in Debt. We, that are but of yesterday, must needs shrink very much in our own Thoughts when we think of Eternity, and of our own precarious and dependent State and Condition together; *The Loftiness of Man will be bow'd down, and the Haughtiness of Men will be made low, and the Lord alone will be exalted.* When we seriously consider these things, we shall say as holy *Job* did upon a like occasion, *Now mine Eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor my self in Dust and Ashes.*

3. This Consideration wou'd contribute very much to divert our Thoughts, and to wean our Affections from all temporal and transitory things. *Why dost thou set thine Eyes upon that which is not?* says *Solomon*, speaking of Riches; and it may be indifferently apply'd to any thing in this lower World. We see what an inferiour sort of Being they have, let us not therefore suffer them to take up our Time and our Thoughts, as if we knew nothing better. Let us not neglect the substance, to court the shadow! this wou'd be like the Folly of Heathenish Idolaters, *who serv'd the Creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore.*

Lastly, The sense of God's Eternity is a sure foundation of our Trust and Confidence in him. He is the Rock of Ages and Generations, and we may securely entrust our selves with him. All human Confidences may fail; *Cease ye from Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of?* as the Prophet *Isaiah* speaks in the second Chapter and last Verse. But God is always as able to sustain and support us in being, as he was at first to bestow it upon us. What he was when he created the World, he is still; his Arm is

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not shorten'd: *With him*, as the Psalmist says, *is the Well of Life*, and it can never be drawn dry. If we faithfully serve him, we need not fear perishing, or being lost, but may commit our Souls unto him, as into the hands of a faithful Creator.

And these are some of the proper Effects of a serious Consideration of God's Eternity, which does contain likewise in it the following Attribute of Immortality: *The King Eternal, Immortal*. He that is eternal, and has necessary Existence included in his Nature, must needs be immortal. And thus God alone is immortal, *who only hath Immortality*, as the Apostle says; he alone has *Life in himself*, as our Saviour's words are: And if Angels and the Souls of Men are immortal too, it is because God has been pleas'd to make them so.

The next thing which follows is, that he is *invisible*. And this the Scripture often declares, *Whom no Man hath seen, or can see*: and it likewise declares the reason why he is invisible, in telling us he is a Spirit. For that which is not a Body, cannot be seen, nor make an Impression upon any of our Senses. And that God is not Matter or Body, is clear by the Light of Nature. The antient Philosophers were instructed by that to conceive him to be a Spirit; and they usually call him the *Eternal Mind, the Mind that made the World*. And it may be prov'd by undeniable Reasons.

1st. If God were Body, he cou'd not be a self-moving nor intelligent Being. For both these are above the Sphere of Matter: it has no power to do either of these, but is a dead and senseless thing; and therefore is inconsistent with the Nature of God, who is the Fountain of Power and Wisdom, the everlasting Spring of Life and Motion.

2^{dly}. To conceive of God as corporeal, is to shut him out of the Creation, and perfectly to exclude him out of this material World. For Body is impenetrable, and cannot be in the same place with another Body. So that to deny God's being a Spirit, is to deny his Immensity and Omnipresence, which is diffus'd throughout the World; as to use a gross and sensible comparison, the Light is diffus'd thro the whole Body of the Air.

3^{dly}. All Body is passive and divisible, and involves in it those Imperfections which are unworthy of God, and must be remov'd at an infinite distance from God; by which name, whenever we use it, we mean a most perfect Being. Now if God be a Spirit, and consequently invisible, it will afford us several useful Instructions.

1. It will shew us the unreasonable Folly of Atheistical Persons, who make their Senses the measure of their Belief. We must believe the Conclusions of right Reason as well as the Reports of our Senses, or else we debar our selves from the knowledg of God; and of our own Souls, and of all invisible and incorporeal Beings; which we can only know by their Effects, and by the Collections of Reason. What do they that doubt of Religion demand? Won'd they see God, who is in his own Nature invisible? There is no other way of coming to the knowledg of him, but by his Works; and these he has set in open view, we are every where surrounded with them, nay we our selves are part of them. Now we are not surer in the knowledg of the Works themselves, than we are of the Builder and Maker of them all. From visible things we may gather, that there is an invisible and superior Being, who gave them those Perfections, who fitted them for those Uses, who put them into that Order, which they were not able to do for themselves. An invisible Being can be known no other way; he cannot be seen with the Eyes, but only understood by the Mind. And therefore it is an unreasonable thing for Men to expect more, or other Evidence for the belief of a God and the Principles of Religion, than the nature of the thing will bear. It is as if they wou'd not be satisfy'd, unless they can hear Colours, or see Sounds. We must know God by Faith, we cannot by Sight; and it is utterly impossible to have any sensible Proof or Evidence of him, but by his Works. He cannot otherwise discover himself to us, in any outward way; and this he has abundantly done, wherein he has given all possible satisfaction to the Minds of all attentive and considering Men.

2. It will teach us to prefer our Souls before these gross Bodys. By our Souls we are related to the *Father of Spirits*, we are his *Offspring*, and we do thereby

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thereby approach the nearest to his *Divine Nature*; and shall we neglect this better part of us, while we study to gratify a lower and inferior Being? Our Soul is that wherein we resemble the best and happiest, and supreme Being of the World; and shall we then chuse to lead a Life of Sense, and to herd our selves among the Beasts that perish? Let us imploy that Spiritual, I had almost said Divine Nature which God has given us, to higher and to nobler Purposes; to know God, to love him, to be more like him, to beat down Sense, and to purge our selves from all the Dross of it; in a word, to purify our selves, even as he is pure.

The last thing is his *Wisdom, The only wise God*. He is infinite in this, as in all other his Perfections: *The Lord is a God of Knowledge*, 1 Sam. 2. 3. or rather he is a God of Knowledges, as it is in the Original, in respect of the vast comprehension of it; which makes the Psalmist say, *Of his Understanding there is no Number*; in regard of the multitude of Particulars which he comprehends. And the Certainty and Evidence of his Knowledge is likewise infinite. Some things we are said to know which are but obscurely known, we see them but as in a Glass, or thro a Cloud; but God is Light, and in him is no Darkness at all. He sees without any Obscurity; and whatsoever is propounded to his Understanding, is most clear and evident: Heb. 4. 13. *Neither is there any Creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and open'd unto the Eyes of him with whom we have to do*. Thus the Scripture represents him, as having all things within the compass of his Knowledge, and that his Knowledge is most certain and infallible. And this may likewise be made out by natural Discourse: He who is the Fountain of Knowledge must have it in the most exalted degree that can be: *He that made the Eye, shall not he see? And he that planted the Ear, shall not he hear? And he that giveth man Knowledge, and communicates it to others, shall not he have it in perfection? doth not he understand?* And further, it is absolutely necessary to all his other Perfections, that they be under the conduct and direction of unerring Wisdom; without which omnipotent Power it self wou'd be but Weakness, and blind Force. And besides the avoiding of these Inconveniences and Absurdities which follow from the denial of this Perfection, every man has a direct and positive proof of it in his own Breast. And that is this; We are able to frame a Conception of many things that never were, nor perhaps ever will be, but are only possible. Now if we had only the knowledge of things that have been or are at present, it might be said that we deriv'd this knowledge from the things themselves; but when we have the Ideas of possible things, such as we never knew to have been, there can be no reason imaginable given of this, but that our Minds are deriv'd from that only wise God, who comprehends the utmost possibility of things, and the full extent of his own Power, and has imparted some notion of it to us: I say, this plainly proves him to be the Author of that Knowledge which is in us, the Fountain of all Wisdom, the only wise God.

And this Consideration, if it were well thought on, wou'd very much dispose us to Obedience, and make us ready and willing to be govern'd by him. For when we transgress any of his Commands, why do we do so, but because we think it does not fit our Circumstances? he abridges us of that Liberty, which we think convenient for us; we can chuse better than he has directed us. O ye Fools, when will ye understand? Let us but allow him to be wiser than we, that he knows what is best for us, and directs us to that which is really for our good, and the thing is done; we cannot chuse but submit our selves to be rul'd and govern'd by him, we have no pretence at all to disobey him, and to follow our own Inventions.

II. And now after the Apostle has told us what God is, and reckon'd up some of his eminent Perfections, he tells us what thereupon belongs to him; *To him be Honour and Glory for ever and ever*. This is the natural result of our knowing God, to worship him as God, and to make him the everlasting Object of our Reverence and Devotion. In this present part of the Doxology are contain'd these several things: 1. An inward sense of God's Greatness, an honourable Opinion and worthy Thoughts of him, a profound Reverence

for him, proper and suitable Affections towards him: this is imply'd in the word *Honour*. 2. *Glory* imports the outward Worship of him, proclaiming his Excellency to the World, giving him the Glory of all his Attributes, acknowledging him in all our ways, and doing all to his Glory. 3. The Duration and Continuance of these, they are to last *for ever and ever*. 4. This shou'd be done by the unanimous Consent of all the World, it shou'd be their joint Will and Endeavour; every rational Being shou'd set his Seal, give his Vote, and subscribe to so just and reasonable a thing; for that is the force of the last word, *Amen*.

1. There is due to God an inward sense of his Greatness, an honourable Opinion and worthy Thoughts of him, a profound Reverence for him, proper and suitable Affections towards him. This is a piece of Justice, that we shou'd value and esteem every thing according to its Worth and Dignity. And this is so natural, that a man cannot but esteem any Excellency or Perfection, wherever he finds it, tho it be in a Stranger or an Enemy, from whom he shall never reap any benefit by it. Any unusual or rare Perfection strikes us with admiration at the very sight of it; Greatness is awful and reverend; Goodness is charming, and wins our Love whether we will or no, and before we can enter into any debate, or deliberate about it. These are the natural strokes and impressions of all excellent Objects upon our Minds. Now if those scatter'd sparks of Perfection, which we now and then meet with in the World, do thus move and affect us, and force us to own them by an inward Sense and Value for them; What a Soul-full of Honour and Esteem ought we to have for the Fountain of all possible perfection, in whom all that is great, and all that is good is in the height, and cannot admit of one degree more! In loving and admiring of God there may be Defect, but there cannot possibly be any Excess: for when we think ever so magnificently of God, our apprehensions of him are like the imperfect Reports which the Queen of Sheba heard of Solomon's Wisdom; *Not one half of the Greatness of it was told her*. We may have a true notion of the Divine Excellencies and Perfections, but it is impossible for us to have any adequate and commensurate and precise knowledge of them, because they are infinite, and exceed all human measures. We know that God excels in Wisdom: but as for the extent of his Wisdom, that is unsearchable and past our finding out; he is good, but how good, is impossible for Creatures to tell, for there is no end of his Goodness; he is powerful, but the excess of his Power is beyond all mortal thought: In a word, we know what Perfection is, but we can never comprehend in our thoughts, that is, we can never set any Bounds or Limits to boundless Perfections. So that the deepest and most profound Reverence that we can pay to God, the heartiest Affection, the worthiest Thoughts and most honourable Opinion we can conceive of him, are all too little; the Powers of our Souls are too weak, and our Breasts too narrow to frame a Notion of him as he is, and to entertain a just and full sense of his glorious Perfections. For as the Psalmist says, *He is exalted far above all Praise*: our Words cannot express him, nor our Thoughts reach him.

But what we Cannot do is not matter of Duty; what we Can do in this case, that we ought to do. We shou'd love him with all our Heart, and Soul and Strength, with the most enlarg'd Affections we have. We shou'd prize and value him as our chiefest Good, and live in a clear sense of our dependance upon him, and think his Favour better than Life it self. We shou'd often set our selves to think of him, and delight to do it; our Meditation of him shou'd be sweet. We shou'd esteem it a great Privilege to know him, and value our Understandings upon this account, that they have made us acquainted with God, and led us to the happiest Discovery in the World. Such a Discovery as a man wou'd desire to see nothing after it, but be as willing to go out of the World, as good old *Simeon* was, when he had once seen our Saviour, and had him in his Arms; he had liv'd long enough, he desir'd to see nothing more after this. Our Life wou'd not be worth the living, were it not for knowing more of God, and finding out new Perfections in him which we never understood before, and having thereby fresh matter of astonish'd Joy and Admiration, and of being every day fill'd with new Raptures. These are

Some Instances of that inward Honour which is due to God, and which any man will find are the natural result of a sight of God, and of a serious contemplation of his Divine Excellencys.

When we set our selves to think of this eternal King, who by his powerful Word made the World, whose infinite Goodness and Benignity prompted him to this, and set his Power on work, that he might have whereupon to exercise his Bounty, and give himself an occasion of doing good to an innumerable Company of Creatures which were yet unborn; whose Throne is establish'd in Righteousness, and who will not wrong or oppress the meanest Subject he has, nor take advantage of our being his Creatures to deal hardly with us; whose Word and Promise to his Vassals, is surer than Heaven and Earth; whose Wisdom and Knowledge shines throughout the whole Creation, and is loudly proclaim'd by all his Works of Wonder: And lastly, who never departed from the Rule of Right, nor never will do to all Eternity, but his Holiness and Purity are infinite too, and equal to all his other Perfections, and his Goodness alike steady and unchangeable with his Nature: What a mighty sense of God will fall down upon us, and overspread us, every time we look up towards Heaven, and thus bethink our selves who it is that reigns there! With what Awe and Reverence will it fill our Hearts? With what Gratitude and Affection, with what Delight and Transport will our Souls meet the thoughts of such a Being?

It was the fault of absurd Heathens, *that when they knew God, they worship'd him not as God*: let not us fall into the same, and honour any Creature more than the Creator, who is God blessed for evermore. If we make Mammon our God, or our Belly our God; if we look upon Profit or Pleasure as our chiefest Good; if we put confidence in an Arm of Flesh; if we fear Man more than God, what cou'd a Heathen Idolater do worse? Do we not rob God of his Honour, and give it to another, and commit the greatest piece of Injustice in the World? For what can be more horrid, than to dethrone God in our hearts (which is as far as we can do it) and to set up any thing else in his stead?

2. Besides this inward Reverence which is due to God, we ought also to pay him an outward Worship, to proclaim his Excellencys to the World, to give him the Glory of his Attributes, to acknowledg him in all our ways, and to do all to his Glory. And this open Acknowledgment of God is made, either by our Words or Actions.

1. By our Words and open Profession; when we meet together, and declare in the face of the World, that we worship the God of Heaven: when we shew forth his Goodness, and declare what he has done for the Children of Men: when we pray unto him, and thereby own our Dependance upon him, and acknowledg that from his Fulness and free Grace we expect the Supply of all our Wants; thereby we likewise own his Ubiquity and Omnipresence, that he is near at hand, and ready to hear and answer our Petitions, wherever we offer them up to him. Thus do we give him the Glory of his Attributes, by confessing him with our Mouths, and by making our Addresses to him.

2. We give him glory by our Actions, when we live in Obedience, and conform our selves to him. 1st. When we live in *Obedience to him*. This shews, that we own him for our King and Governor, and is a publick Profession that we are his Servants, and at his Command. When we obey God, we refer our selves to his Wisdom, we set up his Will above our own, we acknowledg his Authority, and the right he has to dispose of us: We declare that he is above us, and that all Homage and Service are due to him. Thus our Saviour declares that he promoted God's Glory in the World; John 17. 42. *I have glorify'd thee on Earth, I have finish'd the Work which thou gavest me to do.*

2^{dly}. We give him Glory by our Actions, when we conform our selves to him. We cannot honour God more, than by being Followers of him; by endeavouring to be holy as he is holy, merciful as he is merciful, and perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect. And on the other hand, how can any man say, that he adores the Divine Excellencys and Perfections, when he thinks them not worth the having? He must needs have a very mean Opinion of Justice, Mercy,

Mercy, Goodness, and Truth, and the rest of those holy Perfections which are communicable to us, and wherein men may be made partakers of the Divine Nature; I say, that man must needs have a very mean Opinion of these, who can see no such Excellency in them, but that he can live very well without them. If we wou'd glorify God in good earnest, let us be as like him as we can, so far as it is possible for a frail Creature to be. Let us adorn our selves with that Goodness and Holiness which we admire in him, and then the World will have reason to believe that we really honour God; otherwise our verbal Praises are but flattering and empty Applauses, if not downright Mockery. And when we have dishonour'd God by our Disobedience, and by acting contrary to his holy Nature, let us make all the haste we can by Repentance to do him right; to condemn our selves, to resetttle his Authority, and to return to our Duty; for this the Scripture likewise calls, *giving Glory to God.*

3dly. The third thing is the Duration and Continuance of this Honour and Glory which is to be given to God, and that is, *for ever and ever.* So long as he is the King Eternal, he is worthy to receive Honour, and Praise, and Thanksgiving; and so long as there are any Creatures in being, this Tribute will for ever be due from them. There is infinite Reason to give him Honour and Glory now, and there will always be the same reason; for he is *the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.* There is no end of his Goodness, why then shou'd there be of his Praise? While there are any intellectual Creatures remaining in the World, there are so many Debtors to his Bounty, Monuments of his Goodness; and shou'd be so many Instruments of his Glory. And we have reason to resolve for our parts, that we will persevere in this fit and happy Employment, as *David* does; *I will sing unto him as long as I live, I will praise my God while I have my Being:* To resolve, ever to direct all our Thoughts, Words and Actions to his Honour, and never to change so good a Resolution. But rather in the

4th Place, To desire that this may be done by the unanimous consent of all the World; for by saying *Amen* here, the Apostle does imply, that every one shou'd give his Assent, set his Seal, give his Suffrage, and subscribe to so just and reasonable a thing. We shou'd be desirous that all men wou'd join with us herein, that with one Heart and one Mouth we may glorify God. It is our common concern, the same Obligation lies upon us all. Hath not one God made us? Is he not our common Father? And therefore since we all came from him, let us unanimously return to him in Gratitude and Obedience. We shou'd not only bear our part in this Doxology, but invite and provoke others to join with us. For where we really honour any Person, we are naturally desirous that every body else shou'd do so too. You see *David* in his devout strains calls upon all Creatures, not only all sorts and conditions of men, but he summons every part of the Creation to join in this Office of praising God. He means at the least, that all which can shou'd do it for themselves, and that we shou'd do it for the rest; that we shou'd take occasion from all the Works of God, to give him the Praise which is due unto his Name; that we shou'd celebrate that Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, which discovers it self in every one of them; that we, who are understanding Beings, shou'd be as High-Priests, to offer up that Praise which the whole Creation does abundantly minister to us, and does furnish us withal.

I shall draw some few Inferences from this whole Subject, and so conclude.

You see upon what a firm and sure Foundation Religion is built, how necessary and indispensable it is. It is no arbitrary and positive thing, which God might have abated us if he pleas'd, which might have been spar'd and omitted. No, it is that which is founded in the unchangeable Nature of God; for while there is a God in the World, he is always worthy to receive Honour, and Praise, and Obedience: And the Obligation of Creatures to render this to him, does cleave to their Being, it is inseparably annext to their Condition, it is the very Essence and Truth of a Creature-State. It is impossible for a Creature to be releas'd from his Duty to God. It is too often true, as to matter of Fact, that Creatures do not serve and obey their Creator; but it can never be true while the World stands, as to matter of Right,

that they ought not to obey him. When a Creature comes into being, he enters into a state of Service and Obedience, of Love and Thankfulness to God his Maker; from which he can no more be releas'd, than this Proposition can be true, *That he was never made.* Upon these Terms we all receive our Being, and we cannot have it upon any other; and therefore let us not so much as secretly wish to be dispens'd with, in the neglect of any part of our Duty: Let us not say in our hearts, as *Nathan* did to the Prophet, *The Lord pardon thy Servant in this thing*; for it cannot be. God himself cannot dispense with us (with Reverence be it spoken, nay to his Honour and Glory be it spoken) he cannot allow his Creatures in the greatest Impiety and Iniquity, to pervert the everlasting order of things, to turn the World upside down, to make Confusion in God's Creation, and to make the greatest of all in their own Souls. For there the Weight and Burden of Sin will fall the heaviest, first or last. The Soul of man cannot be satisfy'd for any long time, with doing contrary to his known Duty; all such Actions are Seeds of Disquiet; he is all that while treasuring up Wrath and Displeasure, and Indignation against himself. And there cannot possibly be any lasting Peace or Quiet, or ease in a man's Mind, without Repentance, and without returning to his Duty again: For the Transgression of our Duty being contrary to the Dictates of our Understanding, and to plain Reason, this will recoil upon us some time or other; we cannot live in a pleasing Error and Delusion always, but we shall be sensible, whether we will or, no that we have done amiss; and then we cannot but be very much unsatisfy'd with it. Now is not this better prevented? Is it not better to consider the Reasons of our Obedience now, to inform our selves thorowly of our Duty, to see why and wherefore we ought to serve God, and to do it, than to be stung with these Reasons and Considerations hereafter, when we have not done it? And God be thank'd, that the Reasons of our Duty are so plain and obvious, and lie so level to the lowest Capacity: A man of the meanest Understanding cannot think of God ever so little, but he will see abundant cause why he shou'd love and honour him, and be govern'd by him. For this is a great advantage to us, that our Reason is Security for the performance of our Duty; that our Understanding prompts us to do it; that we have a Principle within us which calls upon us to perform it, and will not fail to upbraid us with the neglect of it. And tho men often act by another Principle, I mean that of Will and Pleasure, or Self-will, yet that is a Principle which cannot be stood to, men cannot own and justify it; it is no natural Principle, it is the unnatural Abuse of Liberty and Free-will, and men will be forc'd to condemn themselves for it. We may act like Brutes for a time if we will, without consideration, and against our better Understanding; but we cannot change our Natures: Reason is the Principle of a man, and we cannot get rid of it if we wou'd; it will take place. Men may reject the Truths of God and of Religion for a while, they may flatter themselves that there is no need of being religious, that it is in vain to serve God; they may ask what difference *betwixt him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not?* But this will not last always: Truth will prevail, and cannot be avoided; it will come at last, tho it have no other Welcom than that of *Ahab to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine Enemy?*

BECAUSE

BECAUSE the Papists kept a heavy stir that their Church was the Mother-Church, I took that occasion to publish the following Discourse, which shews to what Church that Title belongs, and that the Church of Rome is neither Mother nor Daughter, but an Apostacy from the Church.

*The true Mother-Church, or a short
Practical Discourse upon ACTS II. concerning the
First Church at Jerusalem.*

ACTS II. 41, 42.

Then they that gladly receiv'd his Word, were baptiz'd; and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand Souls. And they continu'd stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.

IN this Chapter we have an account how the first Christian Church was gather'd. The former part of the Chapter is spent in relating to us the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost, which fill'd the Apostles, and enabled them to speak with other Tongues. And the first use which the Apostles made of these Languages, wherewith they were so strangely endu'd, was to publish the Gospel: That mixt multitude, which consisted of a confluence of Strangers from all Parts, did every man hear them speak, in their own native Language, the wonderful Works of God. And upon this occasion St. Peter made such an effectual Discourse, proving that Jesus was both Lord and Christ, and exhorting them to repent, and be baptiz'd in the name of Jesus, that it won three thousand Souls to the Christian Religion. This great Body of men added to the Disciples, made the first Church at Jerusalem. And accordingly the first mention of a Church actually in being, is after the account given of these new Converts, in the last Verse of this Chapter: *And the Lord added daily to the Church such as shou'd be sav'd.*

In the words I have chosen we have these two things:

- I. We have an account how these men came to be Christians, and the means of their Conversion; *Then they that gladly receiv'd his Word were baptiz'd.*
- II. We have an account of their religious Assemblies, and the way of Worship us'd in this First and most Primitive Church; *And they continu'd stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.*

I. How these men came to be Christians, and the means of their Conversion; *Then they that gladly receiv'd his Word, were baptiz'd.* They were wrought upon by St. Peter's Sermon, they were convinc'd by his Discourse, that Jesus whom they had crucify'd was the *Messias*; and therefore, according to St. Pe-

ter's direction, they resolve to oppose him no longer, but to cast themselves down at his feet, and to own him for their Lord and Master, by undertaking the profession of his Religion. Now if we observe the Heads of St. Peter's Discourse whereby he thus convinc'd them, we shall find that he brings his Arguments either from the Miracles which our Saviour wrought, which are a proof to all mankind, or from the Prophecys of the Old Testament, which were an acknowledg'd Principle among the Jews.

1. The Miracles which our Saviour wrought, which were so many Divine Testimonys to the Truth of what he deliver'd. Every true Miracle is a Testimonial from Heaven, it is God's Seal to warrant our belief in that Person, who is furnish'd with such an extraordinary Power. It is an assurance to the minds of men that a person is sent by God, when he does those things which never man did (as the people said of our Saviour) and God does plainly own and approve that Doctrine which such a one delivers, because he employs his own Almighty Power to gain credit and belief to that Person.

By a *Miracle*, I mean whatsoever is above or contrary to the course of Nature, and exceeds the power of it: For that must needs be done by a superior Power, and cannot be attributed to any other than the God of Nature. Now to say, *That we cannot know a Miracle when we see it, because we cannot tell how far the Power of Nature reaches, how far natural Causes can act, and no farther*, is a very poor and weak Objection. For tho we cannot assign the just Bounds and Limits of natural Causes, how far they can act, and no farther; tho we cannot just describe the sphere of their Activity, and draw a Line about it, yet we can tell what is out of the sphere of their Activity, and clearly see when an Effect does far surpass the virtue and efficacy of the natural Cause. As for instance, I know not how far the power of natural Causes may go to fetch a man, who in all appearance is dead, to life again: There may be rare Spirits and *Elixirs* of greater virtue than I know of in this kind. But I know that *Talitha kumi*, the words that our Saviour us'd to the dead Maid, are none of those Preparations and Restoratives we speak of. I see there is no proportion at all betwixt the Means and the End, betwixt the Cause and the Effect. To say, *Lazarus, come forth*, will not raise a man who has been dead four days, and is turning to corruption. That is such a Sleep, out of which men cannot be awaken'd with a call. There may be natural Causes for ought any man knows, sufficient to stop the course of the Sun; but it is demonstrable, that the voice of a man can be none of those Causes. *Sam, stand thou still in Gibeah*, is a very weak and incompetent means to produce such a mighty Effect. This is a way of working peculiar to God alone, to say, *Let there be Light, and there was Light*. So that these are true Miracles, they cannot possibly be put upon the score of natural Causes. Now our Saviour wrought a great many of these in his lifetime, as St. Peter puts them in mind, verse 22. *That he was a man approv'd of God by Miracles, Wonders and Signs, which God did by him in the midst of them*. But then his own Resurrection was clearly the Finger of God. For when a man dies, whatever strange power or skill he may be imagin'd to have, they then leave him, and it is impossible he shou'd contribute any thing towards his rising and coming to life again. And this St. Peter insists upon in the 32d verse; *This Jesus hath God rais'd up, whereof we are all Witnesses*. This they were ready to justify, and did afterwards with their Blood.

2. His other Arguments are plain Inferences and Deductions from several passages of David, which he undeniably proves cannot be meant of David himself, tho he spake them in his own Person, but that they were clear Predictions of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven: as you may see in the rest of his Discourse. So that these men did not embrace Christianity but upon good grounds; they were driven out of their Unbelief by force of Argument, and brought to the acknowledgment of the Messiah by clear and evident proofs: And then they readily clos'd with St. Peter's offer, to repent, and be baptiz'd for the remission of Sins: *They gladly receiv'd his Word*, and laid hold on it. Our Saviour himself propounded his Doctrine to the World upon these terms, he did not desire to be believ'd but upon sufficient Evidence, *John 10. 37. If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not*. He wou'd not have men believe till they

they are convinc'd, and see cause for it; nor wou'd have us captivate our Understandings to any thing, but the reason of the thing. If we are Christians, we ought to know why we are so, or else we are Christians merely by chance. We do not make our Religion our own, but by a wise and considerate choice of it. *Prove all things, says the Apostle, and hold fast that which is good.* We cannot have any *fast hold* even of that which is *good*, till we have try'd and examin'd it, and find it worthy to be retain'd, and such as we cannot part with: For what we lightly take up, we are apt as lightly to lay down. And therefore our Saviour, who wou'd have us Christians not only for a day, or a week, or a month, but for our whole lives, wou'd have us believe upon so good grounds, that we shall have no temptation to alter our belief: As he wou'd have us count the Cost, and engage in his Service upon good Advice, lest that be apply'd to us which is said of the rash Builder, *This man began, but was not able to finish.* S. Peter exhorts us to *be ready to render a reason of the hope that is in us*; and that supposes our ability to give a satisfactory account of our Religion: He supposes both that there is reason for our Religion, and that every one shou'd have study'd the Point, and have consider'd the Reason that is in it.

And this tells us what we are to think of those men that stifle all Enquiry into Religion; who wou'd have us believe upon their bare word; who assume a greater Authority than ever our Saviour did; who are not contented unless men will captivate their Understandings to their Dictates, and *believe as the Church believes.* Thus has the Roman Church domineer'd over the Faith of men for several Ages. This was not the way wherein Christianity was first propagated in the World. Men were then argu'd, reason'd, perswaded and convinc'd into it. This was our Saviour's and the Apostles method. They treated men like men, they us'd the proper Arms of Truth, solid Proofs, and substantial Arguments: they overpower'd men with Conviction, and overcame the World with Demonstration. As their Doctrine was true and good, and such as wou'd recommend it self to every man's Conscience: so their way of delivering it was fair and ingenuous, and such a way as became Heavenly Truth to be convey'd into the Minds and Hearts of men. And this very thing wou'd tempt a man to believe that the *Romanists* have made some considerable alteration in the Doctrine of our Saviour, because they take such a quite different course to propagate it. And as a man wou'd presume before-hand, so he shall find it to be certainly true whenever he comes to examine their Doctrine; for they have in many Points transform'd the wise, and holy, and harmless Religion of our Blessed Saviour into the quite contrary. So that now indeed they must of necessity put out mens eyes, and deny them the use of their Reason before they can think of bringing men over to that Religion.

II. I come now to the *second* thing, which is an account of their Religious Assemblys, and the way of Worship us'd in this First and most Primitive Church of Christ. *And they continu'd stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.* Of these in their order.

I. They continu'd stedfastly in the *Apostles Doctrine*; that is, they were constant to the Apostles Teaching or Instruction: for that is the true sense and meaning of the words. They were assiduous and attentive Hearers of what the Apostles taught. This is the first and most necessary Duty of Religion. For how can men understand what they are to do unless they are instructed in it? Men may indeed wilfully and wickedly neglect their known Duty; but if they do not know it, they cannot perform it if they wou'd. And therefore this has been always look'd upon as the first thing in Religion. They that worship'd false Gods, had nevertheless an Order of Men to instruct the people how to worship them aright, to tell them how those Gods were to be serv'd; what Rites and Observances were proper to appease, and to gain their Favour; and on the other hand, to warn them of those things which wou'd offend and incense these imaginary Deitys. And as the light of Nature prompted this course to natural men, so God himself took care to have men instructed in those revelations of his Will which he has been pleas'd to make to the World. When he gave the Law by *Moses*, at the same time he ap-

pointed

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pointed Priests whose Lips shou'd preserve Knowledge, that the People might enquire of the Law at their mouth. And accordingly it was practis'd by the Jews down to our Saviour's time, and after; *Moses was preach'd every Sabbath-day, being read in the Synagogues.* Nor was our Blessed Saviour wanting to make the like provision for the Christian Church; for they are some of the last words which he spoke to his Apostles, when he bid them *teach all Nations to observe all things whatsoever he commanded them*, Mat. 28. the two last verses. This he left at his departure hence, as a Legacy to his Church; and this upon the first gathering of a Church we meet with in the first place, *the Apostles Doctrine.*

Now as the Apostles were careful on their part to fulfil their Master's Pleasure and Command, so the first Christians were as ready and forward to receive Instruction; which is express'd by a very full word, *they continu'd stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine*: which implies both the Assiduity and Constancy of the Action, and that they were not weary'd nor tir'd with it, but were still fresh to this and all the other Dutys. And indeed, what is worthy to gain and command mens Attention, if they will not hearken to the *Words of Eternal Life*, nor be instructed in the Art of making themselves happy? What can be more welcome to men, or to what can they more willingly give ear, than to such Discourses as instruct them in the things which belong to their everlasting Happiness, and shew them the way of Salvation? For the Gospel is what our Saviour out of the Prophet call'd it, *The preaching of Deliverance to the Captives, and the opening of the Prison-doors to them that are bound.* And therefore what reasonable man, who had any concern for himself and his own Good, wou'd not readily embrace these glad Tidings of Salvation, and be very desirous to be put into a way, that he might inherit Eternal Life? These good Christians were of that mind, and pursu'd this saving Knowledge with an unwearied Diligence, and with an uncloy'd Appetite. They cou'd never hear too much of what their Blessed Saviour had done for them, and what he expected of them. As their Knowledge increas'd, so did their Desire of knowing more; for as the Text tells us, *they continu'd stedfastly in this Duty.*

But how distant is the Practice of most Christians now-a-days from this primitive Pattern! For tho we have the *same Instructions* of the Apostles treasur'd up in their Writings, and convey'd down to us, yet how coldly are they entertain'd by us! How negligent are men in coming to hear them; or if they do, how listless and unconcern'd are they in hearing them, and how regardless of retaining and keeping them in memory after they have heard them! My Brethren, let us shake off this supine Negligence, which renders us so unlike these ancient Christians, and let us be in earnest as they were. For have not we Souls to save as well as they had? And ought not ours to be altogether as dear and precious to us? And therefore let us, tho we have not the Apostles, those *Living Oracles*, present with us; yet be as careful to hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest their *Written Instructions*, because by them they still speak to us, and declare to us the whole Counsel of God. And let us shew our selves to be Christians, by being like those who have gone before us in that holy Religion.

2. They continu'd stedfastly in Fellowship, *κοινωνία*; which signifies not so much common Society as Communication, and a free Distribution to the Necessitys of others. And in this they continu'd with the same steddiness and perseverance as they did in hearing the Doctrine of the Apostles. They did not only perform Dutys which cost them nothing, but they made Charity and the highest Liberality one of their Divine Offices. They did not appear before the Lord empty, but they offer'd to him that Christian Sacrifice with which he is well pleas'd. And not only this first Church of Jerusalem, whose Liberality was so great, that no man counted any of his Possessions his own, but they had all things in common; and so much for the honour of Christianity, that some men not unreasonably think it is recorded in the Creed, and that that Article, *the Communion, or Communication, of the Saints*, refers to this matter: I say, besides this Church, it is plain that others likewise had the same practice, and made their Collections for the Poor at their Religious Assemblies;

Assemblies; at which time St. Paul wishes them to make the Collections which he had recommended to them, as being the proper season for those good Acts. And this Liberality and mutual supplying of one another's wants, did plainly shew, that they esteem'd themselves as Fellow-members of the same Body; and that they were perfectly united in their Hearts and Affections, and ty'd together in the bonds of Love and Charity, which our Saviour often mentions as the surest sign and mark of his Disciples.

3. Another Religious Office, in which they were as constant, was *breaking of Bread*; that is, the receiving the Sacrament. *The Bread that we break,* says St. Paul, *is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?* So great was the Devotion of these first Christians, that none of their Religious Assemblies pass'd, in which they did not make this solemn Commemoration of our Saviour, and *shew forth his Death*. They constantly kept up the memory of their dying Lord, by this Image of his broken, and wounded, and crucify'd Body; and they wou'd have look'd upon their other Religious Services as lame and defective without this. They had so lively a sense of our Saviour's great Love in dying for them, that they delighted to have the Pledges and Tokens of it often in their hands: and that still renew'd the sense of his infinite Love, and so dispos'd them to receive the Communion the more readily again. *Our Saviour's Blood was still warm* (as St. Jerom says, speaking of these early times) and these first Christians endeavour'd to keep it so, by their devout and frequent Remembrances of it. And indeed it was their Constancy in this holy performance which quicken'd and put life into all their other Religious Actions. That astonishing Instance of our Saviour's Love, which they beheld in the Sacrament, inflam'd their hearts with Love and Charity towards their poor Brethren, and made them desirous to know nothing but *Jesus Christ, and him crucify'd*: And by it they were likewise mightily encourag'd in their Prayers and Addresses to God; for if he had given them his Son, how shou'd he not together with him give them all things? as the Apostle argues. What more prevailing Mediation cou'd they use to obtain the pardon of their Sins, and the love and favour of God, and Grace to help in time of need, than the bloody Death of our Saviour, which had purchas'd all these things for them? And this frequent Remembrance of our Saviour's Death was not only a help to them in their other Religious Exercises, which no question was a reason of their often receiving the Sacrament; but likewise very instrumental to a good Life. For if men did but carry about with them the thoughts of our Saviour's Death, how horrid wou'd Sin appear to them, which kill'd the Lord of Life and Glory? And how dangerous, which expos'd that most innocent Person, the Lamb of God, to such bloody Sufferings? For, as our Saviour said, *If these things be done in a green Tree, what shall be done in the dry?* If he suffer'd so deep for the Sins of others, what will become of us, if God shou'd punish our own Sins upon our own heads? And as our Saviour's Death contains in it the greatest Arguments against Sin, so it likewise lays on us the greatest Obligations to Obedience, to love and serve our Lord even to the death, who empty'd all his Veins, and shed his last Blood for our sakes. This puts us in mind to be true to him, who has done and suffer'd so much for us. And therefore the antient Christians in times of Persecution us'd to keep the Sacrament by them, that it might be always in a readiness to strengthen their Fidelity to Christ, and to bind them the faster to the Profession of his holy Religion. And they not only look'd upon it as that which wou'd arm them with Resolution and Constancy in their Christianity, but likewise as an Obligation to a holy and innocent Life. This is the account that Pliny gives to the Emperor Trajan of the Christians in his time, that he had inform'd himself as well as he cou'd of what the Christians did in their Assemblies; and the sum of it was this, *That being met together upon an appointed Day* (which seems to be the Lord's Day) *they sung a Hymn of Praise to Christ as to a God, and bound themselves by a Sacrament that they wou'd commit no manner of Wickedness*: Which appears to be their receiving of the Sacrament. From whence we may gather what sense the Christians in those days had of it, that it was a great Instrument of Holiness, and a Religious Tie upon them to lead a good Life,

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And therefore what reason can men now give, why they neglect so holy and so useful an Institution? Have not we as much need to arm our selves against Temptations to Sin as they had? Or are we so perfect, that we are above those Means of Grace, and those Helps to a good Life which they constantly us'd? No surely, mens Consciences tell them otherwise. But the truth is, men neither are, nor are willing to be, so holy as those men were. For if they wou'd but examine their Hearts why they are so loth to come to the Sacrament, I doubt not but the main reason which lies at the bottom is this; Because it wou'd engage them to a greater strictness of Life than they are willing to undergo. If they receive the Sacrament, *they must leave their Sins*, which they are loth to part with; they shall be oblig'd to *forgive their Enemy*, whom they had rather be reveng'd of; in a word, they shall *enter into new Engagements*, whereas they had rather be free, and at their liberty. Now if men wou'd rightly understand things, these are the greatest Motives in the world to persuade them to be frequent at the Communion; That it may engage us to leave our Sins, that so Iniquity may not be our Ruin; That it may restrain us from Evil, and prompt us to Obedience; That it may be a tie upon us not to undo our selves, and may further us in our way to everlasting Happiness; That by the repeated Exercises of loving and praising God in this holy Ordinance, we may be prepar'd to spend a happy Eternity in those blessed Employments. So that those things which make men loth to come to the Communion, are indeed, if they be duly consider'd, the greatest Arguments to draw them thither: And it is a hard thing that men shou'd be hinder'd and kept back from a Duty, by the very Advantages and Encouragements of it.

4. The last thing, in a word, which they also continu'd steadfast and constant in, was their Prayers and Religious Addresses to God both for themselves and for others, as also in Praises and Thanksgivings; wherein they pour'd out their Hearts before God, and made known their Requests to him, and bless'd him for his Mercys. They were instant at the Throne of Grace, as being sure to be supply'd from Heaven with those good things, which they cou'd not *give themselves*. They were much in this profitable and delightful Converse with God, and in paying this Worship to him which exercises all pious Graces *at once*, and gives God the honour of all his Attributes, of his Goodness, and Wisdom, and Power, of his Dominion and Providence over us.

Thus I have given you in short a Pattern of the primitive Piety, that by beholding your first Ancestors in Christianity, you may be incited to follow them, and blush to see your selves come so far behind them; that you may see what a *Believer* was, and what that Name signify'd in those days; that so you may endeavour to fill up that glorious Title by such holy and devout Lives as they led; that you may imitate them in the Constancy and Unweariedness of their devout Exercises, *continuing steadfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and in Fellowship, in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers*.

The first Christian Church must needs be a safe Pattern for us to imitate. The first and most perfect in any kind is the Measure and Standard of all others in that kind. And surely nothing cou'd be wanting to that Church, in which the Apostles were present, and into which they pour'd forth all their Doctrine. And therefore every other Church is more or less pure and perfect, as it is more or less conformable to this first Church of *Jerusalem, which is the Mother of us all*. Now if we shou'd try the Roman Church, which pretends to be the only Catholick and Apostolick Church, by the Marks and Characters of *this* which we *know* to be Apostolick; we cannot but see that it has very much degenerated and departed from it.

They have plainly corrupted the *Apostles Doctrine*, and have chang'd the Christian Religion into quite *another* thing than what it is in the Scripture.

They will have no manner of *Fellowship* with other Christians, unless they will submit to *their* Errors and Corruptions. They are fallen very much beneath the antient Christian Charity, I need not say how much.

They have mangl'd, and maim'd, and transform'd the Sacrament. Instead of *breaking of Bread*, they abolish the Bread, and sacrifice our Saviour: instead

stead of delivering the People the Cup, they drink it up themselves: and instead of giving them that Sacramental *Bread* which our Saviour left them, they give them a *Stone*; I mean the hard Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

As for their *Prayers*, they are such as the Apostles and first Believers never us'd, directed to Angels, and to Dead Men; and such as the generality of the People *cannot* join with them in, for they are likewise in a dead Language, which has not been spoken almost this thousand years; and all over Christendom, at this time, not one in a hundred understands it.

And are not these fit men to brag of *Antiquity*, who have so visibly departed from the *First Church* that was planted in the World? Have they not reason to insult over us, and ask us, *Where was our Church before Luther or Cranmer?* when we are able to answer them, it is *here* in this Scripture, where theirs is not to be found. If we hold the first Faith which was once for all deliver'd to the Saints, and perform the same Offices, and practise the same things, we are of the *same Church*. For if we agree in these things which make up a Church, neither distance of *Time* nor of *Place* can divide us, or hinder us from being of the same Church. This is the true Catholick Church which we always desire to be of, to hold what was from the beginning, and to conform our selves to that first Assembly of Christians, which antient Churches themselves must acknowledg to be *more Antient*. Only let us be sure to lead *Primitive Lives*, and add a holy Practice to a sound Faith; or else we shall *certainly perish* tho it be in an *Apostolick Church*: it will save us no more than it did *Judas*, to be one of our Saviour's own *Family*.

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REMARKS

UPON

Dr. *SHERLOCK*'s Book,

INTITLED,

*The Case of Resistance of the Supreme Powers
stated and resolv'd, according to the Doctrine of
the Holy Scriptures.*

Written in the Year 1683, and Publish'd in 1689.

To the Right Honourable

WRIOTHESLY Lord *Russel*.

My LORD,



OUR Lordship has the largest Inheritance of Honour of any *Englishman* besides; and your very early Years promise to the World, that you will rather improve than waste your Patrimony. I hope your Great Father will live in You, and that there never will be wanting a Great Lord *Russel* in *Succession*; which is the only way wherein mortal Men can stay any while here upon Earth. That You may follow Him in his Piety, in his Devotedness to his Religion and Country, in his Integrity, Wisdom, Magnanimity, Constancy, and all the Parts both of a Christian and a Nobleman: And that You may be the Joy and Delight of your Country (as He was) but never their Grief, is the hearty Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's Most Humble and
Most Obedient Servant,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

The

The PREFACE.

I Have publish'd these Papers, which I had not seen for above five Years before, to rid my hands of the baffled Cause of Non-Resistance, and to offer my Service to do as much for some Mens new-fashion'd Loyalty, which is in election likewise to be adopted for Church-of-England-Doctrine, as the other was. It consists in being discontented with the present Government, in loathing our late and wonderful Deliverance, and in hankering after Egypt again; in refusing to swear Allegiance to the King, and in effect forbidding him to be King without their leave: And after all it lies hid in lurking Scruples, and in Reasons best known to themselves. Now till we are worthy to know to whom these Persons think themselves under Engagements, whether to the late King, or to the Prince of Wales, or to Tyrconnel, or to what foreign Prince or Potentate it is, and for what Reasons they are not free to take the present Oaths, it is impossible to say any thing in particular to them. For the Errors and Windings of Ignorance and Interest are intricate and endless: And the Reasons of a self-will'd Obstinacy, which is in it self an unreasonable Principle, must needs be incomprehensible. If any man had told me seven years ago, that the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience shou'd be maintain'd by such Arguments as I have since met with, I cou'd not have believ'd him: For no man, who has us'd his Thoughts to Evidence and Coherence, cou'd possibly foresee or forestal those Arguments. And therefore till these reserv'd Persons will please to let their Scruples see the Light, and bring forth all their strong Reasons, they must enjoy the Privilege of being unreasonable.

But in the mean time we are able to prove, if the Nation wanted any Satisfaction in that Point, That King William (a Prince of God's sending, and whom He have in his special keeping!) is the rightfullest King that ever sat on the English Throne. For he is set up by the same Hands which made the first King, and which hereafter will make the last, and which have always unmade all Tyrants as fast as they cou'd: And the Realm has not chosen him like a Persian King, by the neighing of a Horse, or by some light Accident; but in the wisest way, and upon the most weighty and valuable Considerations. For if he had not come, there had not been a Kingdom for him to govern; England had now been a Wilderness of howling Irish, a Rendezvous of French Apostolick Dragoons, a Nest of Priests and Jesuits, and any thing but a Kingdom. So that he is a Prince who governs his own Kingdom, which he first sav'd from perishing; and tho Conquest never was a Title, yet Redemption is. In such Cases Men us'd heretofore to become Slaves to their Deliverers: Now this indeed is a thing impossible for English-men, but they never had such a Temptation to it before. The least they can do, is to make him a Present of their Lives and Fortunes, not in foolish and flattering Addresses, but in real Services; and to perpetuate his Benefits to this Nation to the World's End, by passing them into such advantageous Laws for the Publick, as cou'd not be had in other Reigns.

We are able to prove likewise, That if the Realm has a Right to provide themselves of a King when they have none, much more they may do so when they have one, who has made himself a thousand times worse than none: One who was long since known to be a publick Enemy to this Kingdom, and had utterly unqualify'd himself for the Government, and forfeited his Remainder in the Crown, by rendring himself incapable of the Regal Office. For we knew before-hand that he was not capable of taking the Coronation-Oath, with any other Intention than to break it; and that he wanted to be let into the Government, only to spoil and subvert it. And therefore in pursuance of the antient Rights of the Realm, (whose Consent is the

The Preface.

the Foundation of all Government, and who never made any Establishment of the Crown for the Destruction of the Nation, nor ever intail'd the Government but upon the Terms of the Government) He was excluded by no less than three successive Houses of Commons: Which was such a Caveat enter'd by all the Countys and Boroughs of England against his Succession, as never was against any other. This had pass'd into an Act of Parliament, had it not been for the mean and indirect Practices of some Persons, who ow'd their native Country better Offices, than to bring the Calamity and Vengeance of a Popish Successor upon it. After this Successor, with the Help aforesaid, had pav'd his Way to the Throne upon the Ruins of the Franchises of most Corporations, and upon the Heads of the best Men in England, of a sudden, when for many Years before the King was to outlive the Duke, on the other hand the Duke out-lives the King, and makes himself King. But if he had been a rightful King when he took Possession of the Crown (as he was not, but a publick Enemy) he has since that time broken the Fundamental Contract, or Covenant of the Kingdom, or Coronation-Oath, (for they are but several Names for the same Thing) with that Perjury and Perfidiousness as never any Prince did before him. I will not mention his smothering of all the Laws against Popery and Priests, whom he ought immediately to have apprehended, prosecuted, and hang'd, if he had taken the Oath in Good Faith, which according to the Constitution he was bound to do. For according to antient Custom he was to be adjur'd not to meddle with the Crown, unless he wou'd take his Oath sine fraude & malo ingenio, and mean honestly. Neither need I say any thing of his holding Correspondence with the foreign Tyrant, Usurper, and publick Enemy of this Kingdom, by sending a pompous Embassy to Rome, and by obtruding a Nuncio upon the Nation, with that Insolence that he must dine at Guildhall. But the things I shall mention are, The keeping a Mercenary in constant Pay, to deprave, ridicule, and pervert the English Constitution, and to banter the Nation out of all their Laws, by two or three authoriz'd Observators every Week: The murdering of great Numbers in the West in cold Blood, without any Process of Law: The garbling of Judges, and perverting of all Justice in Westminster-Hall: The breaking the Peace of the Nation, (the keeping whereof was a principal part of his Office) by keeping up a Standing Army, for several years together, in the Bowels of the Kingdom, not only at the Charge, but to the Terror and Disheerison of his People; whereas, as I remember, it was a considerable Article in the deposing of Edward II. That he went into Gloucester-shire with a thousand Horse: The five Positions of the eleven Judges; The yearly Declarations of Dispensing with the Laws, that is, violating them by wholesale, instead of Annual Parliaments: The High-Commission Court. And at the latter end of the Day, the Tyranny and Oppression was coming home to those, who had long been made the Instruments of oppressing and destroying all others.

Besides, these were all of them Instances of an open and avow'd Tyranny, which was to have been the Inheritance of our miserable Posterity, under a Pretence of Prerogative, Sovereignty, Imperial Laws, Dispensing Power, and the like; so that our Children shou'd never have known, but that they had been born Slaves at Common-Law, and so never have aspir'd after their English Freedom more: And to make all sure, by packing the only Parliament in that Reign, by closetting the Members of it, by regulating Corporations, and by their last Project of a Supernumerary Nobility, we were likewise in a fair way to have been made Slaves by Statute. I have not mention'd his Desertion all this while, neither will I take any Advantage of it, because I look upon it as the very best Action of his whole Life, and the stopping him in it was an ill Day's Work: And if he had absented himself forever, as for me, he had carry'd his Tyranny and all the Faults of his Mis-rule along with him, neither shou'd I ever have mention'd them in this manner. But seeing he has alter'd his Measures, and deserted his Desertion, and wants more Blood, and is come back in a War upon the Kingdom, whereby the Subjects of England will have occasion to stake down their Lives in the Field against him; I thought it necessary, thus far, to open the Merits of our Country's Cause against him: And to shew, that we shall venture our Lives in the best Cause in the World, against the very worst; in Defence of our Religion and Country, against the irreconcilable Enemy of both; who has been just such a Father of our Country, as he was a Defender of our Faith.

Besides,

Besides, we are able to produce the Original of an English King, and the very Fundamental Contract made with him before they made him King, out of the 8th Page of the Mirror, out of the Saxon History and Laws, out of Bracton and Chancellor Fortescue, who writ his Book on purpose to shew the English Constitution; where it is demonstrated to be a perfect Stipulation, and a down-right English Bargain. Part of which was, For the King to be obeyant to suffer the Law as others of his People: And it is likewise declar'd, to be the First and Sovereign Fraud, Abusion and Perversion of the Law, for the King to be Lawless, whereas he ought to be subject to it as is contain'd in his Oath. And he that makes strange, and wonders at such a National Covenant, never yet knew where he liv'd, whether Here, or in Turkey, or at Algiers; neither cou'd he ever tell, whether he and his Children were born Freemen or Slaves. And tho the Phrase and Form of this Contract has vary'd upon occasion in the Coronation-Oath, yet the Effect and Substance of it has always been preserv'd.

We are able further to prove, That the Oath of Allegiance being the Counterpart of the Coronation-Oath, and containing the Subjects Duty as the other does the King's, is of the nature of all Covenants, and is a conditional Oath. Suppose, in a lower Instance, an Apprentice were sworn to his Indenture, wou'd he be bound in Conscience to perform his Master's Service, when his Master instead of finding him Maintenance and Lodging, wou'd allow him neither, but turn'd him out of Doors? Such a Master must even do his own Business himself; or travel abroad to find him out a new Apprentice, if he can, notwithstanding his former Apprentice's Oath.

Moreover, we are able to prove, That the Oath of Allegiance taken to a Tyrant wou'd be a void, unlawful, and wicked Oath: Void, because it is an Obligation of Obedience according to the Laws, which a Tyrant makes it his business to destroy, so that it is swearing to things inconsistent; Unlawful, because the English Constitution will not admit such a Person to be King, it knows no King but such a one as can do no Wrong; and Wicked, because it strengthens his Hands in the Destruction of our Country. He that swears Allegiance to a known publick Enemy, and engages to be aiding and assisting to him, is so far a publick Enemy himself. If some Persons knew him not to be a Tyrant when at the first they were sworn to him, yet as soon as they do know him to be such, or especially if the Realm declare him to be such, their Oath of Allegiance becomes a void, unlawful, and wicked Oath to them, and they cannot possibly keep it any longer if they wou'd. And therefore to ask, Who shall absolve us from our Oath to King James? is to ask, Who shall absolve us from an Oath which cannot bind; from an Oath which ought not to have been made, and is now, at least, as if it had never been made; which was ill made, and wou'd be worse kept? Such an Oath is so far from needing any Absolver, that on the other hand an Angel from Heaven cannot oblige us to keep it.

And whereas it is the Maxim of the Malecontents to the same purpose, Better Popery than Perjury; they may remember if they please, That the Popery and the Perjury have always gone together, and have been both of a Side. They may remember, That their Popish King, while he was Duke, was the Cause of almost an Universal Perjury in Corporations, by delivering up their Charters; and that he got the best Franchises of his greatest Village in Europe to be betray'd and surrender'd, by the help of such another Maxim, Better half a Loaf than no Bread: That he was perjurd in the very taking of the Coronation-Oath, which he did not and cou'd not take in Good Faith, and all the World knows how well he kept it: That he likewise by his own Perjury-Prerogative of a Dispensing Power, brought an universal Perjury upon the Magistrates of England, who were sworn to the Execution of the Laws. And throughout the late Reign of Treason, I wou'd fain know the Man that kept his Oath of Allegiance, in discovering to a Magistrate the High-Treason against the King and the Realm, of Persons being reconcil'd to the Church of Rome, and of those who endeavour'd to reconcile others; and that did not conceal these Reasons which he knew of, and thereby make himself guilty of Misprision. No, they were happy men, who laid down their Lives betimes, and did not stay to see the Guile and Misery in which a Popish Successor has since involv'd their Country, the foresight of which made them not count their Lives dear to them, but they endeavour'd to prevent such a Calamity at the expence of their last Blood, and dy'd the true Martyrs of their Religion and Country. But as for us who
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are left behind, we must see the Wretches, who shed that more than innocent Blood, wash their Hands in it, and justify the shedding of it, and cause it to cry afresh. This is particularly done in an infamous Libel, entitul'd, *The Magistracy and Government of England Vindicated*; wherein the Murdering of the greatest English-man we had, for endeavouring to save his Country, is still avow'd. If these men had the Trying of Causes once more, no doubt we shou'd have our late Deliverance Arraign'd for an Invasion, and every brave English-man, who join'd with that unexpected helping Hand out of the Clouds, Indicted and Condemn'd for a Traitor. I shall only say in general, That that Vindication wants another, as much as the Magistracy and Government which it pretends to vindicate; for there is not one material word of it true. For instance, A Consult to levy War, is not an Overt Act of Compassing the Death of the King, because the Actual levying of War is often done without any such Tendency, as I cou'd instance over and over again in former Times; but I love to quote what is fresh in memory. My Lord Delamere (whom I mention out of Honour to him) did very lately levy War; and when he had the late King in his Power at Whitehall, was so far from compassing his Death, that he only deliver'd him a Message to remove in Peace. And seeing that illegal Trial is still justify'd, I must needs add this, That if there had been Law enough left to have try'd a Felon in the Countys of London and Middlesex, that great Man had never been brought upon his Trial. But because the Partys concern'd desire to answer it only in Parliament, I only desire that there they may be put to make out, how known unlawful Sheriffs de Facto, obtruded upon the City of London against their own lawful Choice, on purpose to be Instruments of destroying the Lives, Libertys and Estates of the best Subjects, cou'd be at the same time lawful Sheriffs de Jure: And on the other hand, it is easy to make it good, That the Validity of that Trial and Proceedings depending upon the Legality of the Sheriffs and Jury, that pretended Court was of no Authority, and was such another Low Court of Justice, as the Black-Guard are able to make among themselves every day. Perhaps they may plead Ignorance of so notorious a Matter, and that they cou'd take no cognizance of it, because it did not come judicially before them: But that cannot be said, for the Nullity of those very Sheriffs was before that brought in that very place, in a Special Plea, and Over-ru'd. Their best and their truest Plea is this, That they never dreamt of the Prince of Orange's coming over to restore Justice to this lost Nation, which we doubt not he will cause to run down like a Mighty Stream: For otherwise (as appears by the repeated Choice of the never-to-be-forgotten Sir John Moor) these Men must have the destroying of their Country over again, only to justify their having destroy'd it once before.

Remarks upon Dr. Sherlock's late Book, Entituled, *The Case of Resistance, &c.*

THE Case which the Title of this Book promises to resolve, is a very plain Case, and soon resolv'd: for it never was made a Question, whether Men might lawfully Resist any Legal, Subordinate Powers, much less the Supreme Powers; and they are ordinary Readers indeed, that are to be instructed, That Resistance is unlawful in this Case.

But under the shelter and countenance of this plain and unquestion'd Case, and under the covert of these Names, *Sovereign, King, Prince, Authority*, and the like, this Author has sily convey'd into his Book the Resolution of another Case, of a far different nature; and determines, That as well inferior Magistrates as others, imploy'd by a Popish or Tyrannical Prince in the most illegal and outrageous acts of Violence, such as cutting of Throats, or the like, are as irresistible as the Prince himself (under pretence of having the Prince's Commission and Authority to do these Acts) and must be submitted to, under pain of Hell and eternal Damnation.

I fully agree with this Author in his Resolution of the first Case; but I crave leave to dissent from him in the Resolution of the latter Case, and to enter the Reasons of my dissent.

But tho I agree with him in his Resolution of the first Case, yet I do not in his Reasons of that Resolution, which are utterly insufficient, and betray the Cause which he seems to maintain. His Reasons why the King is irresistible in all cases, are such as these: 1. That the King has a personal Authority, antecedent to all the Laws of the Land, independent on them, and superior to them. Which is not true; for the King is King by Law, and irresistible by Law, and has his Authority from the Law. Indeed our Author says, That the great Lawyer Bracton, by those very words of his, *Lex facit Regem*, was far enough from understanding that the King receives his Sovereign Power from the Law. I confess I never was so well acquainted with Bracton, as to know what secret meanings he had, contrary to the sense of his words; and therefore cannot tell how far he was from understanding that the King receives his Sovereign Power from the Law: but I am sure he was not far from saying so, for he says it in the very next words; *Attribuat igitur Rex Legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet, Dominationem & Potestatem*. He proves that the King is under the Law, and ought to govern by Law, because he is made King by the Law, and receives his Power and Authority from the Law; and then adds what this Author is pleas'd to cite, *Non est enim Rex, ubi dominatur Voluntas, & non Lex*: He is no King who governs by Arbitrary Will, and not by Law; that is, no lawful English King, Bracton must mean; for still he may be a good outlandish and Assyrian King, and no Tyrant, tho his Arbitrary Will does all. For our Author (pag. 41.) quotes out of Dan. 5. 18, 19. That God gave Nebuchadnezzar such an Absolute Kingdom, that whom he wou'd he slew, and whom he wou'd he made alive; and whom he wou'd he set up, and whom he wou'd he pull'd down. And I hope no man tyrannizes over his people, who uses the Prerogatives which God has given him; tho He does over Authors, who quotes what he will, and suppresses what he will, and construes them how he will, and renders *Lex facit Regem*, to govern by Law, makes a Sovereign Prince a King, and distinguishes him from a Tyrant; which will pass with none but such ordinary Readers as he writ his Book for, and who never saw Bracton.

Chancellor Fortescue likewise says, That a Limited Monarch receives his Power & *Populo effluxum*, which unriddles our Author's Riddle in the same place, How the Law can make the King, when the King makes the Law? But is it such a wonderful thing, that there shou'd be a Law to create a King, and to enable him so far in the making of Laws, as to make his Consent necessary to the Being of all future Laws? Was it not thus when the two Houses were erected, and endow'd with the like Power? For our Author says amiss, when he says, *The Law has no Authority but what it receives from the King*: for the Laws are made *Authoritate Parliamenti*, which is by the Authority of the King, Lords and Commons.

But, to lay aside Bracton and Fortescue at present, let us a little reason the matter. This personal Authority of the King, antecedent to all the Laws of the Land, independent on them, and superior to them; whence is it? Has He a Throne like God? Is he of Himself, and for Himself? Or has he a personal Authority from God, antecedent to Laws, to be a King? Then shew a Revelation from God where he is nam'd. Or has he the natural Authority of a Father to govern his Children? Then it must be prov'd that he has begotten his Three Kingdoms, and all the people in all other his Majesty's Dominions. Or has he a personal Patriarchal Authority, which is set up as a shadow of the Authority of a Father, whereby the eldest Son is his Father by Representation? Then it must be prov'd, that the King is the Eldest Son of the Eldest House of all the Familys of the Earth. Or were Mankind made in the day of their Creation by Nations, and created Prince and People, as they were created Male and Female? But if none of these things can be said, then it remains, that a Civil Authority, that is, a mutual Consent and Contract of the Partys, first founded this Civil Relation of King and Subject, as we see it every day does of Master and Servant, which is another Civil Relation: and that the Consent of a Community or Society is a Law, and the Foundation of all Civil Laws what-

soever, is prov'd beyond all contradiction by Mr. Hooker, *Eccles. Pol. Lib. c.* cap. 10.

And as this personal Authority of the King, which is antecedent to all the Laws of the Land, and independent on them, is airy and imaginary, and has no foundation, but is of this Author's own making: so he has been pleas'd to make it very large and lawless; and tho he be but a *Subject*, yet, like *Araunah* the *Jebusite*, he gives like a King. For it is a personal Authority superior to the Laws of the Land, whereby all manner of arbitrary Acts are binding, whereby the Prince may trample upon all the Laws, and in virtue whereof he still governs, in the violation of all those Laws by which he is bound to govern: Whereas the Law of *England* absolutely denies that the King has any such personal Authority. For, not to mention King *Edward's* Laws, chap. 17. *de Officio Regis*, which were confirm'd by *William* the Conqueror, and sworn to by all succeeding Kings; not to mention the *Mirror*, which page 8. gives us a far different account of things; not to mention *Magna Charta*, which Chap. 37. says, That if any thing be procur'd by any person contrary to the Libertys contain'd in that Charter, it shall be had of no force or effect: So that a personal Authority, which can trample upon the Libertys of the Subject, and violate the Laws, is an Authority of no force nor effect, a void Authority, or, in other words, it is nothing. I say, not to insist upon any of these, I shall quote some passages out of my Lord Chancellor *Fortescue*, where he professedly handles the difference betwixt an Absolute Monarchy, and a Limited Monarchy: and after he has shewn the different Original of them, he thus proceeds in the 13th Chap. "Now you understand, most Noble Prince, the form of Institution of a Kingdom Politick (or limited Monarchy) where- by you may measure the Power, which the King thereof may exercise over the Law, and Subjects of the same. For such a King is made and ordain'd for the defence of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodys and Goods, whereunto he receives Power of his people; so that he cannot govern his people by any other Power." To whom the Prince thus answer'd, in the 14th Chap. "You have, good Chancellor, with the clear light of your Declaration, dispel'd the Clouds wherewith my Mind was darken'd; so that I do most evidently see, that no Nation did ever of their own voluntary mind incorporate themselves into a Kingdom, for any other intent, but only to the end that they might enjoy their Lives and Fortunes (which they were afraid of losing) with greater security than before. And of this intent shou'd such a Nation be utterly defrauded, if then their King might spoil them of their Goods, which before was lawful for no man to do. And yet shou'd such a people be much more injur'd, if they shou'd afterwards be govern'd by foreign and strange Laws, yea, and such as they peradventure deadly hated and abhor'd; and most of all, if by those Laws their Substance shou'd be diminish'd, for the safeguard whereof, as also for the security of their persons, they of their own accord submitted themselves to the governance of a King. No such Power for certain cou'd proceed from the people themselves; and yet unless it had been from the people themselves, such a King cou'd have had no power at all over them."

Now this Discourse of the Institution of a Political Kingdom was to shew the Prince of *Wales*, that he ought to study the Laws of *England*, and not the Civil Laws, by which an English King cannot govern; whereof the Prince stood in doubt, Chap. 9. But now you see that Cloud dispel'd, and he is convinc'd by this, That a Political Kingdom cannot be govern'd by foreign and strange Laws; which had signify'd nothing toward his conviction, if *England* were not a Political Kingdom. And I think there cannot be a plainer Comment upon those former words of *Bracton* (*Lex facit Regem, attribuat igitur Rex Legi quod Lex attribuit ei, videlicet, Dominationem & Potestatem, &c.*) than this Discourse of *Fortescue* is.

2. Another Reason which he gives why the King is irresistible in all cases, is, Because he is a *Sovereign*, and it is essential to *Sovereignty* to be irresistible in all cases. Which is false: For the King of *Poland* is a *Sovereign*; he coins Money with his own Image and Superscription upon it, which according to our Author, p. 50. is a certain mark of *Sovereignty*; and p. 51. by the very Impression on

on their Money it is evident that he is their Sovereign Lord: He styles himself by the same Grace of God with any King in Christendom, and wears the like Crown: He assembles Diets; he disposes of all Offices; he judges the Palatines themselves, and is full of the marks of Sovereignty. And yet he that shall take a Polish Penny, and make such work with it as our Author does with the Roman Tribute Money, and out of it read Lectures either of *Active* or *Passive Obedience* P. 54, 55, &c. in all cases, will read amiss. For, in case he break his Coronation-Oath, they owe him no Obedience at all, of any kind: for this is one Clause in it, *Quod si Sacramentum meum violaveris, incole Regni nullam nobis obedientiam prestare tenebuntur.* So that in case he violate his Oath, his Irresistibility departs from him, and he becomes like other men.

3. A third Reason is, Because the Jewish Kings in the Old Testament, and Caesar in the New Testament, were Irresistible in all cases. Now that is more than I know; and I leave it to Divines to examine whether it was so or no, as also to inquire why the Christians of Nero's Household did not shew their Loyalty in defending their Master, after the Senate had pronounc'd, That he was *Hostis Humani generis*? But this I say, That if they were thus Irresistible, and if this be a good Argument here, it is a good Argument in Poland; and thither I wou'd desire our Author to send it by the next Shipping, for the Law of the Land has furnish'd us with those which are much better.

I come now to the second Case; which, as I said before, is resolv'd under the covert and countenance of the former, That as well inferior Magistrates, as others employ'd by a Popish or Tyrannical Prince in the most illegal and outrageous acts of Violence, such as cutting of Throats, &c. are as irresistible as the Prince himself (under pretence of having the Prince's Authority to do these Acts) and must be submitted to, under pain of Hell and Eternal Damnation.

Now this Resolution is very false: which I shall shew, 1. By confuting all the Reasons which are brought for it; and, 2. By producing some Reasons against it.

His Reasons are, 1st. A personal Authority in the Prince, antecedent and superior to all Laws; which makes himself inviolable, tho he trample upon all Laws, and exercise an Arbitrary Power, and makes all others inviolable under him, who act by this Authority. But I have shew'd already, that this personal Authority is false and groundless, and that the King is inviolable by Law, and that this Prerogative is highly just and reasonable, and can never prejudice the Subject, for the King can do no wrong. And it is plain, that he cannot give such an illegal and miscall'd Authority to others, if he have it not himself.

To shew that the Authority, to which we are bound to submit, is not in Laws, but in Persons, tho acting contrary to Law, he has brought this following Argument, which is the most labour'd of any in his Book. Nay, it is very false P. 193, 194, and absurd to say, that every Illegal is an Unauthoritative Act, which carries no Obligation with it. This is contrary to the practice of all Human Judicatures, and the daily experience of men, who suffer in their Lives, Bodys and Estates, by an unjust and illegal Sentence. For the most illegal Judgment is valid, till it be revers'd by some Superior Court; which most Illegal, but Authoritative Judgment, derives its Authority not from the Law, but the Person of him whose Judgment it is. 195.

Now, to use his own words, this is very false and absurd all over. For 1st. Legal and Authoritative are all one; and Illegal Authority is in English unlawful lawful Power. 2^{dly}. It is not true, That an Illegal Judgment is valid till it be revers'd. For the Judgment of a man to Death in an arbitrary way, either contrary to the Verdict of his Jury, or without a Jury, is not Authoritative nor Valid at all, no not for an hour. But, I suppose, by *Illegal Judgments*, this Author means legal Judgments which have Error in them; and if these shou'd not be valid and stand good, till that Error be found in some higher Court, there cou'd not be Legal, nor Illegal, nor any Judgments at all, but all human Judicatures must come to an end. For if Judgment cannot be given till we have Judges who are not subject to Error, the Laws must lie by and rust, and there can be no Administration of Justice. 3^{dly}. The

Authority of a Judgment which is erroneous, is not from the Judge's personal Authority above the Law; nor from his mistakes beside the Law, but from that Jurisdiction and Authority which the Law has given to Courts and Judicial Proceedings; which, if they be in due Course of Law, are legal, and presum'd to be every way right, and as they shou'd be, and free from Error, till the contrary appears in some higher Court. But if the Judges in *Westminster-Hall* shou'd use a personal Authority superior to Law, in judging men to Death without a Jury, or in condemning a man when his Jury acquits him, or the like; the Law having given no Authority to any such Proceedings, these Judgments wou'd be illegal and void, and have no Authority at all.

And herein I say no more than this Author himself has said in another place. For where he professedly lays down the difference Betwixt an Absolute Monarchy and the English Constitution, pag. 208, 209. he has these words: *An Absolute Monarch is under the Government of no Law but his own Will, and is not ty'd up to strict Rules and Formalitys of Law in the execution of Justice; but it is quite contrary in a Limited Monarchy, where no man can lose his Life or Estate without a Legal Process and Trial.* But thus do men contradict themselves, who write by rote, and without considering things! and thus does their blind Passive Obedience tie us up to Impossibilitys, and oblige us to lose our Lives and Estates without a Legal Process and Trial, where, even as this Author confesses, no man can lose them in such a way.

P. 192.

2dly. Another reason why we must submit to Illegal Violence, is this: *Because tho they have no Legal Authority for it, yet we have no Legal Authority to defend our selves against it.* But he himself has given as full an Answer to this as can be desir'd, in these words, pag. 59. *For no man can want Authority to defend his Life against him that has no Authority to take it away.*

3dly. We must submit to illegal Violence, *because the People cannot call inferior Magistrates to an Account,* pag. 191. But sure the People may defend themselves against the murderous Attempts of inferior Magistrates, without pretending to call them to an account, or sitting in Judgment upon them: And when they themselves are call'd to an account for this Defence, they may give a very good account of it, by the 24 H. 8. cap. 5.

P. 202.

4thly. *We must not defend our selves when we are persecuted to Death for our Religion, contrary to the Laws of England, because we must not defend our selves when we are thus persecuted contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, which are as sacred and inviolable as the Laws of our Country.* Answ. I grant that the Laws of God and Nature are more sacred and inviolable than the Laws of our Country; but they give us no Civil Rights and Libertys, as the Laws of England have done. Every Liege Subject of England has a legal Property in his Life, Liberty, and Estate, in the free exercise of the Protestant Religion establish'd amongst us; and a legal Possession may be legally defended. Now the Laws of England in Queen Mary's time were against the Protestants, and stript them of this unvaluable Blessing: and therefore, tho they chose rather to observe the Laws of God and Nature, than those of their Country, which at that time violated both the other; yet withal they submitted to the Laws of their Country, which alone give and take away all legal Rights and Titles, and, when all is said, are the only Measures of Civil Obedience.

Ibid.

5thly. *Men must not defend their Lives against a lawless Popish Persecution, when they are condemn'd by no Law, because they must not defend their Lives when they are condemn'd by a wicked persecuting Popish Law. For such a lawless Persecution has as much Authority as such a wicked persecuting Law.* This is manifestly false: For a lawless Popish Persecution has no Authority at all, but has all the Authority of Heaven and Earth against it; whereas a wicked Popish persecuting Law, tho as it is wicked it cannot command our Obedience, yet as it is a Law, it may dispose of our Civil Rights. If Queen Mary's Laws were no Laws, because they were wicked persecuting Laws, why were they repeal'd? why were they not declar'd to be null from the beginning? I know the Protestants in her time, and in Queen Elizabeth's time, before they were repeal'd, disputed the validity of them, and wou'd not allow them to be of any Force or Authority, as appears particularly from Mr. Hale's Oration to Queen Elizabeth, Fox Vol. 3. p. 977, 978. But their Reasons were, because the Parliaments were

were not legally constituted. *Queen Mary's first Parliament was of no Authority, because, as his words are, the Commons had not their free Election for Knights and Burgesses: for she well knew, that if either Christian Men or true Englishmen shou'd be elected, it was not possible that to succeed which she intended; and therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her Threats, meet to serve her malicious Affections. Also divers Burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully return'd, as in some places the People did what they cou'd to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of Law in their places plac'd. For the which cause that Parliament is void, as by a Precedent of a Parliament holden at Coventry in 38 H. 6. appears. And the third Parliament he says was void, because the Writs of Summons were contrary to a Statute.* Now these were needless and frivolous Exceptions, if a wicked persecuting Law were no Law, without any more ado. And I desire no greater advantage in a civil Question, than to reduce an Adversary to this Absurdity, of making no difference betwixt Laws and no Laws.

6thly. *That Non-Resistance of illegal Violence is the best way to secure the publick Peace and Tranquillity, and the best way for every man's private Defence: for Self-defence may involve many others in Blood, and besides exposes a man's self.* That is to say, when the publick Peace is violated in a high manner, the best way to secure it, is quietly to suffer it still to be broken further; a man's best Defence is to die patiently, for fear of being kill'd; and when Murderers are broke loose, the only way to prevent the effusion of more Christian Blood, is to let them alone. Now in opposition to this Doctrine, I shall only remember our Author, that if there had not been a Defence made against the *Irish Cut-throats in Forty One*, tho they had the impudence to pretend the King's Commission, there had hardly been a Protestant left; but the pestilent *Northern Heresy* had been thorowly extirpated in that Kingdom.

7thly. Another reason is, *Because Non-Resistance is certainly the best way to prevent the Change of a Limited into an Absolute Monarchy.* Now this is so far from being true, that on the other hand absolute Non-Resistance, even of the most illegal Violence, does actually change the Government, and sets up an absolute and arbitrary Power, in the shortest way and by the surer side. For a Prince, whom the Laws themselves have made absolute, has thereby no more than a Right and Title to an absolute Subjection; but Non-Resistance puts him into the actual possession of it. Our Author himself has made this out beyond all contradiction; for pag. 44. he says, *That Non-Resistance is as perfect Subjection as can be paid to Sovereign Princes*; and pag. 115. he calls it, *The only perfect and absolute Subjection we owe to Princes.* Now the most perfect and absolute Subjection that can be paid, erects the most absolute Government that can be devis'd. For those words are of eternal Truth, which we read in pag. 63. of this Book: *For Authority and Subjection are Correlates; they have a mutual respect to each other, and therefore they must stand and fall together. There is no Authority, where is no Subjection due; and there can be no Subjection due, where there is no Authority.* And is not this as bright and as evident a Truth; There is no absolute Authority, where there is no absolute Subjection due; and there can be no absolute Subjection due, where there is no absolute Authority?

I shall now briefly run over his Scripture-Proofs, so far as they concern this second Case: For if he had multiply'd his Texts of Scripture, to shew that Kings are irresistible, I shou'd have had nothing to say to it, because the Law has made our King so; but if the Law had not made him so, all his Texts wou'd never have done it, as I have instanc'd in the Kingdom of *Poland*. For the Scripture does not erect *New Polity's*, as *St. Chrysostom* long since observ'd; nor does the Gospel bar or abolish any *Politick Laws*, as *Luther's* constant Position was, which *Bishop Bilson* thought was undeniable.

In the Old Testament his two Examples of Non-Resistance are, *David*, and the *Jews* under *Ahasuerus*; which are the untowardest for his purpose that he cou'd have pitch'd upon. For as for the former of them, if the Duty of Passive Obedience may be practis'd by a Subject at the head of an Army, and if to decline engaging the King's Army only when it is six to one (which always at the least was the odds between *Saul's* Forces and *David's*) be an Ex-ample of Non-Resistance; I am sure it is such Passive Obedience, and such Non-Resistance,

P. 205, 206.

P. 212.

P. 32.

Resistance, as if it were acted over again in the Highlands of Scotland for half the time that it was in the Wilderness of Zeph, would occasion new Sermons against Rebellion, even in the same Pulpit where the Substance of this Book was preach'd.

P. 41.

The other, he says, *was as famous an Example of Passive Obedience as can be met with in any History*; and yet it amounts to no more than this, That the Jews being doom'd to utter Extirpation by a Law, and deliver'd up as a Prey to their Enemys, thinking a Defence either unlawful or impossible (for the Scripture does not say which) did look upon themselves as lost men, till they afterwards had procur'd a Law, which in effect revers'd the former, by publishing it to all People, *That the Jews might stand for their Lives, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the Power of the People and Province that would assault them, both Little-Ones and Women, and to take the Spoil of them for a Prey, Esth. 8. 11.* Upon which they made a vigorous and successful Defence against their Enemys, who were so hardy as to take no warning by this Law, but continu'd maliciously resolv'd to destroy the Jews, tho they were thus expressly threaten'd that they must do it at their utmost peril. And may not those men then be as *famous Examples of Passive Obedience*, who, if the Laws were against them, would readily submit; but having the Laws on their side, shall defend themselves against the illegal Violence of any evil-dispos'd Persons, that never were, nor ever cou'd be, authoriz'd to destroy them?

As for St. Peter's Case in the New Testament, it was the Resistance of lawful Authority, and therefore justly condemn'd by our Saviour. For the apprehending our Saviour was not an Act of *unjust and illegal Violence*, as our Author there says; but was done by proper Officers, by virtue of a Warrant from the chief Priests and Elders (the Lords Spiritual and Temporal among the Jews) who were aided by the Roman Guards for fear of a Rescue.

P. 79.

As this Author says, *Our Saviour is our Example in not resisting a lawful Authority*; but what is that to the resisting of those who have no Authority? And yet if our Saviour had practis'd Non-Resistance towards Persons having no Authority, it had not been binding to us, no more than his not appealing to Caesar hinder'd St. Paul of his Appeal.

In a word, There is not a Case or a Text, which he has argu'd from, in Scripture, which he has not perverted and abus'd.

I shall answer the Arguments us'd in this Question, which are taken out of the Acts concerning the Militia, and which are mention'd by this Author, p. 111, 112. by giving the Reader a particular and distinct view of those Acts: whereby it will appear that we are not enslav'd by those Acts, neither are the Subjects hands ty'd up from making a legal Defence against illegal Violence.

There are three Statutes concerning the Militia. The first, 13 Car. 2. cap. 6. which was an Interim or temporary Provision till the Militia-Act cou'd be perfected, intitled, *An Act declaring the Militia to be in the King, and for the present ordering and disposing the same.* The second is, 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. to establish the Militia, intitled, *An Act for ordering the Forces in the several Countys of this Kingdom.* And the third is an explanatory and supplemental Act, intitled, *An Additional Act for the better ordering of the Forces in the several Countys of this Kingdom*; 15 Car. 2. cap. 4.

The two former of those Acts have the very same Preamble in these words:
 " Forasmuch as within all his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, the sole supreme Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, and all
 " Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength, is, and
 " by the Laws of England ever was the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and
 " his Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of England; and that both, or
 " either of the Houses of Parliament, cannot nor ought to pretend to the
 " same; nor can, nor lawfully may, raise or levy any War Offensive or De-
 " fensive against his Majesty, his Heirs, or lawful Successors: and yet the
 " contrary thereof hath of late years been practis'd, almost to the ruin and
 " destruction of this Kingdom: And during the late usurp'd Governments,
 " many evil and rebellious Principles have been instil'd into the minds of the
 " People of this Kingdom, which unless prevented, may break forth to the
 " disturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof."

This

This Preamble consists of five Clauses, of which the three first are concerning matter of Law, and the two last concerning matter of Fact.

In the first Clause there are these two things evidently contain'd: *First*, That the Militia is in the King by Law. *Secondly*, That the Militia's being in the King, is no new Power, but was ever the undoubted Right of all the Kings of *England*. Conclusion; Therefore unless the People of *England* were ever Slaves under all former Kings, they are not made Slaves by this Declaration.

The two next Clauses say, That both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, cannot pretend to the sole supreme Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, Forces, Forts, and Places of Strength.

Nor can raise or levy any War against the King: But neither is it here said, that the King can or lawfully may raise or levy any War against both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of his liege Subjects.

The two last Clauses are concerning matter of Fact, in these words; *And yet the contrary thereof hath of late years been practis'd*: That is, the Houses did pretend to the sole supreme Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, Forces, Forts, and did raise and levy War against the King.

And during the late usurp'd Governments, many evil and rebellious Principles were instil'd into the Minds of the People; such, I suppose, as asserted the Militia to be in the Parliament, &c.

As to the Body of the first Act, it is all of it either repeated in the second, or else superseded by it; and therefore we are next to consider what is enacted in the 14 Car. 2. cap. 6. And immediately after the Preamble before-recited, there are these words: "Be it therefore declar'd and enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the King's most excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall and may from time to time, as occasion shall require, issue forth several Commissions of Lieutenancy to such Persons as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall think fit to be his Majesty's Lieutenants for the several and respective Countys, Citys, and Places of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*; which Lieutenants shall have full Power and Authority to call together all such Persons at such times, and to arm and array them in such manner as is hereafter express'd and declar'd; and to form them into Companys, Troops, and Regiments: and in case of Insurrection, Rebellion or Invasion, them to lead, conduct, and employ, or cause to be led, conducted, or employ'd, as well within the said several Countys, Citys, and Places for which they shall be commissioned respectively, as also into any other the Countys and Places aforesaid; for suppressing all such Insurrections and Rebellions, and repelling of Invasions as may happen to be, according as they shall from time to time receive directions from his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors. And that the said respective Lieutenants shall have full Power and Authority from time to time to constitute, appoint, and give Commissions to such Persons as they shall think fit to be Colonels, Majors, Captains, and other Commission-Officers of the said Persons so to be arm'd, array'd and weapon'd; and to present to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, the Names of such Person and Persons as they shall think fit to be Deputy-Lieutenants; and upon his Majesty's Approbation of them, shall give them Deputations accordingly: always understood that his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, have Power and Authority to direct and order otherwise, and accordingly at his and their pleasure, may appoint and commissionate, or displace such Officers, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And that the said Lieutenants respectively, and in their absence out of the Precincts and Limits of their respective Lieutenancys, or otherwise by their directions, the said Deputy-Lieutenants, during their said respective Deputations, or any two or more of them, shall have power from time to time to train, exercise, and put in readiness, and also to lead and conduct the Persons so to be arm'd, array'd and weapon'd, by the directions, and to the intents and purposes, as is hereafter express'd and declar'd."

Here

Here you see all is regulated and limited; and the Lieutenancy have no other Powers nor Authoritys, nor can execute them but by the Directions, and to the intents and purposes express'd and declar'd by Law.

Consequently, The Lieutenancy have no power to raise Insurrections or Rebellions, or to assist Invasions; for that is directly contrary to the intent and purpose of this Act; which is, *In case of Insurrection, Rebellion or Invasion (whereby occasion shall be to draw out the Militia into actual Service) to employ these Forces for suppressing all such Insurrections and Rebellions, and repelling of Invasions, as 'tis frequently repeated in this Act.*

Nor, Secondly, have they power to act contrary to the Directions of these Acts; as for instance, to search for Arms in the houses of persons judg'd to be dangerous, without a Constable or Parish-Officer; nor to search in Villages or Country-Towns (other than within the Bills of Mortality) between Sun-setting and Sun-rising: nor have the commission'd Peers power to imprison a Peer, where he is expressly excepted from that Penalty.

The rest of this Act is spent in charging the Quotas and Proportions of Men and Arms, in settling Pay for the Soldiers, and in declaring what Powers and Authoritys shall be executed in all cases relating to the Militia: And to the Persons concern'd we leave them, only taking notice of this Oath, which is directed by the Act to be administer'd to all Officers and Soldiers in the Militia, in these following words: *I A. B. do declare and believe that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous Position, That Arms may be taken by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commission'd by him, in pursuance of such Military Commissions.* But, as I said before, neither are the People of England enslav'd by this Oath. For as for the first Clause, it never was lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; for that, in other words, is to levy War against him. And as for the first part of the Position to be abhor'd, That Arms may be taken by the King's Authority against his own Person, it was always traitorous Nonsense, and fit to go along with the other Proposal in the Oxford Expedient, of inthroning the Name of a Prince, but banishing his Person five hundred miles off under pain of death. And so the other part of the Position, That Arms may be taken by the King's Authority against those who have receiv'd Authority from the King in the execution of that very Authority, is still as ill put together as the other; for it makes the King's Authority to supplant and destroy it self. And therefore the renouncing and abhorring of such Positions can never be interpreted to be parting with our English Libertys; which having been all along preserv'd by our Ancestors, at a vast expence both of Blood and Treasure, must needs be presum'd to be something that was more valuable than barbarous Nonsense.

But because there are many men, who (like *Trouble-all* in *Bartholomew-Fair*) take two or three words under the hand of a Magistrate to be a sufficient Warrant for any thing, and think all to be Commissions which are so call'd, whether they be so or no; it will be necessary to take into consideration this last part of the Oath, and to shew,

1. What a Commission is. And,
2. Who act in pursuance of such Commission.

1. A Commission is the legal Appointment of a legal Person to execute or exercise some legal Power or Authority. And therefore the first thing requisite to a Person's being commissioned, is, that he be legally appointed. So Dr. *Falkner* commenting upon this Clause of the Oath, by a *Commission*, understands a Commission regularly granted, Book 2. chap. 1. §. 6. But tho, as he says, that be the true Sense of the Clause, yet it is not the whole Truth. For tho a Commission may be issu'd in due form of Law, and be regularly granted, yet the Incapacity or Disability of a Person to receive a Commission, or the illegal Powers of the Commission it self, may render it void.

2. The next thing requisite to a Person's being commissioned, is, that he be a legal Person. For first, a Person may be incapable by Law of being commissioned; as he that was not a natural-born Subject of England, was incapable of being a High Commissioner. Or secondly, a Person may be disabled by Law from having a Commission, by being convicted of some Offence against the

the Laws, which is punish'd by such a disability. Or 3^{dly}, Which we may likewise refer to this Head, a person may be unqualify'd by Law to execute a Commission, or act by virtue of it, till he has perform'd some Condition requir'd by Law: As for instance, till he has taken his corporal Oath for the due and impartial execution of the Trusts committed to him; or, as in the Militia-Act, every Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, Officer and Soldier remains unauthoriz'd till he has taken the Oath. For in all these cases, where the Law says no man shall be inabl'd or impower'd, he is not impower'd.

The third Requisite to a person's being Commissionated is, that he be appointed to execute or exercise some legal Power and Authority. No man can be commission'd to exercise Powers which are illegal and arbitrary, and which the Law says shall not be exercis'd. And therefore all such Commissions are null and void, that is, they are no Commissions. As for instance, Letters-Patent, or Commissions to erect a Court with such Powers and Authoritys as the High-Commission-Court had; or, because we are speaking of Military Commissions, a Commission for Proceedings by Martial Law, contrary to the Laws and Franchises of the Land.

The next thing is to consider, when a man acts in pursuance of his Commission. And First, It is plain that he does not act by virtue, nor in pursuance of his Commission, who exceeds the legal Powers and Authoritys of his Commission. For in those Acts he is not authoriz'd and impower'd, but acts of his own head. Secondly, Much less does he act in pursuance of his Commission, who acts quite contrary to the intents and purposes of his Commission. As for instance, he who in case of Insurrection, Rebellion or Invasion, is commissionated to lead and imploy the Militia for suppressing such Insurrection or Rebellion, or for repelling such Invasion; if instead of this he himself shall raise an Insurrection or Rebellion, or assist an Invasion, he pursues his Commission to Death, and acts in direct opposition to the end for which the Law has impower'd him, and does that which he neither is, nor can possibly be authoriz'd to do.

But because no Commission can be given, no Power can be granted, no Authority can be intrusted with any person, but may be unfaithfully discharg'd, yea, tho men be sworn to the due and impartial execution of it; it may be made a question, Whether legal Powers and Authoritys which are not duly, and truly, and impartially executed, are Authoritative, and consequently must be submitted to?

To which it must be answer'd, That a Trust is inseparable from an Office or Commission; and that no Legal Power or Authority can be so cautiously regulated, but still something that is within the compass of that Power and Authority, must be left to the Honesty and Integrity of him that executes it. Only it is the Perfection of the English Laws, whereby they have preserv'd the Franchise of the Land, that they have left very little to the Discretion of those who are intrusted with the execution of them, but in all cases have secur'd the main. As where they have left Fines at the Will of the King, still it is *salvo Contentamento*. But where the Law has expressly intrusted a Commissioner with the exercise of some Power, while he acts within the Bounds and Limits of his Authority, there he is to be submitted to, tho he shou'd exercise that Power amiss. As for instance in this Act, "The said respective Lieutenants and Deputys, or any three or more of them, shall have power to hear Complaints, and examine Witnesses upon Oath, (which Oath they have hereby power to administer) and to give redress according to the Merits of the Cause, in matters relating to the execution of this Act." Now if they do not faithfully discharge this Power, nor give Redress according to the Merits of the Cause, a man must even put his Complaint in his Pocket, till he can have legal Redress elsewhere. This Act likewise inables the Lieutenants, or any two or more of their Deputys, to warrant the seizing of all Arms in the possession of any Person, whom the said Lieutenants, or any two or more of their Deputys, shall judge dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom. Now if they shall abuse this Power, which is for securing the Peace of the Kingdom, to the disarming the loyalest and best Subjects the King has; and will not restore these Arms to the Owners again (nor they be able to recover them by Replevin) it cannot

be help'd; nor indeed is it of very great importance, because they may buy more. But, as I said before, where the Property, or Liberty, or Lives of the Subject are concern'd, this very Act has been careful to secure them; so as to forbid searching for Arms in the Night-time (unless within the Bills of Mortality, Citys and Market-Towns) and every where has requir'd it to be done with a Parish-Officer, whereby both the Persons and Goods of the Subject are least expos'd.

It has likewise been careful to provide, "That neither this Act, nor any matter or thing therein contain'd, shall be deem'd, constru'd, or taken to extend to the giving or declaring of any Power for the transporting of any of the Subjects of this Realm, or any way compelling them to march out of this Kingdom, otherwise than by the Laws of *England* ought to be done." And yet some men, I cannot say have deem'd and taken, but I am sure have wickedly constru'd this Act to extend much farther, even to a power of destroying the Liege Subjects of this Realm, and marching them out of the World, otherwise than by the Laws of *England* ought to be done. But this last Proviso has sufficiently confuted all such mischievous Doctrine.

Where is Arbitrariness then? It is excluded. By what Law? Even by the Imperial Law, or Law of the Prerogative: For tho the power of the Sword is declar'd in these Acts to the fall, yet they have taken care to prevent all such dangerous mistakes, as if thereby those that are commissioned by the King had any power of transporting his Liege Subjects, or compelling them to march out of the Kingdom; and much less have they any power to destroy them at home, as both *Magna Charta*, and the Petition of Right, 3 *Car.* intir'd, A Declaration of divers Rights and Libertys of the People to the King's most Excellent Majesty, do fully declare.

Now I wou'd fain know wherein those who transport the King's Liege Subjects, without any power to transport them, differ from Kidnappers? or those that destroy them, without any power to destroy them, differ from Murderers? And surely the People of *England* have a legal Right, and several legal ways to rescue themselves from Kidnappers and Murderers, without pretending to the Command of the Militia!

But tho the last mention'd Proviso was twice enacted, yet comes the Pulpit-Law, and utterly repeals it (as it does the 13th of *Elix.*) and says the Subjects of *England* must be compel'd, and shall be compel'd to march out of the Kingdom, if those that are commissioned by the King shall think fit. For tho these have no power to compel, yet the Subjects of *England* are bound in Conscience to know their Duty and their Drivers, and to supply this lack of legal Power by the inward impulses of their own spiritual and never-failing Passive Obedience; and must either go out of the Kingdom upon this occasion, or go to the Devil for their wicked and rebellious refusal. It likewise repeals all the legal Limitations, which have ascertain'd penaltys for the several Offences committed against the Laws. As for instance in this Act, whereas the Law says, "That the chief Commission'd Officer upon the place may imprison Mutineers and such Soldiers as do not their Dutys, and shall and may inflict for punishment for every such offence any pecuniary Mult, not exceeding five shillings; or the penalty of Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize, not exceeding twenty days:" The Doctrine of Passive Obedience makes nothing of these legal Restrictions, and says, that men must submit to perpetual Imprisonment, or to be hang'd for such offences, or for no offence at all, if those that are commission'd will have it so.

I humbly submit it to the Wisdom of our Legislators when they shall be assembled in Parliament, Whether they will endure to have all their Laws thus us'd, and suffer them to be put into a bottomless Bag (as the Poets say *Jupiter* disposes of Lovers Vows) of a boundless and endless Passive Obedience.

But because some men have mov'd another Question, Who shall be judg when there is an Insurrection, Rebellion or Invasion? and consequently, whether there be occasion or not, according to Law, to imploy the Militia, and to draw them forth into actual Service? it is fit to say something to it. To which I answer, That the Law has judg'd already, and determin'd the matter to our hands; and all *English*-men know as well, as if they had the Opinion of

All the Judges, that going peaceably to Market, or to their Parish-Church, is neither Insurrection, Rebellion, nor Invasion. But I have long since observ'd, that those who wou'd inflave men, either under an implicit Faith, or a blind Obedience, are very pert in putting such Questions; *The Scripture is the Rule of Faith, but who shall be judge of the sense of it?* And when you have once allow'd them that point of an absolute Judg, then presently an Apple shall be an Oyster, Bread shall be Flesh, and Blood, and Bones; Pig shall be Pike, and a Dog shall be a Catawimple. Now I humbly conceive there is no need at all of constituting a Judg to resolve that the Barber's Bason is not *Mambrino's* Helmet, when none but a Madman, who is bent upon seeking Adventures, and is ready to pick quarrels with all mankind, will say it is.

As to the third Act concerning the Militia, 15 Car. 2. c. 4. I shall only take notice of one Clause of Indemnity, in these words: "And it is further declar'd and enacted, That all and every person and persons who since the five and twentieth day of *March*, one thousand six hundred sixty and two, have acted or done any thing in the dismantling of any Citys or Towns, or demolishing of Walls and Fortifications thereof, or relating thereunto, shall be, and are hereby indemnify'd and sav'd harmless." Now this was long after the Militia had been declar'd to be in the King, and yet these persons having exceeded their legal Powers, stood in need of an Indemnity by Act of Parliament: which had been vain, if the King's Command, or their own Commission wou'd have justify'd them, and born them out in it.

I come now in the 2d place to produce some Reasons to prove the lawfulness of defending our selves against illegal Violence; which is a Truth so obvious, and so agreeable to the common sense of Mankind, that even those men who set themselves to oppose it, do oftentimes assert it unawares, and give unanswerable Reasons for it. I shall therefore first set down those Concessions which the force of Truth has extorted from this Author; and 2dly, add some other Arguments to them.

1st. *No man wants Authority to defend his Life against him who has no Authority to take it away*, p. 69. But no man whatsoever has any just and legal Authority (that is, any Authority at all) to take it away contrary to Law, p. 190, 191. And from these premises, it is easy for any man to infer the Conclusion.

2dly. *He that resists the Usurpations of men, does not resist the Ordinance of God, which alone is forbidden to be resisted. But Acts of arbitrary and illegal Violence are the Usurpations of Men.* Therefore, &c.

These again are our Author's Doctrines; the former, p. 128. l. 15. the other, p. 211. l. 11. as likewise 212. l. 22. he acknowledges, that the assuming of an absolute and arbitrary Power in this Kingdom wou'd be *Usurpation*; tho he says at the same time, that no Prince in this Kingdom ever usurp'd such a Power: which is notoriously false; for *Richard the Second* by name did, not to mention any other.

3dly. A 3d Argument which this Author furnishes us withal, is this, p. 164, 165. *The Reason why we must submit to Governors, or subordinate Magistrates, is, Because they are sent by our Prince, and act by his Authority; and we must never submit to them in opposition to our Prince.* Now nothing is better known in this Kingdom, than that those who commit illegal Violence, do not act by the Prince's Authority: for, as our Author says, p. 190. he himself has no just nor legal Authority to act against Law; and therefore we need not submit to them in such acts. Nay farther, according to this Author, we must never submit to them in this case, because they are in opposition to our Prince; for they act against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, as the Law has evermore interpreted such Acts.

4thly. Our Author, p. 126. has these words: *Every man has the Right of Self-preservation, as intire under Civil Government, as he had in a state of Nature. Under what Government soever I live, I may still kill another man, when I have no other way to preserve my life from unjust violence by private hands.* Now the Hands of subordinate Magistrates, imploy'd in acts of illegal Violence, are private Hands, and arm'd with no manner of Authority at all; of which this is a most convincing proof, That they may be hang'd by Law for such acts, which no man can or ought to suffer for what he does by Authority. They

are no Officers at all in such acts; for illegal Violence is no part of their Office.

This is sufficient to shew, that this Author holds so much Truth, as would have led him to his own conviction, if he had but attended to the immediate consequences of it, instead of blending it with a great many Fallhoods; and after he has answer'd his own Arguments, I shall desire him to do as much for these which follow.

1st. No man can authorize himself. But in acts of illegal Violence, if a subordinate Magistrate have any Authority at all, he must authorize himself. For it is a contradiction to say the Law authorizes him to do an illegal Act, as our Author well observes, p. 195. and it is as false to say, that the King who can do no wrong, can authorize another to do it. In the great Conference of the Lords and Commons, 3 *Caroli*, concerning the Contents of the Petition of Right, the Law was held to be, *That if the King commands a man to do injury to another, the Command is void, & Actor fit Author, and the Actor becomes the wrong-doer*; that is, he acts of his own head, and authorizes himself.

Ephemeris
Parliam.

2^{dly}. The illegal Violence of subordinate Magistrates cannot be more irresistible, only by being more criminal than it is in other men; for that would be to make a man's Crime to be his protection. But illegal Violence done by subordinate Magistrates, is not only as inauthoritative, as if it were committed by private persons, but likewise more criminal; as being done with a face and colour of Authority, and under pretence of Law, making that partaker of their Crime, violating and blenching the Law at once.

I might multiply such Arguments; but if this Author will please to give a full and clear Answer to these only, I here promise to be of his Opinion.

REFLEC

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

First printed in the Year 1689.

IN turning over the late History of Passive Obedience, I quickly found out the Author to be a King James's Man, and no King William's Man, (for so it is, that by means of some who pretend to be mighty Church-of-England Men, we have two Kings on foot; and when a man in common Conversation names the King, he is ask'd to explain himself, and to say which King he means.) And when I had discover'd of what stamp the Historian was, I needed no great sagacity to understand the Design and Drift of the History. It is this plainly, to thrust out the present Government, by leaving no room for it, and by telling us that the late Tyranny was sacred and irresistible; it is to keep up that indefeasible Title, *which no Religion, no Law, no Fault nor Forfeiture can alter or diminish.* It is to blacken all the Glorious Instruments of our Deliverance, who invited over and join'd the Prince of Orange, with the multiply'd Titles of *Rebels and Traitors*; and to leave them all in a *State of Damnation*, which they must get out of as well as they can. It is in short to damn the whole Nation, both the Defenders of our Country, and the Passive-men too, the former for *resisting*, and the latter for *not assisting the late King*; the former as *Giants that fought against God*, and the latter as *disloyal and perjur'd Wretches in not fighting for him*: So that it calls them all to Repentance and Reparation, and is in effect a great many Sermons together upon one of their late Texts, *Why are ye the last in bringing back the King?* He when he went away left it under his hand, That the Nation was poison'd; and therefore out again comes this Historian with the old *Orvietan*, having a great number of *Probatum's* annex'd to it, to try if it will prove a better Restorative, than it did a Preservative against that venomous

venomous Doctrine, of a Nation's defending their Rights and Libertys, and rescuing themselves from Slavery.

But the Truth and Goodness of any Doctrine is not to be try'd by the telling of Noses: and therefore this History signifies as little to the *Merits of the Cause*, as if it had been the History of *Tom Thumb*; and somewhat less if it be a false History, as I shall in few words plainly shew it to be. For whereas the commendable Diligence of this Historian has made several Chapters concerning the Publick and Establish'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which have not one Syllable to his purpose; at the same time he has made no mention, nor taken any notice at all of three Acts of Convocation, which are likewise Acts of Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, which are the Standard of the Church of *England* Doctrine in this case. And these are back'd with three other contemporary Acts of Parliament to the same purpose, which are full in point to justify the late *Dutch Expedition*, by celebrating the Religion, Justice, and Merit of three several Expeditions in those Days, which were exactly the same with this last. I have printed the very Words of these six Acts of Parliament four times over, once in my *Answer to Constantius*, and thrice in the *Opinion of Resistance*, which is extant, p. 167, 168. of my *Collection*: And therefore the total omission of them in this History, and the passing them over in so profound a Silence, is not reconcilable with the Faithfulness requir'd in a Historian. If he pass'd them over as being no fit Materials for his Passive History, but contrary to it, then I wonder very much that he shou'd advance a Doctrine under the name of the Church of *England*, which he knew to be opposite to six Acts of Parliament, and to three solemn and binding Declarations of the whole Church of *England*; when he has not so much as any one Authority of the same nature, to stand in competition with any one of those Declarations. I am perfectly weary with transcribing those Passages as they there stand, and as they are the highest Acknowledgments and Applauses of Q. *Elizabeth*, for her assisting the *Scots, Dutch, and French* in their several *Defences* of themselves against *Tyranny and Oppression*; and therefore I shall here only apply some of those Authentick and Act-of-Parliament Expressions to the present Case. If those brave Men were now alive, they wou'd certainly be very forward in paying their own Deliverance-Mony, when they paid six Shillings in the Pound Deliverance-Mony for their Neighbors; and wou'd have been very thankful to his present Majesty for using Godly and Prudent Means (namely, a Fleet and Army) to abate the Hostility and Persecution practis'd against them; and for his Princely and Upright Preservation of the Liberty of the Realms and Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, from imminent Captivity and Desolation. They wou'd have gratefully acknowledg'd the great and perpetual Honour which it pleas'd God to give his Majesty, in making him the principal Support of all just and religious Causes against USURPERS. They wou'd have said, The States of *Holland* are now become, in their turn, since Your Majesty's happy Days, both a Port and Haven of Refuge for Distressed States and Kingdoms, and a Rock and Bulwark of Opposition against the Tyrannys and Ambitious Attempts of Mighty and Usurping Potentates.

2. Now let us search this Historian's whole Pack, and see what he has got to oppose to this publick Doctrine of the Church of *England*, wherein she allow'd and abetted the Subjects of three several Sovereign Princes in fighting against them, and was successful in helping two of those Countrys to throw off the Yoke of their Oppressors, *Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip II. of Spain*. And upon examination, I cannot find in this whole History one Publick Act contrary to this Establish'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*. There is not a word against this in the *Thirty Nine Articles*, nor in the *Homily*s; for, as I have heretofore shewn, the up-shot of the Homily of Obedience is obeying Common Authority: And Rebellion is there defin'd to be resisting or withstanding Common Authority, and therefore I heartily subscribe the *Homily*s over again. For the difference betwixt Authority and No-Authority, Law and No-Law, tho it be thought a little and a puzzling Distinction by this Historian, yet I am sure is both a very clear one, and goes a great way with me. There is not a word against this in the *Liturgy*; and therefore this Historian catches at a

Straw,

Straw, when he says that God is stil'd in it *the only Ruler of Princes*. For may I defend my self against no man's Violence, till I can prove that I am his Ruler? There is not a word against this in the *Injunctions and Canons*, till you come to the Canons of Forty; which instead of being establish'd by Act of Parliament, do stand condemn'd and reprobated by two Parliaments: No nor in the *Bishops Orders* neither, as I can see, tho I have valu'd them the less, since I have known the *Pacquet of Advice to the Men of Shaftsbury* to have been one of those Orders. I can see nothing more which looks with any Face of a Publick Authority, unless it be the *Censures of our Universities*; but every body knows what cheap things those are, and that an *Oxford Decree* is nothing else but a *Cambridge Address*.

As for the Martyrs and Confessors Doctrine in *Q. Mary's Time*, (which is brought in by the head and shoulders into this History, for it has no affinity with it) it was Submission to the Law, and not to Arbitrary Government. His Popish Bishops, *Stokesly, Tonstal, and Bonner's* Authoritys I give him. Here are indeed left in this History abundance of *private Doctors Opinions*, and their Flights of Flattery are very high, especially in their Court-Sermons; but these are in opposition to the Establish'd Doctrine of the Church of *Eng. Land*, and to six Acts of Parliament, as I shew'd before, and therefore their Authority is worse and less than nothing: But if they must have an Answer, they are only fit to be confuted by a Second Edition of *Dissenters Sayings*.

And here I have reason to enter a just Complaint against the pretended Church-of-*England* Men of the two last Reigns, who not only left me the grinning Honour of maintaining the establish'd Doctrine of the Church all alone, (which I kept alive, till it pleas'd God to make it a means of our Deliverance, with the perpetual hazard of my own Life for many years, and with suffering Torments and Indignitys worse than Death) but also beside this, were very zealous in running me down, and very officious in degrading me, as an Apostate from the Church of *England* for this very Service: While at the same time, they themselves were making their Court with their own Renegado Doctrine of Passive Obedience; and wearing out all Pulpits with it, as if it had been, not only the First and great Commandment, but the Second too; and cramming it down the reluctant Throats of dying Patriots, as *the Terms of their Salvation*. And now in this Reign, for want of recanting their Passive Doctrine, they suffer it to be made use of against the present Government, and to be compil'd into such a History as is the Seed-Plot of Rebellion, and a standing Common-place-Book for treasonable Practices. And this is the more to be complain'd of, because they themselves must needs now clearly see, if they did not before, the mischievous Consequence of their Passive Doctrine, which bound us not to resist, but to assist our Prince, tho a Tyrant; which if it had taken place in mens Minds and inward Belief, had for ever enslav'd the Nation. But God be thank'd, tho this Doctrine fill'd the Ears of the Nation for a long time, yet it never bor'd them; for if it had, the Prince of *Orange*, with all the Power of *Holland*, cou'd never have brought us a Deliverance, nor have been able to rescue these three Kingdoms from themselves, and from their own chosen and voluntary Bondage. And while this Doctrine continues to be believ'd by any deluded Party among us, they are bound in Conscience either to be doing mischief here, or else to go and join the *Irish* Camp at *Drogheda*. For which reason, till it be publicly recanted or condemn'd, I shall here fully confute it in a few words.

All their Proof, *That a Tyrant may not be resisted, but must be assisted by his Subjects*, wholly centers in the 13th of the *Romans*: In order therefore to know whether a Tyrant is any way concern'd, or has any part or portion in that Text, we must first consider what a Tyrant is. And because I will not be my own Judg, nor make Definitions of my own, I will take that exact one of Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, approv'd and publish'd by the present Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*. "I call him a Tyrant, who either intrudes himself forcibly into the Government of his Fellow-Citizens, without any legal Authority over them; or who having a just Title to the Government of a People, abuses it to the destruction or tormenting of them. So that all Tyrants are at the same time Usurpers, either of the whole, or at least of

" a part of that Power which they assume to themselves; and no less are they
 " to be accounted Rebels, since no man can usurp Authority over others,
 " but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those
 " Laws which were his Superiors."

It is plain by this Definition, that a Tyrant (tho he had a legal Title, and is a Tyrant only in exercise, as they term it) is both a Usurper and a Rebel; and if neither of these are contain'd in the Text, nor can lay any claim to the Dutys of Subjection, Non-Resistance, Assistance, Tribute, &c. so neither can a Tyrant, who is both of them in one. As I have many years since shewn in my *Answer to Constantius*, that the illegal Violence of inferior Magistrates is excluded out of this Text, by letting the Text speak for it self: so let any man try whether the Text will admit of a Rebel or Usurper, and you may soon see how well they will become the Place. For then St. Paul's words run thus: *Let every Soul be subject to a Rebel* (tho he be neither higher Power, nor lower Power, nor any Power at all) *for there is no Rebel but of God, the Rebels that he are ordain'd of God: Whosoever therefore resisteth a Rebel, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. For a Rebel is the Minister of God to thee for Good; and so is the Devil and the Inquisition.* Whereby it is demonstrable, That St. Paul here describes a just and righteous Government, which is employ'd for the Publick Good, and requires Subjection only to that; for if you put in any other into the Text, it quite overthrows it, and turns it into Blasphemy: And it is likewise demonstrable, that no Tyrant can put in so much as his Nose at the 13th of the *Romans*.

The next thing is to consider whether the late King was a Tyrant, or not, by this Definition. Perhaps the proving him so, will as much displease some very courtly People, as the calling a crown'd Head by that Name heretofore did; (but God be thank'd, they were so far mistaken, for he was an uncrown'd Head at that time) However, pleasing and displeasing is not my business, but doing all the Right and Service I can to my Country, and to that just and rightful Government which is now over us; and so that be done, I care not who is pleas'd or displeas'd. This Definition then is very full, and contains both a Tyrant in Title, and a Tyrant in Exercise, or in the Administration of the Government, as Writers of Politicks call them. The former is he, who *intrudes himself forcibly into the Government of his Fellow-Citizens without any legal Authority over them.* I will not make my self more work than I need, in saying that the late King was such a one (for if I prove him one sort of Tyrant, what need I prove him two?) but this I say, that he came into the Government against the Consent of the whole Nation: for the House of Commons, by their Bill of Exclusion, banish'd him 500 miles from his Kingdom; the House of Lords, by Bills of their own ordering, banish'd him 500 miles from his Kingship. For they order'd a Bill of an Association; a Bill for the last Parliament in being to come without his calling, and sit several months without his leave, and to dispose of all the Offices and Places of Trust in the Kingdom; a Bill to empower the People to pursue and destroy his Forces, if he rais'd any without Consent of Parliament, and the like: whereby it appears, they wou'd trust him with nothing of the Government, but only left him an empty Crown. Now these Proceedings of both Houses did declare him to be a Publick Enemy, only with this difference, that the House of Commons were for treating him as a Foreign Enemy, and the Lords were for suffering him to be a Domestick one, and for standing upon their Guard against him. And if in the strictest Successions (which that of England never was) Ideots and Lunatics by common construction have always been excepted, much more I am sure ought a known Enemy to be. But let that pass.

The latter sort of Tyrant is he, who *having a just Title to the Government of a People, abuses it to the destruction or tormenting of them.* And in this sort of Tyranny the late King did so infinitely abound, that he made use of every Branch of his Authority for that purpose; and it wou'd be endless to recount the particulars of it. His Power of raising Forces in time of War, he perverted into a standing Army in time of Peace; his Power of making

Protestant

Protestant Officers throughout the Kingdom, he apply'd to the making of Popish, and thereby put our Lives and Libertys into the hands of our Enemies; by his Power of making Judges, he got the Dispensing Power, to the destruction of our Laws, which is the wholesale destruction of a Nation. As for his tormenting part, that is best understood by those whom he had gotten in great numbers pil'd up in Jails like Faggots, and were otherwise ruin'd and barbarously us'd, who still feel it in their surviving Miserys: but so far as my share was in it, God forgive him for it, for I heartily do. I cannot omit his dropping some parcels of this Tyranny when the Prince of Orange was coming over, as men do their stolen Goods when they are in danger of being seiz'd with them (which put the Prince upon a necessity of an additional Declaration to his first) because this is a very plain Acknowledgment of the thing I was proving. For why were the Charters restor'd to all Corporations, and *Magdalen-College* to the right Owners, and the High Commission (which was the very Tyranny and Usurpation of the Popes of *Rome*, only brought to *Whitehall*, and so much the worse by being nearer us) why was this dissolv'd, and the Seal broken; I say, why were all these things drop'd, if they had not been purloin'd, or if any King of *England* could have justify'd the keeping of them?

That which follows, is the closest Inference that can be: *So that all Tyrants are at the same time Usurpers either of the whole (which is the Case of a Tyrant in Title) or at least of a part of that Power which they assume to themselves; which is the Case of a Tyrant in exercise.* For all the Power which the Law does not give a Prince (which is both the Foundation, and the Measure, and the Rule of a Prince's Authority) is assum'd and usurp'd; it is without Law, beyond Law, and against the Intention of the Law. And therefore it is not the Power of an *English* King, which, as Chancellor *Fortescue* says, he receives from the People for their better Protection, and cannot govern them by any other Power; but it is an arbitrary and boundless Power which he gives to himself, and uses as he pleases to the Peoples destruction. And such in every respect was the late King's High-Commission Court.

The last Clause is this: *And no less are they to be accounted Rebels, since no man can usurp Authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those Laws which were his Superiors.* I need not exemplify this in the Dispensing Power, which was an open Invasion of the Legislative, and a Rebellion against them who have always had an unquestionable Right in that Sovereign Authority. And as for his Superiors, the Laws, (which the same Laws tell us more than forty times the King is under and subject to) he made more bold with them, than any King of *England* ever did in so short a time.

Here then I fix my foot, and will maintain it against all the Champions of the Passive Doctrine, That the late King for many years past has had no Right at all to the Dutys enjoin'd by *St. Paul* in the thirteenth of the *Romans*, and that he has been an Outcast from that Text ever since he was an Outlaw to the *English* Constitution; That from the time he turn'd aside to a Course of Injustice, he has not been the Minister of God, but, as *Bracton* expressly says, the Minister of the Devil: nor has he been one of *St. Paul's* Higher Powers, for the Power of a King of *England* is *Potestas Juris, non Injurie*, a Power of doing Right, not of doing Wrong; and consequently there was not a Soul subject to him, or that ow'd him *Non-Resistance*: That he was so far from being the Ordinance of God, that he dissipated and destroy'd that Ordinance, which is the Legal Constitution, as *Melancthon* truly affirms. And lastly, that all this while, amongst his other Usurpations, he usurp'd the name of a King which did not belong to him; for governing by Law is the Essence of an *English* King, and where there is Arbitrary Government, there is no King, says *Bracton*. He loses the name of a King, says the seventeenth Chapter of the Laws of *King Edward the Confessor*.

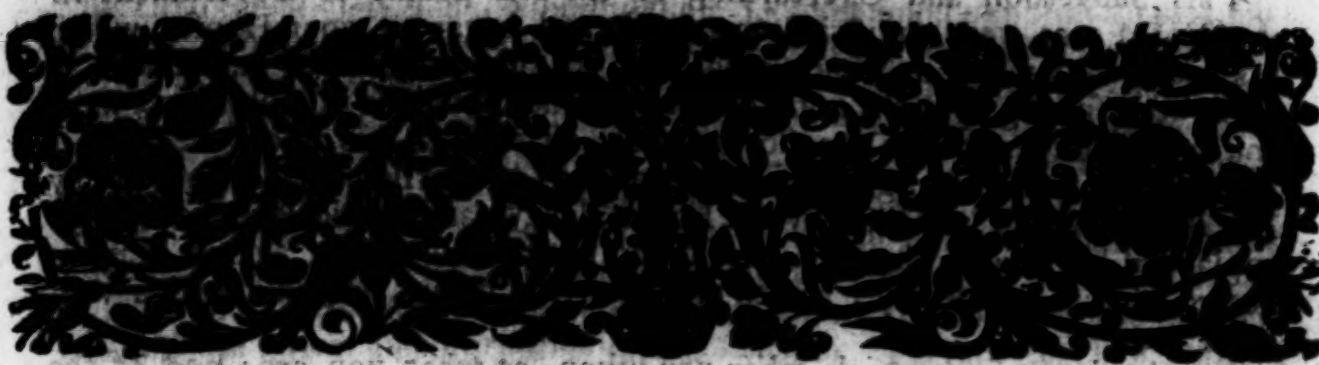
It cannot be said that I write these things to serve a present Turn, because I have long since demonstrated all this, and all that I hold in Politicks beside; and because it is Demonstration, all that I ever will hold, in one single Sheet of Paper which was commonly call'd the *Chapters*, and is extant, p. 152. of my Collection: But I am forc'd to repeat these Truths over again, because I see

the Passive-Men will never have done; for when all their Arguments are baffled, still their Doctrine will serve to make a History. I humbly leave it to the Legislature to put a stop to the Continuation of this History, because they are most concern'd to do it; for if there be no difference betwixt Law and no Law, in the point of the People of England's Subjection, then they may even shut up their two Houses at Westminster, and save themselves the needless trouble of all their publick Consultations. And while the Passive Doctrine remains, all the Lords and Commons of England have no other Property in their Lives, Libertys and Estates, than the Duke of Lorraine wou'd have had in his Country, with the French King's four High-ways of a quarter of a mile broad quite thro it. For it is the very Doctrine of the Bowstring, or of the Goat and Block, as this History describes it, p. 126. or of the Halter, for I will never contend about Names; but in short it makes Slaves and Sacrifices of a whole Nation, whenever a Tyrant comes that will take the advantage of it, and exercise the Right of a King, p. 88. Now we are taught in this History, That in such cases the Nation ought to call upon God, p. 129. which is a Cheat of a Remedy; for God has expressly said, That he will not hear in that case, 1 Sam. 8. 18. but if men will have an Oppressor, he leaves them to abide by their own Folly and Madnes.

As to the Observations upon my Preface to the Remarks on Dr. Sherlock's Book, I shall say but this, That if that Preface be so weakly written, as to be overthrown by such empty Observations, and such impotent Reflections as those are, let it take its chance.

As to Bishop Lake's Legacy, I shall only say this, That if Passive Obedience be the Characteristick of the Church, then those Confessors who in Q. Elizabeth's time restor'd and establish'd the Church, were not of it.

THE PASSIVE DOCTRINE, which is the Doctrine of the People, is a Doctrine of the People, and not of the King. The People are the Body of the Church, and the King is the Head. The People are the Foundation of the Church, and the King is the Pillar. The People are the Light of the Church, and the King is the Candle. The People are the Salt of the Church, and the King is the Pepper. The People are the Vine of the Church, and the King is the Branch. The People are the Olive of the Church, and the King is the Leaf. The People are the Wheat of the Church, and the King is the Chaff. The People are the Gold of the Church, and the King is the Dross. The People are the Silver of the Church, and the King is the Scum. The People are the Iron of the Church, and the King is the Scale. The People are the Brass of the Church, and the King is the Rust. The People are the Lead of the Church, and the King is the Dreg. The People are the Tin of the Church, and the King is the Impurity. The People are the Copper of the Church, and the King is the Defect. The People are the Pewee of the Church, and the King is the Fault. The People are the Pelican of the Church, and the King is the Wound. The People are the Lamb of the Church, and the King is the Sacrifice. The People are the Dove of the Church, and the King is the Spirit. The People are the Lion of the Church, and the King is the Power. The People are the Eagle of the Church, and the King is the Majesty. The People are the Unicorn of the Church, and the King is the Mystery. The People are the Phoenix of the Church, and the King is the Resurrection. The People are the Dragon of the Church, and the King is the Dominion. The People are the Serpent of the Church, and the King is the Deceit. The People are the Wolf of the Church, and the King is the Cruelty. The People are the Lioness of the Church, and the King is the Pride. The People are the Leopardess of the Church, and the King is the Envy. The People are the Tigeress of the Church, and the King is the Wrath. The People are the She-Asp of the Church, and the King is the Malice. The People are the Adder of the Church, and the King is the Bitterness. The People are the Viper of the Church, and the King is the Cruelty. The People are the Basilisk of the Church, and the King is the Poison. The People are the Hydra of the Church, and the King is the Multiplicity. The People are the Chimera of the Church, and the King is the Inconsistency. The People are the Centaur of the Church, and the King is the Contradiction. The People are the Scorpion of the Church, and the King is the Sting. The People are the Crab of the Church, and the King is the Backwardness. The People are the Tortoise of the Church, and the King is the Slowness. The People are the Snail of the Church, and the King is the Delay. The People are the Mole of the Church, and the King is the Darkness. The People are the Bat of the Church, and the King is the Night. The People are the Owl of the Church, and the King is the Wisdom. The People are the Raven of the Church, and the King is the Prophecy. The People are the Crow of the Church, and the King is the Warning. The People are the Magpie of the Church, and the King is the Chatter. The People are the Parrot of the Church, and the King is the Mimicry. The People are the Canary of the Church, and the King is the Song. The People are the Lark of the Church, and the King is the Joy. The People are the Nightingale of the Church, and the King is the Love. The People are the Phoenix of the Church, and the King is the Resurrection. The People are the Dragon of the Church, and the King is the Dominion. The People are the Serpent of the Church, and the King is the Deceit. The People are the Wolf of the Church, and the King is the Cruelty. The People are the Lioness of the Church, and the King is the Pride. The People are the Leopardess of the Church, and the King is the Envy. The People are the Tigeress of the Church, and the King is the Wrath. The People are the She-Asp of the Church, and the King is the Malice. The People are the Adder of the Church, and the King is the Bitterness. The People are the Viper of the Church, and the King is the Cruelty. The People are the Basilisk of the Church, and the King is the Poison. The People are the Hydra of the Church, and the King is the Multiplicity. The People are the Chimera of the Church, and the King is the Inconsistency. The People are the Centaur of the Church, and the King is the Contradiction. The People are the Scorpion of the Church, and the King is the Sting. The People are the Crab of the Church, and the King is the Backwardness. The People are the Tortoise of the Church, and the King is the Slowness. The People are the Snail of the Church, and the King is the Delay. The People are the Mole of the Church, and the King is the Darkness. The People are the Bat of the Church, and the King is the Night. The People are the Owl of the Church, and the King is the Wisdom. The People are the Raven of the Church, and the King is the Prophecy. The People are the Crow of the Church, and the King is the Warning. The People are the Magpie of the Church, and the King is the Chatter. The People are the Parrot of the Church, and the King is the Mimicry. The People are the Canary of the Church, and the King is the Song. The People are the Lark of the Church, and the King is the Joy. The People are the Nightingale of the Church, and the King is the Love.



AN ARGUMENT PROVING

That the Abrogation of King JAMES by the People of *England* from the Regal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of ORANGE, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead, was according to the Constitution of the *English* Government, and Prescrib'd by it.

In Opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses, of Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that *Are* upon Content.

To the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled.



THE favourable Acceptance, which my bounden Services to my Country, as I ever accounted them (tho they were always difficult, and upon the forlorn) have heretofore found in your Honourable House, hath caus'd me to bring you this small Offering. In former days an Appeal to the Parliament was a Removal of the Cause from *Whitehall*: but it is our peculiar

Happiness in this Reign, that we live under a Prince who had no other business here, but to restore the Constitution; which, as his Declaration speaks, was wholly overturn'd in the former Reigns; and who lay under a happy necessity of assisting the People to assert their Rights, before he cou'd secure his own Right and Remainder in the Crown.

To the Commons of England

This Subversion and Overturning of the best Frame of Government in the World was very artificially manag'd, and began at your House; which has been run down as an Innovation, and no essential Part of Parliament, a Mushroom sprung up in the 49th of *Hen. 3.* and founded in Rebellion; as if you had no deeper root in the Government, than Corn has upon the House-top. This scurvy Pedigree of the Commons in Parliament, drawn up by *Dr. Brady*, was so well lik'd by the Loyal Clergy, and particularly he was so applauded by *Jovian*, that *Mr. Pety* found the tide so strong against him, as not to venture on a Reply; tho' to my knowledg he was furnish'd with a very good one.

But that is not so material, when you began, as what you are; and of the two, it is better to be an upstart Authority, than a silly Cypher: and thus you have been represented to all the degrees of Insignificancy. Your precarious Being was told you by a wonderful Statesman, who did not spare to inform you, *That as the King had created the House of Commons by his Power, so he wou'd preserve it by his Goodness*: but then come some of the Clergy, and say, what little Creatures both You and the House of Lords are.

Jov. p. 202.

Dr. Hicks lodges in the King the whole Legislative, or the Power that makes any Form of Words a Law. He says, "The Sovereign Power may indeed be limited as to the Exercise of this Legislative Power, which may be confin'd to Bills and Writings prepar'd by others; but still it is the Sovereign Authority who gives Life and Soul to the dead Letter of them." Now this is so contrary to the Constitution, as nothing can be more. For not only King *Charles* the First acknowledg'd that the Laws were jointly made by the King, Lords, and Commons (tho' the Houses insisted upon more) but also in every Act of Parliament that is made, it is expressly said in the enacting part, that it is made by the Authority of them all: whereas by this Doctrine the two Houses have only a ministerial Office of preparing a Form of Words, and furnishing Bills and Writings, as the King's Printers use to do with Pen, Ink, and Paper: And in short, the King alone makes Laws, and the two Houses only find stuff.

Now if this sort of Paradox had been advanc'd concerning the Parish-Chest of *Barking*, where the Parson has one Key, and each of the Church-Wardens one, they cou'd soon have mathematically shewn him, that his Key had but one third of the chest-opening Power, and such a mistake wou'd only have made a jest: But in a Case of more consequence than all the Land in the Nation, if it were now to be sold, is worth, such false Positions are very dangerous. For if the Legislature were once contracted in one single Hand, it were as absurd to say it cou'd be limited in the Exercise of it, as it is to say that your House has not power over your own Orders, to recal and alter them as you think fit. What shall hinder the whole Legislature?

At this rate the Saying, of which my Lord *Lauderdale* has had the honour, wou'd have been true, That he hop'd to see the King's Edicts to be Laws, and above the Laws; for all new Laws are always too hard for the old ones. And the arbitrary Proclamation to forbid the Nation to petition for a Parliament had been a Law, if the whole Legislative Authority was in it: for the Lord Chief Justice *North* found it very easy to supply the place of both Houses, in drawing up the Form of Words.

However, this is very civil Usage to what you have had from other hands; for in this way you have still left you the honour of being Clerks, and of drawing up a Form of Words. But *Dr. Womack* in his *Short Way to a lasting Settlement*, printed by *Robert Clavel*; the chief design of which was, to out the two Houses from having any Share or *Authoritative Hand*, as he calls it, in making the Laws, and was shortly after made a Bishop for the Service, has this very insolent expression: "The Houses, you say, have a hand in the Legislation; so hath the Beggar in my Alms." As soon as I saw this odious Comparison, I knew it was fallily apply'd; for even the Coronation-Oath acknowledges that the Laws of *England* are of the Folks chusing, and it is certain that Beggars are no Chusers. But I humbly beseech both Houses upon this occasion, to have a special care how they suffer this sort of men to have the ascendant, who treat them in this manner; because we have a very harsh *English* Proverb concerning Beggars.

In

In the Year of *Jovian* 83. wherein these Doctrines were publish'd and rung all over the Nation, some of the honourable Beggars that were for a Bill of Exclusion of the Duke of *York* in his first Desertion, and were for keeping him out when he was out, after their Lives had been long hunted by these Men, fell into their Nets: Which Bill had given us this happy Reign several Years sooner, and had sav'd the Lives of more than an hundred thousand Men, whose Blood lies at their Door: but it was then their hour, and the power of Darkness. Let that Year be blotted out of Chronology!

These Doctrines I conceive are destructive to the Nation, because they undermine the Power and Authority of Parliaments, who represent the Nation, and are the Conservers of our Libertys, if we had any; but those are all taken away by another of their new-adopted Church-Doctrines of Passive Obedience, which I therefore look upon as the worst of them, because it lays waste all your Laws, after you have made them, or worded them, or beg'd them, or however you came by them.

The former Doctrines do immediately destroy you only in the Quality of Legislators; but this makes you Slaves too, and will not leave you to be so much as *English* Freemen. "You must be just such defenceless Wretches under the irresistible Power of the Sovereign and his Forces, as the *Roman* Slaves were under the sovereign and unaccountable Power of their Masters. "You must be Slaves as to this particular, you must trust your Lives and Libertys with your Sovereign: And therefore the Passive Behaviour taught by St. *Peter* to the *Roman* Slaves, is your Duty." *Jov. p. 242.*

So that if the late Sovereign being enrag'd at your Address, 17 *Novem.* 85. which broke all his measures, had sitting the Parliament sent his Forces to murder you, you ought to have submitted as the *Theban* Legion did, in which Army of Martyrs you wou'd have made a goodly Regiment. "You were to have suffer'd it patiently with your Swords by your Sides; and Passive Obedience even unto Death had been your Duty, by virtue both of the Imperial Laws, and the Laws of the Gospel." The *Theban* Legion wou'd not sacrifice, and you wou'd not come to, which was a like case; or rather yours was the more provoking Disobedience to an Arbitrary Prince, and so you were bound in Conscience to fare alike. *P. 206.*

Nay if without any incomppliance on your part, he had only had a mind to kill five hundred Kings at once, as King *James* the First call'd the Parliament, for so Dr. *Womack* relates it from Dr. *Heylin* (but whether in way of jeer, or otherwise, he cannot tell) the Sovereign's Forces had been Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords. For the Chaplain of the *Theban* Legion wou'd have charg'd you in Christ's Name, by virtue of his own Saying, "He that useth the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, not to resist under the specious pretext of Self-defence" (tho I think in that case the specious Pretence had been very much in earnest:) And if you had thus sin'd against the Laws Imperial, or the People had rescu'd you by force from the Sovereign's Forces, he wou'd have pronounc'd concerning you both; "Well, let them do so at their Peril; they may be legally hang'd for it in this World, and (without Repentance) will be damn'd for it in that which is to come." *Jov. p. 248.* *P. 249.*

This is passive Doctrine to a tittle; and as you like it, you may cherish that Party which has enslav'd the Nation by it, and to whom is owing all the Oppression of the last Reigns. For if the Doctrine of *Defending our Rights when they were invaded*, had not been burnt, martyr'd and stigmatiz'd, and the Clergy had not expressly promis'd King *James* to inculcate Passive Obedience upon all his Subjects, and thereby to bind the Nation hand and foot, and to leave nothing but suffering Souls in his whole Kingdom, he wou'd never have ventur'd to think of dragooning us, nor have begun with his preparatory Oppressions in order to it.

But after they had made him believe that they were passive to the Death, and loyal to the Death, when the burden of their own ill-contriv'd Oppression came home to themselves, and touch'd but one of their Fingers, they soon let him understand that they had given him only a Spiritual Kingdom, and not a Kingdom of this World: For if his Kingdom had been of this World, then wou'd his Servants have fought for him. But so they deluded and parted with

with their Passive-Obedience-King. For Passive Obedience is calculated only for Tyranny; suffering under arbitrary and illegal Commands and Orders, cannot take place in a legal Government, neither is there room for any such thing. Till Passive Obedience has either found or made a Tyranny, it can never be a Duty; nor then neither, for Tyranny is not Government, but the Destruction of it.

And therefore the two Histories of Passive Obedience, and the brisk Sermons that have been preach'd upon that Subject in this Reign, are contraband Goods: for we live under a Prince who within these few years rais'd the whole Possessors of England against this Doctrine, and by his Declaration invited and requir'd all the People of England of all ranks, to assist him against the Sovereign and his Forces, to prevent the Nation's being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery. We were under Arbitrary Government and Slavery then, and we may thank Passive Obedience for it; and I am humbly of Opinion that we ought never to come under it more. And therefore I think it worthy your great Wisdom and Justice, that as you have annex'd that Princely Declaration to the Crown, and made the Pursuance of it a Principal point in the Confidence and Trust you repos'd in the King, when you invest'd him: So you wou'd provide that all those who began, continu'd, and ended that glorious Expedition under the Prince of Orange (which had been a blue one, if Passive Obedience had been believ'd, as it was constantly preach'd for Gospel) may not, in this Reign at least, be represented as Rebels and Traitors, but by some temporary Act may be reliev'd from the Aspersions of delivering their Country. That one Usurping Priest in his Pulpit may not call for Pontius Pilate's Basin of Water, to wash his hands clean from the Sin of this Revolution; and another Conquering Priest may not represent those who invited in, and assisted this present King, as Men not afraid of the Power as they ought to have been; and another Deserting Priest may not make King James's Forfeiture to be his going away, which was the best thing that ever he did; and thereby leave all Men to be Rebels and Traitors who had invited, join'd, or were prepar'd to join the Prince of Orange before the 10th of Dec. 88, when our Deliverance was compleated.

These wretched Inventions of Usurpation, Conquest, and Desertion, were found out merely to cover the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and to keep that safe and sound, notwithstanding the Prince and the whole Nation had engag'd in resisting Oppression, and defending their Rights. And furthermore, That King William's coming to the Crown might not be enquir'd into, and be found to be to the Prejudice of Non-resistance, there is one has likewise found out another Invention, That you are not to trouble your Head, whether the King's Title be right or wrong, but you are to swear to whatever is Uppermost, whether he be a rightful Prince or an Usurper, which is the primitive Doctrine of the Pastoral Letter.

And this is such a Scorn put upon a free Nation as never was in the World; as if the Subjects of England were to engage their Allegiance blindfold, and were to venture their Lives and Fortunes in behalf of a Title which is to be unsight unseen, at that ridiculous rate as no Countryman will buy a Fig.

Now all these Hypotheses have but these two small faults in common to them all.

First, That they undermine the King's Throne, as if he had no Legal Right to the Crown: And if he has not, what has he to do with it? For my part I will never pay Allegiance to him as an Usurper; he ought rather to be told daily by his Chaplains that are of that mind, that he ought to make Restitution, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy Father James's Crown;* or else they are no St. John Baptists. A Revelation sent on purpose from Heaven, cannot oblige us to be Subjects to an Usurper under that Notion, because it is a notion of Wrong, and God himself cannot make wrong to be right. And then shall any Wretch bid us in his Name to swear to be faithful to acknowledg'd Wrong, and to be false to acknowledg'd and unextinguish'd Right? In short, an Usurp'd Crown is a Stollen Crown, it is Blood's Crown.

It is true indeed that God can give Kingdoms to whomsoever he will; I know it; he can make them a new World on purpose for them, or take the Forfeiture of the old, and dispose of his own Creation as he pleases: But then

then it must appear to be his Will, and he must send a new Revelation into the World along with such a highly favour'd Prince, to every man that is to be his Subject. For I am not bound to do what God wou'd have me do, till I can certainly know that he wou'd have me do it. Promulgation is of the Essence of a Law.

And this extraordinary Revelation ought to be as clear and distinct as *Abraham's* was for the sacrificing his Son; for it is as contrary to all the settl'd Rules of Right to dethrone a rightful King, as it is to destroy an only Son. And yet that Command was only intended for a trial of *Abraham's* Obedience; neither wou'd God suffer it, that there shou'd be a Precedent of a human Sacrifice in the World, tho at his own bidding. Is it not enough for an Usurper to wrong a Prince of his Crown, but this must be hallow'd by false Prophets, and said to be done in God's Name; and this prov'd by no better Argument than *Mahomet's* Miracle of Success and Settlement?

If therefore a pretended Prophet tells me that I am to own an Usurper as God's Choice, and by Divine Right, and therefore he is no Usurper; I must needs answer that the Title is far fetch'd, and comes a great way: and therefore I must desire to see some proof in point, and shall always call for Miracles for what is said to come from Heaven. And if I had but one half of the Sense which God has given me, I shou'd never be satisfy'd with the *Mahometan* Miracle of Success and Settlement. That Impostor's Come-off, when he was call'd upon for Miracles, was this; That God had sent *Moses* his first Prophet with Miracles, and when the belief of them was worn out, and the Jews were degenerated, he sent Jesus the Son of *Mary* with more Miracles, which did good for a time; but his Followers likewise degenerated, and alter'd their Books: And then he sent *Mahomet* his last Prophet, not with Miracles, which had fail'd and miscarry'd twice before, but with the Mouth of the Sword. You ask for a Miracle, says he: Did not we sack the City *Tauris* the other day, and put them all to the Sword? There's a Miracle for you.

I confess I have lov'd a good Cause in my time better than my Life, but never a crumb the better for Success: But on the other hand, the want of Success has made it the dearer to me. Success is the new Weathercock upon the Banqueting-house at *White-hall*: for when the Popish Priests saw the Wind Westerly, then it was *Deus pro nobis*; but when at last it stood Easterly to bring over the Prince of *Orange*, then it was *Deus contra nos*: And so God is made to be of all sides at that rate.

What if this Settlement shou'd be unsettl'd (which God of his Mercy defend) as I am bold to say it cannot stand upon King *James's* Rubbish, no more than a new Pile of Building upon the Heaps which lay in the Stone-Gallery. Well, what then? Why then in that suppos'd case, tho the Wind be against us, will I venture a weather-beaten Life for his Majesty's Service; but not a Hair of my Head, if I can help it, for several Ministers he has.

In short, Usurpation is of the Devil: and at the rate that any man alive shall prove, by the old standing Revelation we have, that an Usurper is a King by Divine Right, will I prove that the *French* and *Irish* Massacres were by Divine Right, and that every one of those three hundred and fifty thousand Souls which fell therein were well kill'd, and that it was all the Lord's Doing. For there is as plain and as legible Scripture, 1 Sam. 2. 6. *The Lord killeth and maketh alive*, to entitle him to that bloody Business, as there is to make him the Setter up of Divine Usurpers.

Conquest is likewise another wicked false Title to unsettle the Throne. This the Prince of *Orange* disclaim'd with detestation in his Additional Declaration, as the horridest Calumny that cou'd be invented against him, and so unnatural a thing for an English-man to join in, as if it had been to be *Felo de se*. If this Pretension had been set up when the Prince of *Orange* came, he had never march'd forty miles in *England*, tho he had come five times stronger than he did: And that which wou'd infallibly have bar'd him out of *England* then, can never settle him in it now; no not tho it were preach'd from the Clouds, as it only is from the Pulpit, which they have render'd by such means very insignificant. For what is *Conquest*? Why truly it is a publick Enemy got within us. It is the King of *France*, not at *Tinmouth*, but at *White-hall*. A

Conqueror is one, whom no After-treatys nor Consent can ever make a King; for he must have the Consent of Slaves and Minors, who have nothing to give: who cannot make a Will tho it were their last; who cannot be Partys to a Contract; for that is everlastingly impossible, unless Men be *sui juris*, and their own Men at the same time. In a word, Conquest may perhaps extend to lawful Plunder, and to Goods and Chattels, which I never took the People of a free Nation to be: But if such a Prize-Office-Divinity must needs be set up, that always supposes the Right of Reprizals.

Desertion is manifestly false: for King James must needs go; he was as much driven from England as Nebuthadnezzar was driven to Grass; and he claim'd as he fled, by the Rochester Letter. And as for the wonderful Mystery of dropping the Great Seal in the Thames, if it was done purposely, there was a very wise Reason for it. For if it had fall'n into other Hands, the Broad-Seal of England might have been immediately employ'd in Proclamations and otherwise against himself: As Q. Elizabeth made use of Q. Mary's Great Seal for a good while; which the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in King James the First's time, assures us was so, in his Answer to Dr. Cole. Now to establish the Throne upon a notorious Untruth, is to establish it upon Mr. Milton's Vacuum, where it must fall ten thousand thousand Fathom deep, and know no end of falling.

The last Doctrine, that we are to be subject to the Powers that *Are*, or any thing that is uppermost, is at the first sight so wretched a foundation of our Allegiance, that I scorn to confute it. For whereas a rightful Title is as immovable as the Pillars of the Earth; on the other hand, upon this supposition, that Obedience is only due to the present prevailing Powers, it is but shifting the Guards; and in an instant all the peoples Allegiance bids their King good-night.

Secondly, All these Hypotheses, besides their undermining the King's Throne, as if he had no rightful Title to it, have another Fault in them, that they leave nothing of Liberty or Property in the Nation.

This Revolution had almost stunn'd the Hierarchy, and was so cross to their Pulpit-Doctrines of Passive-Obedience, Unalterable Succession, Indefeasibleness and Unaccountableness of Princes, and the rest of their Jargon, that it was very much fear'd by some of their Disciples, that they wou'd not Comply nor Swear to this Government, and so must leave their Places, and that thereupon wou'd be a Famine of the Word. But there wou'd be no miss of their Preaching to the World's end, if it were such as is before us. So long as people have a Bible, they had better be without their false Glosses upon it: which the People of England have more reason to hate, than King James had the Geneva Notes, printed in Queen Elizabeth's Bibles; for which reason he forbid all Marginal Notes upon his Translation of the Bible. In the Conference at Hampton-Court, his Censure of those Notes is this, "That they were very Partial, Untrue, Seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous Conceits. As for example, *Exod. 1. 19.* where the Marginal Note alloweth disobedience to Kings, &c." But I think the Text allow'd it before, *ver. 17. But the Midwives fear'd God, and did not as the King of Egypt commanded them, but sav'd the men-children alive.* Was ever such an exception taken against express Scripture? And yet because of his unsensical Apothegm, *No Bishop, no King*, repeated over and over again in that Conference; and that Ecclesiasticus was a Bishop, for which reason the Puritans were against that piece of Apocrypha being read in Churches, and such-like clawing of the Clergy, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury said, *That undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special Assistance of God's Spirit.* So easy is it for those that call themselves the Church, to make men inspir'd, and Saints and Martyrs when they pleas'd.

Upon the Prince of Orange's Invasion, and all honest mens Rebellion, as that Party do and must term it, they cou'd not for their lives make both ends meet: and because they cou'd not make their slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience agree with the Revolution, they have endeavour'd to bring back the Revolution to them, and to reinstate us just in the condition we were in five years ago. It's no matter for the Church of Rome's Infallibility, Impenitency will serve their turn as well; and if they never repent, they have never err'd.

Here-

Barlow, p. 46,
47. Printed in
the first Vol. of
the Phoenix.

Hereupon, while I was a poor Prisoner, and the Eldest of all those that lay upon a publick Account in *England*; (tho I thought a Thanksgiving-Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, wou'd have reach'd me in the first place by Seniority; but as I was saying, while I was a Prisoner, and before it pleas'd God that my Liberty fell into my Lap, to which I was born, and which I threw away with both Hands, and with my Eyes open, for my Country's Service, some years before it was taken away from me) was I solicited to write upon the Desertion, in answer to King *James's* Claiming Letter at *Rocheſter*.

I challenge the piece of Prelacy, who wou'd have put me upon that Job of Under-journey-Work, to print the Letter which I wrote the next morning upon that Occasion, and to answer it if he can. In short, I shew'd that by the Law of *England* no Advantage cou'd be taken of a King's withdrawing himself from the Government, (if it had been voluntary, as all the World knows it was not) without a Summons sent after him to return again in forty Days; and yet I guess the same Person had the confidence afterwards to write upon the Desertion, and to found this Government upon it. But I then in those early days foresaw, that their design was to begin where the atoning Passive Fag-end of the *Lion and Unicorn* Sermon left off; and that they intended to enslave the Nation over again, with the only Alteration of the Name of *James* into *William*. Their Intent was, that all things shou'd run in the late Arbitrary Channel: For which reason the very Mention of King *James's* Forfeiting his Remainder in the Crown, by unqualifying himself for it before he had it, and of his Abdicating the Crown when he had it, by breaking the fundamental Contract, and by his Tyranny and Subversion of the Laws, was Ratsbane to these Men, and wou'd have hurt their Passive Doctrine: And therefore there was need of Slight of hand, to give a new Turn to the People's delivering themselves, and to call it King *James's* own Desertion.

Well then, according to this Hypothesis of Desertion, till a King runs away of his own accord, which was not true in the least Instance, nor ever will be to the end of the World, the People of *England* have no Remedy against Oppression, nor can ever be rid of a Tyrant; which makes ours and our Posterity's Case worse than it was in *K. James's* Time: For once in a hundred Years there may fall out some unhappy Occasion to assert the *English* Libertys, which never yet were so stinted, as to lie at the Mercy of so unlikely a Case as a Prince's own Desertion. We had better have been without our present happy Deliverance, than have it upon those Terms; for that wou'd be selling a perpetual Estate of Inheritance for one Year's Purchase. For tho we have a good Prince at present, yet there may arise such another *Pharaoh* as knew not *Joseph*.

But no doubt the Flattering Sir Politick foresaw, that if one Prince might forfeit for his Arbitrary Government, another might, and this wou'd be no agreeable Court-Doctrine. Yes verily it is even so: for whoever acts King *James's* Part, ought to have King *James* Fate, only I wish it him earlier. And I so far rely upon the Integrity and Sincerity of his Majesty's Publick Declaration, that a Single Deliverance was the least part of his Care; but his main End was, to secure the Nation from relapsing into the Miserys of Arbitrary Government any more. So that if we shou'd relapse into the Miserys of Arbitrary Government, (which I will never suppose in his time) Himself being Judge, we shall then want a new Revolution as much as we did his.

Additional
Declaration,
Octob. 24.

But there are some Men so secure, now Popery is gone, tho in great part it is where it was, (and that for such a wise Reason as never was in the World, because our Allys are Papists; whereas all the Papists here are *French* Papists, and intirely in that Interest) but because Popery is gone, they have no Apprehensions of Slavery. Whereas Slavery is Popery, Mahometanism, Paganism, Atheism, or any thing that the Prince pleases. For a Slave is a Dog that must leap over a Stick, and leap back again at his Master's bidding.

Desertion was discussed, whereby the Cause was puzzled; and then there was need of a new Contrivance, and so Conquest was started: and it was asserted in the Pastoral Letter, that the King had a Right to the Crown by

Conquest, and that it was a great Concession to receive it at the Hands of the People. This rais'd two Bishops more to pitch upon Conquest as the stronger Hypothesis of the two; the one of which answer'd poor *Ashton's* Speech, and the other has given us but one Third of his Sermon, which has been about two Years in modelling. I call'd him poor *Ashton*, because I heartily pity'd his Death: for he acted in pursuance of those Principles which his Answerer to my Knowledge has publicly preach'd above these twenty Years, and which were Church-of-England Doctrine, or else they had none during that time. I knew their Doctrine was false, and the Men false, and that they wou'd never be Martyrs for it: but they have an excellent hand at Martyr-making; and when they have brought Men to the Gallows, they leave them in the lurch, after the same manner as they report the Devil does a Witch. But then they need not write against them.

P. 26.

The Answerer's Argument is, that we ought to swear Allegiance to the Conqueror, for so they do in the new French Conquests; and the Right of War here is the same as it is abroad.

We thank him for his Love as much as if we did; but we will never submit to be in the Condition of *Mons* and *Namur*, till we are taken by Storm: And if by his saying, that the Right of War here is the same as abroad, he means that we are the new Dutch Conquests, (as the words are capable of no other meaning) I will never trouble my Head with that Matter; for whenever Foreigners pretend to be Lord-Dames here in England, I will leave that Controversy to our Wives who can best decide it.

Behold, thrice Honourable and thrice Sage Representatives of your Country, what is become of your English Rights! You are by this Doctrine a Subdu'd Nation, and a Foreign Conquest; and then I am sure that all the boasted English Liberties amount to no more than this, that our Thoughts are free, and your Post-Letters frank.

Another Conquering Bishop, whose *Petitioning Brethren* heretofore help'd to spoil the Prince of *Orange's* first Declaration, and to put a full stop to his Expedition, by the proffer'd Advice which those Bishops gave King *James*, to palliate our Grievances, and to have cheated the Nation the most effectually that cou'd be, has lately done as much for the second Declaration, and has endeavour'd to render it the falsest Paper in the World. With your Leave and Patience I will make out my Story.

When the Prince of *Orange* had made his Preparations, and our Court was sensible of it, there was means us'd to draw several Noblemen to Court to make their Complement to King *James*; which was to make a Shew to the World, by the Help of the *Gazette*, that the most disobligh'd Peers were wholly in King *James's* Interest. Accordingly the Bishops who had made themselves popular, by refusing the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and by beginning to quote Law when it came to excusing themselves from digging their own Graves, were likewise sent for to Court. When the summon'd Bishops came to the King, *Septemb. 28.* the Arch-Bishop being then not well, there pass'd nothing but Acknowledgments of Duty and Loyalty on their Side, and gracious Promises of Favour and Protection from their King. This surpriz'd these overweening Persons, who thought they had been sent for to advise the King in these difficult Affairs. Hereupon they repair'd to the Arch-Bishop, who waited on the King *Septemb. 30.* with a Proffer of their Advice; which he was ready to accept, and had it three Days after in eleven Articles, which have been several times printed and boasted of.

As soon as ever I saw them, I plainly perceiv'd that they were all of them deceitful and Mountebank Remedys: and being urg'd for my Opinion of them, I gave my Thoughts very freely concerning them, and the rather, because they were said to be very much applauded abroad. I said, that I was sure the King wou'd comply with them, but not all at once; but he wou'd make his Concessions so, as to garnish the *Gazette* with them twice a Week, and to amuse the People with a Succession of Favours, as if there were to be no end of them. That these Grievances being thus redress'd, there wou'd be no need of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition, to take care of that which was already done to his hand; and he might even stay on the other

other Side where he was. That these Concessions wou'd stand till the King had recover'd his Fright, and then all things wou'd return into the old Channel: for by this Advice he wou'd put nothing out of his reach; and by fresh *Quo Warranto's* he wou'd fetch back the Charters in a few Terms, and every thing else in a less time. But if he shou'd make any shew of being reconcil'd to the Protestant Religion, which was the last part of their mischievous Advice, it wou'd very much impose upon the Nation, tho it might make for the Interest of the Advisers. For the Advice was selfish I plainly saw, and all over Church; and the Ecclesiastical Commission, Dispensations, the two *Magdalen* Colleges, Jesuits Schools, the four Apostolick Vicars which carry'd the Grist from their Mill, and not filling the Vacant Sees, particularly that of *Tork*, was the Burden of their Complaint.

Whereupon I cou'd not forbear saying, That if the Inn-keepers of *England* had been Bishops, and all the Bishops Inn-keepers for several years past, then they wou'd have thought a standing Army a Grievance, which was not so much as mention'd in this Advice, and which wou'd at any time retrieve all the former Concessions. I said therefore, I was afraid they did not mean honestly, but intended to forestal our expected Deliverance, and to intercept the Prince's Voyage; but if they meant in favour of the Prince's coming, their proffer'd Politicks wou'd not qualify them to be Statesmen. But I much more question'd their Honesty than their Understanding; and therefore was sorry to see so generous a Design as the Prince's was, to be unblest by Bishops, and puzzl'd by a little Priestcraft.

The thing was taken right at the *Hague*: but the first Declaration being thus spoil'd, it gave the Prince the trouble of an additional Declaration; partly to expose and lay open the fraud of these pretended Remedys, and partly to meet with a dangerous Suggestion which was then started, of his intending a Conquest.

His excellent words concerning the last are these: "We are confident that
" no persons can have such hard thoughts of Us, as to imagine that we
" have any other design in this Undertaking, than to procure a Settlement
" of the Religion, and of the Libertys and Propertys of the Subjects upon so
" sure a foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nation's relapsing in-
" to the like miserys at any time hereafter. And as the Forces we have
" brought along with us, are utterly disproportion'd to that wicked design
" of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of intending it; so the great
" numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are men of eminent
" Quality and Estates, and persons of known Integrity and Zeal, both for
" the Religion and Government of *England*; many of them being also distin-
" guish'd by their constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany Us
" in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited Us to it, will cover Us
" from all such malicious Insinuations. For it is not to be imagin'd,
" that either those that have invited Us, or those that are already come to
" assist Us, can join in a wicked attempt of Conquest, to make void their
" own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Interests."

Conquering and *Enslaving* the Nation, which are equivalent words, and both put together in this Declaration, was so wicked a Design, that his Majesty was not capable of intending it, and disclaims it with abhorrence. How then come his Priests to tell him, and the whole Nation besides, that this is *God's way of disposing Kingdoms*, and that in this divine way he came by his Kingdom, and holds it by that Tenure? Is not this, as I said, spoiling the second Declaration?

But I will presently join Issue with this Conquering Bishop; for I have not been afraid of a Conqueror these eighteen years. For so long since I us'd to walk by the *New-Exchange* Gate, where stood an over-grown Porter with his Gown and Staff, which gave him a semblance of Authority; whose business it was to regulate the Coachmen before the Entrance; and wou'd make nothing of lifting a Coachman off his Box, and beating him, and throwing him into his Box again. I have several times look'd up at this tall mastering Fellow, and put the case: Suppose this Conqueror shou'd take me up under his arm like a Gizzard, and run away with me; am I his Subject? No, thought I, I am my

own man, and not his: and having thus invaded me, if I cou'd not otherwise rescue my self from him, I wou'd smite him under the fifth Rib. From that time I have had a clear Idea of Conquest, and no Conqueror in the World, with all his Power, can have any more Right to me than that Fellow.

Yea, says the Bishop, but tho the Porter had no clear Right to you by being Sovereign of the *Exchange Gate*, and Conquering you, yet he had you in possession. And therefore, according to the common Saying, which is most true in this Case, he had eleven Points of the Law.

Now, I say, give me but the one Point of Right, and I will dispute the Eleven Points of Possession with any man whatsoever; and do no more mind them, than all the variable Points of a Divinity-Compass. But did ever any man in a Pulpit talk in behalf of the Eleven Points of Law, and maintain Wrong against Right? Why does he not quote another common Saying, which is most true in the same case, That Right and Wrong is nothing but Weak and Strong? Such men by God's Judgment are left us in the World to unteach us the difference of Good and Evil.

But the man is quite out of his Story, and must begin again. For Conquest, even in his Notion, is justling a man out of his Seat, and sitting down in his place; and this is done in an instant, as one Nail drives out another. But this is quite contrary to the matter of Fact in relation to our two Kings: for King *William* was not King upon King *James's* first Flight, nor upon his second Flight, nor during the long vacancy, which was no fault of mine that it was not shorten'd, nor till such time as our People made him King. And we have an Act of Parliament in this Reign, which declares the Realm of *England* to have been Sovereign during that time, by ordering all Indictments, from the time of King *James's* withdrawing till the 13th of *Febr.* to run in their Name. And he that was not King till the 13th of *Febr.* cou'd not have been so then, if his *English* Friends had not made him so.

By the Doctrine of an *Usurper* set up by God, you have nothing left you: for a Kingdom of God's giving is *Nebuchadnezzar's* Kingdom; *Dan. 5. 18, 19.* Whom he wou'd he slew, and whom he wou'd he kept alive, and whom he wou'd he set up, and whom he wou'd he put down. So that it is the World's End with any or all of you, whenever the Court sends for your Lives, Libertys or Estates. Such an *Usurper* is a God upon Earth, which it is easy for some sort of men to make. For so *Calyban* made *Stephano* his God, and offer'd to lick his Foot; but it was for what he cou'd get by him: and therefore it was *Trinculo's* Opinion, and it is also mine, that if his God were asleep, he wou'd rob his Bottle.

Who shall set Bounds to a Divine Authority? He himself that has it from God, cannot part with an inch of it; much less can that Herd, which they call the People, either limit or dispute it. His part is to Command, and theirs to Obey without Reserve. Human Laws are Sacrilegious, waste Paper, where there is a God amongst them, and a Nation is wholly at Discretion. No, say they, he is accountable to God. What is that to us? We may be Destroy'd, or laid in Gore Blood for all that. Is not the *French* King accountable to God? And yet what Reparation is that to the many millions of Souls which he has destroy'd, or what Remedy against the destruction of as many more? I hate that Phrase; for the *English* Law has provided better than to make their King only Accountable to God; there's always Mischief in that Saying. I know a Kingdom where an Arbitrary King had exercis'd his People with intolerable Oppressions for above twelve years together by his own Confession, and after that engag'd them in a Bloody War; and after some respite, but before their Wounds were well heal'd, tho he were a Prisoner himself, he caus'd a new War to break loose upon them; and was wholly secure, because he insist'd mightily upon it that he was accountable only to God: Whereupon, tho with the regret of a great part of the Nation, they sent him to God to give an Account. For which Reason I cannot abide that Saying, of being Accountable only to God.

In the mean time the *Mishpat Hamelek*, and the Right of an Arbitrary and Despotick King is reviv'd by this Doctrine; and the things which are *Cesar's*, according to their former false Glosses, is every thing that is not preingag'd to

to God, which we all know is the Church's Portion. So that the Church and Caesar divide the World betwixt them. Or as Dr. Ball us'd to lisp it out in his Court-Sermons, Lives and Estates, Wives and Children, all things were *Thathar's*: all we had was *Thathar's*, and therefore we were to render it to *Thathar*. But I suppose no able Lawyer in either Temple, of which he was Master, was ever able to understand this blase Divinity.

It is true, the Scripture calls Princes *Gods*, and that is enough for Court Parasites. For when they have got such a Scripture-Metaphor by the end, how have I seen them ride on the Ridg of it! Then, "Subjects withdrawing their Obedience from their lawful Prince, is a denying God's Authority; Treason against him is a kind of Sacrilege; a Revolt from him, an Apostacy from God; a Resisting him, an Opposing God; Rebelling against him, Fighting with God; the setting up the Title of a counterfeit Prince against the true One, an introducing a Plurality of Godheads; the obeying of an Usurper, Idolatry; the Slandering his Anointed, and his Footsteps, a blaspheming God; the blaming his Conduct, a quarrelling with Providence."

Dr. Fitz-William's Thanks giving Sermon for the Murder of my Lord Russell, &c.

I have said ye are Gods, is divulg'd Scripture, and every body has heard it aloud, a hundred times; but there is a neglected Text of Scripture as full of Inspiration as that, which never us'd to be quoted; *Prov. 28. 15. A roaring Lion and a ranging Bear, is a wicked Ruler over the poor people.* Here are two Metaphors for their one; and if any body were dispos'd to follow the way of their former Descant, it must run thus upon this Text: A Lion is a Beast of Prey, seeking whom he may devour; therefore give him no Law; destroy all his Jackals; deliver the Prey out of his Teeth, and wear his Spoils as *Heracles* did. A ranging Bear will kill you if you do not kill him; therefore destroy all his Cubs, for they will be Bears in time; set a Price upon their Heads, and let the Churchwardens pay it.

This Text is so lively a Picture of a bad Prince, that the Messieurs of the Port-Royal are amaz'd at it, and say thus in their Annotations upon it, *Il n'appartient qu'à Dieu de dire des Veritez si étonnantes*; It belongs to no body but God to say such astonishing Truths. But he is so good an Authority, that any body may safely say such astonishing Truths after him.

Now an hungry ranging Bear cannot possibly be a God; and therefore when *David* calls Princes *Gods*, he meant good Princes, Benefactors to Mankind, and not his Son *Solomon's* Bears, who cannot be call'd Gods, no not by a Figure. And this Distinction is so natural, that it became proverbial in several of the Learned Languages, *Homo Homini Deus, & Homo Homini Lupus*: One Man is a God to another, and one Man is a Wolf to another. And so far as Princes resemble God himself in Justice and Goodness, let them wear the Psalmist's Titular Honour of Gods, and good Luck may they have with it; but when they degenerate into *Solomon's* Beasts of Prey, it wou'd be so harsh a Figure to call them Gods, that no Language upon Earth can bear it, unless it be that Figure, whereby they use to call things in scorn.

And yet our false Pulpits us'd to treat the Bears as if they had been Divinities, when they had just been sucking the best Blood in the Nation; and when they had had more Carnage in half a year's time, than Popish Queen *Mary* had in her whole Reign.

But if there be no difference betwixt a good Prince and a bad, why did the Nation, a great number of them, with the apparent hazard of their Lives, give themselves the Trouble and Charge of this present Exchange? King *James* wou'd have serv'd their turn as well.

How came the Prince of *Orange* so generously to undertake his Expedition, but to rescue us out of the Paw of the Bear? If we had been under a God, there had been nothing amiss, and there had been no cause with Force and Arms to have sent him a travelling, where he is, to the Head-Quarters of Tyranny. But the worry'd People of *England* invited the Prince, and the Prince assisted the worry'd People of *England*; who at last laid their Hands on their Swords, and were unanimously bent to join him against all their Oppressors: And so we came by our Deliverance.

The People of *England*, if they had not been enslav'd by the base Doctrine of Passive Obedience, might very easily have done their own Work themselves,

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selves, for whom it was most proper; for his Majesty acknowledges in his Additional Declaration, That his Preparations were to assist the People against the Subverters of their Religion and Laws. So that it was their Work principally, to which they invited his Assistance, and pray'd him in Aid.

And on the other hand his words were these. "We do Invite and Require all Persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm, Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to come and assist Us in order to the executing of this our Design, against all such as shall endeavour to oppose Us; that so we may prevent all those Miserys which must needs fall upon the Nation's being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery; and that all the Violences and Disorders which have Overturnd the whole Constitution of the English Government, may be fully Redress'd in a Free and Legal Parliament."

This Invitation sounded the best to me of any that came since the Gospel came; but according to the Passive-Obedience Men, it was a Call to Hell, and to dip the Nation one and all into Damnation: for he that resisteth, shall receive to himself Damnation. If the Prince had directed this Invitation to them, he had spoken to Stocks and Stones that cou'd not stir nay, they cou'd not possibly be Neutral, for by their forward treacherous Loyalty they had stak'd down their Lives and Fortunes on the other Side long before; and by their Principles were as dangerous to him as so many *Grindwheels*. So that it was only the brave and sound part of the Nation, that was not tainted with the Poison of Passive Obedience, which assisted his Majesty in his Arrival to *White-Hall*, and afterwards in his Access to the Throne, or else he had never come there. There was not an honest man in *England* capable of joining the Prince, but he that thought it his Right to defend his Right; which was always the standing English Principle kept alive in the late Tyranny it self, tho to the continual hazard of a person's Life that I know.

'Tis true, there are men of no Principle at all, that have since made sufficient Earnings of this Revolution; who being Obnoxious, and out of Service in the last Reign, were willing to try their Chance in this, in order to their last Resort, which is the next. But I look upon such pretended Statesmen as Soldiers of Fortune, who wou'd serve King *James* one day, and King *William* the next, and the *French* King once over again the third, and wou'd be very glad to be Vizier the day following. And therefore there is no relying upon such men, nor employing them neither; for being hated by the People, they are a dead weight to that Government which endeavours to support them.

But my Soul abhors above all, those that obstructed his present Majesty's Accession to the Crown as far as they cou'd for their lives, whereby they lost *Ireland*, and involv'd this Kingdom in Blood and Misery ever since; and when the Nation had gain'd the Point, and plac'd the King in the Throne, cou'd creepingly come off with this Excuse, That tho they cou'd not tell how to make a King, yet they knew how to obey a King; and have ever since vouchsaf'd to take his Mony in places of the greatest Trust and Profit. But I am sure that those that did not know how to make him King, that is, to give a Vote for his being so, do not know how to serve him faithfully; for they must of necessity believe him *ill made*, unless they have quite and clean alter'd their Mind since, which cannot possibly be discover'd by their management of his Majesty's Affairs.

The same may be said concerning those of the Clergy, who to hold their great Preferments, and to grasp greater, have taken the slippery Oaths of Allegiance which the Pastoral Letter butter'd for them; and who have thriven by their mischievous Principles that ruin'd the Nation, and are so far from being retracted, that they are very often repeated; which are as Contrary, and Irreconcilable to this Revolution, as Darkness is to Light. But perhaps it is Merit to ruin a Nation, and to give an occasion for a gainful Revolution.

The last Hypothesis of submitting to Titles without examining them, and taking the Powers that lie upon Content, is Passive Obedience in the first Instance: for you must never after question any thing that proceeds from them,

them, but take all things in good part, without so much as shugging your Shoulders. This Author has been among the Quietists; and it is a great Principle of *Mohims*, that you must go often to Mass, and inure your selves to take a Wafer for a Man, and thereby learn to mortify your Senses. But because we are Men before we are Christians, and it is impossible to be otherwise, I will sooner mortify my Senses in the way of Transubstantiation, than in the way of Passive Obedience.

Your Honours must needs be sensible, that I have written with some Eagerness against Passive Obedience; but I gave you such a Samplar of that Doctrine in the beginning of this Humble Address, as will justify the utmost sharpness of Expression, and will answer for me in treating the Preachers of it as Publick Enemy's; and so I have treated them, and not as mine. Tho it is very hard for a Man to separate his private Resentments from his publick Zeal, when his Sufferings have been all for the Publick; for that mingles them together, and he cannot possibly know them asunder, till such time as these Common Enemy's have made publick Amends for their Wrong done to the Nation, and not to him. So the great *Sampson*, when he was making his last Effort upon his Country's Enemy's, in his very Prayer to God for extraordinary Assistance, cou'd not forbear mentioning *his own two Eyes*. I do not care for my two Eyes, God thou knowest it.

But sharpness of Language signifies nothing, where there is more need of the severity of Laws. For shall a poor Pickpocket or a Highway-man be hang'd for taking away a little loose Mony, and these wholesale Thieves, who strip a Nation of their Lives, Liberty's and Estates, and all they have, not be look'd after? 'Tis true, they have not the Mony; but if the Pickpocket by Conveyance deliver the Mony to the Ballad-singer, it will be shar'd at Night, by all the Rules of *Bartholomew-Fair*.

I had rather have my House rob'd for once and away, than be told by pretended Churchmen, that a King has a Highway to my Coffers, and that all Persons he sends on that Errand are irresistible: I had rather live in Prison, than have my Liberty lie at the same lay; and it is better for a Nation (tho there is no need of it) to die and go off the Stage, than live a Dog's Life at any one man's Mercy whatsoever.

I will add further, that tho I have been much more conversant with Prisons than with Palaces, yet I have left me that natural Idea of Honour, that I wou'd scorn to be the Prince of a Passive-Obedience Nation. It degrades a King, and gives him the meanest Office in the World, and the most dishonourable Employment. For whereas a Herdsman and a Muleteer are mean Callings, because they only govern Cattel; so a King, because he governs a vast number of Men like himself, Brave, Wise and Free, is in the most exalted Station that is upon Earth; he is King of Kings, and is serv'd by Princes. But to wish they were a Venal or a Servile People, is as if my Lord Mayor shou'd chuse to be Common Hunt.

It is true, the Men that I have to deal with, may very well be of a different mind from me as to the Constitution of this Government, because they build upon quite different Principles. They excuse themselves, for a very good Reason, from the intricate Labyrinths of Law and History, which are the Rule that I go by; and which are the Standard in this Affair, as the Gospel is of Christianity: So that we may make use of *St. Austin's* words in this case, *Quomodo legis? Ubi scriptum est?* How readest thou? Where is it written? Shew me the Written-Law, make it out by approv'd History. Nay, they have departed from the standing Rules of Right and Wrong, and the standing Revelation upon that Subject, and have betaken themselves to the Intimations of Providence, and the out-goings of the Morning and Evening, which were their Scoff the other day, when those Expressions were us'd in the Parliament Army. The Revolution is prov'd to be Right, because at *Torbay* the Wind chopp'd about, as if it had been in the Prince's Pay. Avow'd Usurpation is made out by Success and Settlement. The wicked Design of Conquering and Enslaving this Kingdom is Hallow'd by Providence, and made to be Divine Promotion; and the Wreck of a whole Nation is prov'd to be God's Goods.

To

To the Commons of England

To deny God's Providence, is to shut him out of his own World; but to ascribe wicked Actions to the Divine Providence, is the greater Injury of the two. For the English of God's Providence is, [*As God wou'd have it:*] Now when this is apply'd to Usurpation, which is Robbery and Wrong in the highest degree; and to the Conquest and Enslaving of a Free Nation, which is the most outrageous Oppression; to say that these are by God's Providence, is to say, that Robbery is as God wou'd have it, and Oppression is as God wou'd have it. But this all the World knows is contrary to God's known and reveal'd Will; and therefore as the Atheists deny God, so these Men make him to deny himself.

I hope I shall ever adore God's Providence whilst I live, and do it with more Understanding when I am dead; and therefore I shall be sorry to see the greatest Injustice in the World father'd upon it. That Usurpation or Conquest, or any other wicked thing, are by God's Providence, I absolutely deny; but that they are by Divine Permission, and may use the Stile of Bishops, that I allow. Is it not enough to prostitute Pulpits to the mischievous Flattery of Passive Obedience, (which were made for publishing the Everlasting Gospel of Christ, and nothing else) but they must slander Providence too? But the best of it is, that these Interpreters of Providence (who wou'd fain have the bestowing of Crowns and Titles, when it is the Peoples Gift; and the rectifying of *Westminster-Hall* Law, by their own wry Pulpit-Law; and the direction of all Publick Affairs, by handling a Text pick'd out of a private place in the Psalms) are easily overthrown in the very Ground-work of their Judicial Astrology.

For the Disposal of all other things is attributed to God in Scripture, as well as Promotion: and if this Promotion be attain'd by wrongful and wicked Means, such as Usurping, Conquering and Enslaving a Nation, plainly are; it is Blasphemy to ascribe this ill-gotten Promotion to God. For instance, *Prov. 16. 33. The Lot is cast into the Lap: but the whole Disposing thereof is of the Lord.* Now, I say, to apply this Text to a foul Throw and cogging the Dice, is Blasphemy; and to say that God has dispos'd and transfer'd the Hundred Pound Stake to this false Gamester, and that now he has a Divine Right to it, is repeated Blasphemy.

The Bible is a Miscellaneous Book, where dishonest and time-serving Men may ever, in their loose way, find a Text for their purpose. I cou'd give so many Instances of this in the late Times, as wou'd be hateful and tedious. But this I say, that Eternal Righteousness, Justice and Truth, Upright Honesty, the Right of the Case and the Reason of the Thing, must always govern the Sense of Scriptural Expressions. For Justice and Righteousness are the same in Heaven as they are upon Earth; and if the Notion of it were not the same in both Places, it were vain to tell us that God is just and Righteous, for we cou'd not tell what that means; and more vain to bid us be like him in those Divine Perfections, if we did not know them when we see them.

But if there were never a Passive-Obedience Man left in *England*, which I hope to see; yet false Titles are of dangerous consequence. If we are a Conquer'd and Enslav'd People, (as the Simoniack Parson said by his bought Preferments) we came honestly by it, for we paid the Penny for it. The *Hollanders* have had Six Hundred Thousand Pounds for it, besides great Sums which cannot yet be plac'd to Account.

Now I am of Opinion that these are dangerous Matters; for the Dutch are Merchants. We shall have Conquests and Titles bought and sold and trump'd upon us, perhaps sooner, perhaps 500 Years hence. For not to mention *Danegelt*, after the Restoration of the Saxons in *Edward the Confessor* and *Harold*, and after the Succession of five Norman Kings, in *Richard the First's* time *Philip of France* demanded the Sister of the King of *Denmark* with no other Dower, than the Danish Right to *England*, and the Assistance of a Fleet and an Army for one Year. Which the Danes not complying with, for fear of the Vandals on one hand and the English Courage on the other, *Philip* at last took her with a Dower of 10000 Marks, which was, I believe, the better Bargain. But as the Historian says, he therein design'd

a bloody Business for the Realm of England. Gervaf. Chron. p. 1244. *Molitus est Regno Anglia cruentum Negotium.* Knyghton, p. 2406.

If Philip had succeeded in this bloody Business, we have false Prophets now-a-days that wou'd have hallow'd it, and made a Divine Right of it, in these following words: "And therefore it is that God, tho he has infinite ways, yet commonly chuses to employ Men in this Service. He either finds them at home that are not afraid of the Power as they ought to be; or he brings them in from Foreign Countrys, (that is these Danes and French) whistling for the Fly out of Egypt, or the Bee out of the Land of Assyria: In plain words stirring up a Pharaoh or a Nebuchadnezzar against them." P. 26. Rom. 13. 3. Isa. 7. 17.

Now in obscure words here had been both Fly and Bee whistled in; but for all these little Interpreters of Prophecys, I am satisfied that our Ancestors wou'd have whistled them out.

The old Popish Clergy were English-men, and were in at *Magna Charta*; and the Lawyers can best tell, Whether the Cathedrals they left behind them, are not since forfeited for not reading *Magna Charta* publickly to the People every Year, as is enjoin'd by two Acts of Parliament; for which reason they were each of them intrusted with a Record of those English Rights: I do not now speak of that Charter's being continually preach'd down. I love the Memory of the Abbot of St. Albans, in William the Norman Duke's Time, who not being satisfy'd with his Title, when he was marching his Army towards that Place, fell'd all the Trees cross the Road, and laid Blocks in his way, and haras'd all his Army. And when the Duke ask'd him, why he did so? he answer'd, because he knew of no Business the Norman had there; and if all Honest Englishmen had done the same, he had never come so far as St. Albans to ask him that Question. I admire the Presence of the Prior of Clerkenwell, in the time of Henry the Third, as I take it, (it is in History) when in a Dispute about a Point of Right the King meant to overawe him, by saying in King James's way to the Magdalen-College Men, Am not I your King? Yes, says he, while you govern according to Law, but no longer. I hate Popery, but I love Relicks.

I know whom I have spoke to all this while in this tedious Address; You are my Country, and therefore I submit it wholly to your great Wisdom; and if you dislike any thing in it, I wish it unsaid: only I will abide by this, in which I can be positive, that I intended it intirely for his Majesty's and my Country's Service in conjunction; and he that talks of their having a separate Interest, ought rather to be made an Example than a Secretary. But I humbly take my leave; You represent the Body of the Brave English Nation, you have my Prayers, and long since had my Heart.

An Argument proving that the Abrogation of King James, &c.

IN this ensuing Argument, which will be very short, I have but these two Points to clear;

The one of Fact:
The other of Right.

First, That the People of England did actually Abrogate or Dethrone King James the Second for Misgovernment, and promoted the Prince of Orange in his stead.

Secondly, That this Proceeding of theirs was according to the English Constitution, and prescrib'd by it.

First, This Matter of Fact being so fresh in our memory, needs not to be so industriously prov'd. The Act 1^o William and Mary, declaring the Rights and Libertys of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, recites the very Instrument of Conveyance of the Crown to the Prince and Princess; which begins in these words: *Whereas the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employ'd by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Exterminate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Libertys of this Kingdom: Which is there made out, by an enumeration of sundry Particulars. And not long after there are these words: And whereas the late King James the Second, having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant, the two Houses of Parliament do thereupon invest the Prince and Princess of Orange with the Crown.*

King James endeavour'd to subvert the Government, as they favourably word it; or rather, he had long before wholly subverted and overthrown the Government, as the Prince of Orange's Declaration speaks, (which this very Act has annex'd, and made parcel of the Crown, and expresses to be the only Means of Redressing that Mischief).

There is but one doubtful Word in all that I have recited, which some People make a hard Word; and that is, King James's *Abdicating* the Government: which no man wou'd stumble at, who had read Tully in his third Philippick, who says thus concerning Mark Anthony, that for his offering a Crown to Caesar, "*Ecce die non modo Consulatu sed etiam Libertate se Abdicavit, esset enim ipsa certe statim serviendum, si Caesar ab eo Regni insignia accipere voluisset.*" At that time he not only *Abdicated* his Consulship, but his Liberty; for if Caesar would have accepted the Crown, "*Mark Anthony* must presently have turn'd Slave." Now *Mark Anthony* by this Action did not expressly renounce his Consulship or Liberty, or run away from both of them, but he did that which was inconsistent with them both. *He forfeited them both*; which is the true import of that Phrase.

The second thing is the Point of Right; That *this Proceeding of the People of England was agreeable to the English Constitution, and prescrib'd by it.*

To make this out, I need only recite the Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10th Rich. 2. in their Message to the King, then at Eltham. *Knyghton, pag. 2683.*

Dominus Rex,

"**S**ET & unum aliud de nuncio nostro superest Nobis ex parte Populi
"vestri Vobis intimare. Habent enim ex antiquo Statuto & de facto
"non longe retroactis temporibus experienter quod dolendum est habito,
"Si Rex maligno consilio quocunque, vel inepta contumacia aut contemptu,
"seu proterva voluntate singulari, aut quovis modo irregulari, se alienave-
"rit a Populo suo, nec voluerit per Jura Regni & Statuta & laudabiles
"Ordinationes, cum salubri Consilio Dominorum & Procerum Regni guber-
"nari & regulari; set captose in suis insanis Consiliis propriam volunta-
"tem suam singularem proterve exercere; *Ex tunc licitum est eis cum Com-
"muni assensu & consensu Populi Regni, ipsum Regem de regali Solio abrogare,
"Et propinquiorem aliquem de stirpe Regia, loco ejus in Regni Solio subli-
"mare.*

Our Lord the King

BUT there is moreover one part of our Message still left to acquaint you withal, in the Name of your People. They have it by antient Statute, and by a late doleful Instance, that in case the King shall alienate himself from his People by any bad Advice whatsoever, or foolish Contumacy or Contempt, or Self-will, or any other irregular Way; and will not be govern'd and rul'd by the Laws, Statutes and laudable Ordinances of the Realm, with the wholesome Advice of the Lords and Peers of the Realm; but in a Head-strong way will exercise his own Self-will; From thence-forward it is lawful for them, with the common Assent and Consent of the People of the Realm, to Depose the King from the Regal Throne, and to promote some Kinsman of his of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead.

†

Here

Here the Parliament laid down the Law before the King, and gave him fair warning thirteen years before they thought of putting it in execution; for this was in the Tenth of his Reign, and he reign'd three and twenty Years. And as for the Statute they quote, it must needs be a very Antient Statute, because the Deposing of Edw. 1. (who was his Great Grandfather) in comparison of that, is represented but as of yesterday.

This Declaration of the Lords and Commons the King cou'd not gain-say; and they gain'd their Point upon him by it, to bring him to Parliament. And it is not to be believ'd that the Parliament of *England* wou'd affirm they had such an Antient Statute when they had not. It remains therefore to consider how we come by this Record, seeing it is not upon the Rolls in the *Tower*: but 'tis no strange thing it shou'd not be there, because it is the four and twentieth Article in the Charge against *Richard* the Second, afterwards in the three and twentieth year of his Reign; "Et præterea Rotulos Recordorum statum & gubernationem Regni sui tangentium, prædictus Rex deleri & abradi fecit, in magnum præjudicium Populi, & exhæredationem Coronæ Regni prædicti, & ut verissimiliter creditur in favorem & sustentationem sui mali Regiminis. And besides, the said King caus'd the Rolls of the Records, touching the State and Government of his Realm, to be defac'd and raz'd, to the great prejudice of his People, and disherison of the Crown of the said Realm; and as is credibly thought, in favour and support of his Male-Administration."

The only means left us in such a Case, where the Records of the *Tower* fail us, is to have recourse to the undoubted History of that Age, which was written upon the Spot: Such is *Knyghton's* Authority, whose History was both written, and finish'd, and clos'd up in that very Reign.

And tho this shou'd be Scare-crow Doctrine to the *Passive-Obedience-Men*, yet it is the Tenor of all Antiquity; It is the Doctrine of the *Mirror* in very many places. It is the Doctrine of the seventeenth Chapter of King *Edward the Confessor's* Laws. It is the sense of King *Alfred's* Stile, *Dei gratia, & benevolentia West-Saxonica Gentis*; That he was King by the Favour of God, and the Good-Will of the English Nation. It is the Doctrine of the great Lawyers since the *Norman* Times; as particularly *Bracton*: "Rex autem habet Superiorem Deum; Item Legem, per quam factus est Rex; Item Curiam suam, vident licet Comites, Barones, qui Comites dicuntur quasi Socii Regis: & qui habet Socium, habet Magistrum: & ideo si Rex fuerit sine fræno, i. e. sine Lege, debent ei frænum ponere, nisi ipsimet fuerint cum Rege sine fræno, & tunc clamabant subditi & dicent, Domine Ihesu Christe in chamo & fræno maxillas eorum constringe; ad quos Dominus, vocabo super eos gentem robustam & longinquam & ignotam, cujus linguam ignorabunt, quæ destruet eos, & evellet radices eorum de terra, & a talibus judicabuntur, quia subditos noluerunt iuste judicare: & in fine, ligatis manibus & pedibus eorum, mittet eos in caminum ignis & tenebras exteriores, ubi erit fletus & stridor dentium." *Bracton, Lib. 2. cap. 16. Sect. 3.*

"The King hath three Superiors, God, and the Laws, by which he is made King, and his Court, namely the Earls and Barons; because they are call'd *Comites*, as being the Companions of the King; and he that hath a Companion, hath a Master: and therefore if the King shall be unbridl'd, that is Lawless, they ought to bridle him, unless they themselves with their King shall be unbridl'd and lawless too; and then the Subject shall cry out and say, Lord Jesus Christ, hold in their Jaws with Bit and Bridle: to whom the Lord shall say, I will bring in upon them a Robustious, and Foreign, and unknown Nation, whose Language they shall not understand: Which Nation shall destroy them, and shall pluck up the Roots of them from the Earth; and by such they themselves shall be judg'd, because they wou'd not justly judg the *English* Subjects. And in conclusion, being bound hand and foot, the Lord shall throw them into a Furnace of Fire, and outer Darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of Teeth."

So that if the Parliament of *England* neglect to do their Duty in this case, in not restraining their King from Lawless and Arbitrary Courses, they do

it at their utmost Peril; for they are threaten'd with Destruction for it in this World, and will dearly answer it in the next.

I have here quoted a knocking Sentence of a Lord Chief Justice of England in the time of Henry the Third, four hundred and fifty Years ago, whose Authority hath been so far valud by both Sides, as to be strove for. The Prerogative-Men quote such Sayings as these; *Rex non habet Parlem in Regno suo, quia Par in Parlem non habet Imperium. Nemo de Factis ejus presumat disputare; multo magis contra Factum ejus ire.* And in the very Context of the former large Quotation, *Item nec Factum Regis nec Chartam potest quis judicare, ita quod factum Domini Regis irritetur.* Now these and the like Sayings, which are often to be met with in *Bracton*, are to be understood concerning the ordinary Administration of Justice, and not to limit the Transcendent Power of Parliaments, which he has so fully display'd in this place: and his Rule in other places, where there is a new Case, or any thing too weighty for the Judges, is this, *Respectatur ad Magnam Curiam*, which is the Key of *Bracton's* whole Book.

This Doctrine is agreeable to *Fortescue*, who says, That the People are the Fountain of Power, in that expression, *Rex à Populo Potestatem Effluxum habet.* And in another place he says, That an Arbitrary Power to oppress the Subjects, could not proceed from the People themselves; and yet if it had not been from themselves, such a King as the King of England could have had no manner of Power at all over them: For the truth of it is, it is a Contradiction to deny, that all Civil Power is Originally in the People: For what is Civil Power in English, but the City's Power, and deriv'd from the Community? And this either limited, or enlarg'd, as they please. The Intention of the People (as *Fortescue* tells us) is the Heart-Blood of the Government, and is the *Primum Vividum* in the Body Politick, as the Heart is in the Body Natural. And it is impossible to be otherwise; The Nation must make their King, for I am sure the King cannot make the Nation. And as Sir *William Temple* very well observes, The Basis of Government is the People, tho the King be at the Top of it; and to found the Government upon a King, is to invert the Pyramid, and set it upon the Pinnacle, where it will never stand.

This Doctrine is agreeable to the Original Contract, which is in the *Mirror of Justice*, fol. 8. upon the Election of the first English Monarch; which Contract is still continu'd in the Coronation Oath, and the Oath of Allegiance: Which Oath of Allegiance doth depend upon the King's taking the Coronation Oath first; which was ever practis'd till the Reign of Henry the Fifth, to whom Homage and Allegiance was sworn before he was Crown'd; which was a singular Courtesy, and done on presumption of the Goodness of his future Reign.

I might speak of the Curtana Sword, the Power of the Lord High Steward, and other great Officers of the Kingdom; and draw all the Lines of the Government to this Center: But I have been heretofore forc'd to destroy all the Reading of my whole Life with my own hands, and have not since had Health enough to retrieve it; and now a late Calamity hath fall'n upon me that I can do nothing.

Only I must answer one Objection, and that is, That our Ancient Statute is not practicable: for the King having the Prerogative of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments, will never assemble them, nor suffer them to sit for such a purpose. But such an Objection as this betrays great Ignorance of the Constitution of English Parliaments. We will allow that the King hath a Prerogative of Calling Parliaments, but he hath no Prerogative of Not Calling them. For not to mention our Right of having Stationary Parliaments, not only Annual, but Anniversary, which sat down constantly at the Calends of May, as appears by the Laws of William the First: It is plain likewise, that they were not dissolvable at pleasure; but that even as low as Henry the Fourth's time, Proclamation us'd to be made to know whether there were any Petitions that were to be answer'd in Parliament. The first Abusion of Law, as the Author tells us, is for the King to be above Law, to which he ought to be subject, as is contain'd in his Oath. And the second Abusion of the Law, next to this First and Sovereign Abusion, is for Parliaments to be *a la Volonté du Roy*, at the King's Pleasure.

One of the Antientest Remains that we have concerning the *English Parliaments*, is in the *Mirror*; where he says, in King *Alfred's* time, it was made for a perpetual Law, that the Countys of *England* should assemble themselves twice a Year [*en Temps d'Paix*, in Time of Peace] at *London*, pour *Parliamenter*, to hold Parliament. Now I conceive that these words [*in Time of Peace*] do let us into the Reason why this perpetual Law has been broken, and how it comes to pass that Parliaments could not be punctual either as to Time or Place: for we had many Wars and Invasions after that Time, and the *Danes* had the Possession of *London*; and consequently it was impossible for them to meet there, or indeed to keep their Times of meeting any where else: whereupon there was a necessity for the King to assemble them, when and where they could meet in Safety; from whence arose the Prerogative (as I believe) of Calling Parliaments; which if a Prince uses honestly, is rather a Trouble to him than any thing else.

If any Person shall vouchsafe to give an Answer to any thing I have here said, I desire him to do it fairly, by setting his Name to it, as I have done; for I hate to have my Books answer'd (as they lately were) in a *Midnight Vizor Masque*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE happen'd a Mistake in the former Editions, which is rectified in this. It was in *Page 266. Line 29.* where the Conquering Bishop, who is charg'd home with spoiling the Prince of *Orange's* Second Declaration, was said, by the by, to be in at the proffer'd Advice which spoil'd the First. I had Reasons to believe he was so, or else I had not writ so, which I think my self oblig'd to make as Publick as the Mistake was.

The Account of the Bishops, who waited upon the King with their Proposals, was within a day or two after sent to the Press by Dr. *Sherlock*, and begins in these words: " Sir, I am much surpriz'd at the ill Con-
" structions some People make of the Actions of those Bishops who have
" lately waited upon the King; especially considering that most of them
" *are the very Men*, who not many Months ago appear'd so publickly and
" so courageously, even to the hazard of all the Interests they had in this
" World, in defence of our Protestant Religion, and the Laws of the Land."

Now this is a Description of the *Petitioning Bishops*, conceiv'd in such general Terms, that any body wou'd have imagin'd they had all been there, and that there had not been one of them wanting. And in the Conclusion of that short Paper there are these words: "I do assure you, and I am certain I have the best grounds in the World for my Assurance, That the Bishops will never stir one Jot from their *Petition*; but that they will, whenever that happy Opportunity shall offer it self, let the Protestant Dissenters find, that they will be better than their Word given in their famous *Petition*."

This likewise is undertaken in the Name of all the *Petitioning Bishops*, for they All gave their Word in their famous Petition; how they have kept it, that's another matter.

Whereupon I had not the least Mistrust, but that all the Seven Bishops were there: And immediately out of a just Indignation to see the Prince of *Orange's* intended Expedition blasted, and our selves seal'd up in Slavery, by the Advice of Persons whose very Picture had before been a grateful Present to me, and was then over my Head, I order'd it to be taken down, and laid behind the Fire: But in the Opinion of a young By-stander, the gilded Frame had done no hurt, and so the Frame sav'd the Picture

I tell these little Circumstances, to shew, That my Mistake was of the same Date with Dr. *Sherlock's* Paper, and occasion'd by those general Expressions

Advertisement of a Mistake.

Expressions in it, and by nothing else. My present Bookseller, who had before given me the Picture, and who then brought me the Paper as a great Rarity, is alive to remember all that pass'd.

And therefore tho it was an Error, it needed not to have been call'd a Calumny : for it was as innocent a Mistake as the honest Ploughman's was, who thought he had fasted for all the Saints on *Alballond Eve*; and when he was afterwards told in the same Month, he must fast again for St. *Andrew*, he wonder'd very much where St. *Andrew* was on *Alballond Eve*, and how he came to break loose from his Fellows.

But because it proves to be a Mistake, tho to me it was perfectly Unknown and Involuntary, yet being the Party concern'd takes it amiss, I heartily beg his Pardon: And so I will any man's, who shall ever hereafter think himself aggriev'd by any Mistake of mine; for this is the first that has hitherto been discover'd in all my Writings.

Retracting of an Error is a piece of Lay-Morality, which a man run down by a Mock-Degradation, *in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, and deliver'd over to the Secular Arm, and that for the very best things he ever did in his Life, and much better than any of them ever did, may I find still pretend to and practise. The Clergy seem to be above it; which appears by the Phoenix-Edition of the *Pastoral Letter*: As if the most false, injurious, and mischievous Writings in the World, only because they are Theirs, were stamp'd with an Indelible Character like themselves.



AN
ESSAY
 CONCERNING
PARLIAMENTS

At a CERTAINTY;
 OR,
The Kalends of MAY.

Vice Cotis fungar. Horace.

**To the Barons and Commons of England in Parlia-
 ment Assembled.**

May it please your Honours;



YO U either knew more of the Matter contain'd in these Pa-
 pers, or less, or the same. If you knew more, I shou'd be
 glad to see it in your Laws which you mean to Establish: Or
 which is better, in your Declaration of the Constitution.
 If not; no Body can find fault with my poor Office of bear-
 ing a Light, but they that have very ill Eyes.

*I am the known Servant of You,
 and of my whole Country,*

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

AN

An ESSAY, &c.

CHAP. I.

Shewing that the Frequent meeting of Parliaments is the Basis of our Constitution, and the True of the Government; and that the Intermission of them is Inconsistent with the Body of the English Law.

IF a man wou'd have an entire View of the English Constitution, he must have recourse to those Able and Approv'd Authors who have written purposely on that Subject. For it is a Rule, *Parva est Auctoritas aliud agens*; and what is said by the by, is of less weight, than what is professedly handl'd; provided it have been maturely consider'd, by a competent Judg of that Matter of which he treats. And in this kind we do not find a man better qualify'd than the Learned Lord Chancellor *Fortescue*, who was an aged Lawyer, and had been Lord Chief Justice of England when he wrote his Book *de laudibus Legum Anglia*, which was on purpose in a Dialogue with the Prince of Wales, to inform him of the Nature of the English Constitution, and to let him know by what sort of Laws the Realm, in which he was to succeed his Father, was to be govern'd. And therefore he adjures him over and over again to addict himself to the understanding of the Laws of his Father's Realm, wherein he was to succeed, *fol. 16. a.* and having shew'd the Prince the different Nature of Realms, where a King could tyrannize, and where he could not, being restrain'd by Politick Laws, *fol. 26. b.* Rejoice therefore (says he) most Excellent Prince and be glad, That the Law of the Realm in which you are to succeed is such, for it shall exhibit and minister to You and your People no small Security and Comfort.

But out of that excellent Book which I believe no way warp'd, (for then it must lean towards the Court, partly because of the Flattery and Officiousness which is too often found in Dialogues with Princes, and partly because the Author was retain'd on the Crown-side by the Greatest Office in England) I will confine my self to those Passages only which relate to the Frequency of Parliaments. And the first I meet with is in his 18th Chap. concerning the Statutes of England in these words. "Et si Statuta hæc, tanta solemnitate & prudentia edita, efficaciz tantæ, quantæ conditorum cupiebat intentio, non esse contingent: Concito reformari ipsa possunt, at non sine Communitatis & Procerum Regni illius assensu, quali ipsa primitus emanarunt." And if these Statutes fall short of their intended Efficacy, tho' devis'd with such great Solemnity and Wisdom of Parliament; they may very quickly be reform'd, but not without the Assent of the Commons and Peers of the Realm, which was their Source from the beginning.

Now I only desire that the word *Concito* may be taken notice of, which is the quickest word that can be imagin'd, and shews that our Parliaments were always at hand; and the whole Passage shews for what wise and just Reasons they were so.

The next Passage is Chap. 53. fol. 129. a. "Neque Leges Angliæ frivolæ & infructuosas permittunt inducias. Et siquæ in Regno illo dilationes in Placitis minus accommodatæ fuerint usitatæ, in Omni Parlamento amputari illæ possunt: etiam & Omnes Leges Aliæ in Regno illo usitatæ, cum in aliquo *Claudicaverint*, in Omni Parlamento poterunt Reformari. Quo recte concludi potest, quod omnes Leges Regni illius Optime sunt in actu vel potentia, quo faciliter in actum duci poterunt & in Essentiam realem. Ad quod faciendum, quoties æquitas id poposcerit, singuli Reges ibidem Sacramento astringuntur, solemniter præstito tempore receptionis Diadematis sui." Neither do the Laws of *England* allow in Law-Suits frivolous and fruitless Delays. And if in this Kingdom Delays in Pleas which are not to the purpose shou'd be us'd, they may in every Parliament be cut off. Yea, and all other Laws us'd in the Realm, when they *Halt* or are Defective in any point, they may in every Parliament be set to Rights. Whereupon it may be rightly concluded, that the Laws of *England* are the best in the World, either Actually or Potentially, since they can easily be brought into Act or Being. To the performance whereof, as often as Equity so requires every King is bound by an Oath solemnly taken at the time of receiving his Crown.

Out of this last Passage I will not trouble you with any more Observations than these.

First, That Parliaments are the Remedy against Delays in Law-Proceedings; but how if Parliaments themselves shou'd be Delay'd?

Secondly, That if any or all our Laws shou'd *Halt*, and our Parliaments at the same time shou'd be Cripp'd too, and not be able to come together; they cou'd not help one another.

In the next and last Chapter of that Book, fol. 129. b. the Prince immediately replies. "*Princeps*. Leges illas, nedum bonas sed & optimas esse Cancellarie, ex prosecutione tua in hoc Dialogo certissime deprehendi. Et siquæ ex illis meliorari depossant, id Citissime fieri posse, Parliamentorum ibidem Formulæ nos erudiunt. Quo realiter, potentialiterve, Regnum illud semper præstantissimis Legibus gubernatur. Nec tuas in hac concionatione Doctrinas futuris Angliæ Regibus inutiles fore conjicio; dum non delectent regere legibus quæ non delectant." Says the Prince, My Lord Chancellor, by the Tenour of your Discourse in this Dialogue I am thoroughly satisfy'd, That the Laws of *England* are not only Good, but the Best in the World. And in case any of the Laws want to be mended or improv'd, the Rules of the English Parliaments do instruct us, That that may be done forthwith. Whereupon the Realm of *England* is always govern'd by the very best Laws, either in Reality or in Possibility. And besides I conjecture that the Doctrines that have been held forth in this Dialogue will be very useful to the Kings of *England* that shall come hereafter; since no body likes to govern by Laws which they do not like.

After all these Lauds and Praises of English Laws, which the Chancellor has stuck all over with Stars quite thro his Book, and has made their Perfection to center in this, that they either Are or Soon may be the Best in the World, because in case they labour under any Defect, that Fault may be immediately amended by a wise Senate: What if that wise Senate be no where to be found, or is at no Certainty? It is then impossible to render the Chancellor's Latin into English. For the speedy Perfection of the English Laws, which the Prince and he are agreed is *Concito & Citissime*, may be render'd, either at the Four Year's end, or the Twelve Year's end, or at the World's end. For so I am satisfy'd it was meant, after a Ten Year's Interval of Parliaments, if the Herb-woman at *Edinburgh* had not thrown her Cricket-stool at the Arch-Bishop's Head. And so Dr. *Heylin* I remember do's not so much acknowledg that Secret as justify it. It is in his little Book of Observations upon *Hammond L'Estrange's* History of the Reign of King *Charles I.* Says *Hammond*, Upon the Dissolution of that wise Parliament in 28. (to whom we owe the Petition of Right) all wise Men concluded that there was an end of all Parliaments. Yes, says *Heylin*, so they might well, the King having been troubled with their Impertinences, and

having an Example in *France* before his eyes, where Parliaments have been so much discontinu'd, that it is become a Proverb amongst them, *Vyons le Jeu de Trois Estats*, as the strangest Sight which can be seen in an Age. I have not the Book now by me, but I will be answerable for the Substance of this Quotation, having retain'd this Passage in my head above these five and twenty Years.

I can only touch several other Arguments which might be enlarg'd upon. The High Court of Parliament is the Dernier Resort in this Kingdom; and if that fail, there may be a failure of the English Justice.

Bracton says of an Ambiguous or Difficult Cause, *Respectetur ad magnam Curiam*; but unless Parliaments be frequent, such a Cause is adjourn'd to a long Day.

Every body that understands the English Constitution knows that it is exactly the same as it was laid down in Parliament 8. Ed. 4. by the Lord Chancellor that then was. You have it in *Sir Robert Cotton's* Abridgment of the Rolls in the Tower, p. 682. in these words: "He then declar'd the Three Estates to comprehend the Governace of this Land, the Preheminence whereof was to the King as chief, the second to the Lords and Bishops, and the third to the Commons". Now if we are at a loss or uncertainty about our Parliaments, we are at a loss or uncertainty about two Thirds of our Government.

But I will say no more upon this Head, intending to shew in the following Chapters, how the matter of Parliaments stood in former Ages.

CHAP. II.

Shewing how Parliaments stood in King Alfred's Time, and afterwards.

I Chuse to begin with this Period of Time in King *Alfred's* Reign, because we have clear Law and History to shew how Parliaments stood in his Time, and what Law was ordain'd concerning them for ever.

It is in the *Mirror of Justice*, which as my Lord *Coke* says in his Preface to his Tenth Reports, was written in the Saxon Times, and it appears by the Book it self: But several things were added to it by a Learned and Wise Lawyer *Andrew Horne*, who liv'd in the Reign of *Ed. 1.* and *Ed. 2.* Antiquity enough for a Book, we desire no more; for we are sure that no Common-wealths Man had the penning of it.

The words of the *Mirror* are these, p. 10. *Pur le estate del Royaume fist l' Roy Alfred assembler les Comitees, & ordeigne pur Usage Perpetuelle, que a deux fois per l' An ou plus-souvent, pur mestier, en temps de peace se assembleront a Londres pur Parliamenter sur le guidement del peuple & Dieu, comment gentis se garderent de peche, biverent en quiet, & recieverent droit per certaine usages & saintis judgements. Per cel estate se fierent plusieurs ordonances per plusieurs Royes jesque al ore Roy; Les quelle Ordonances sont disuses per meins sages, & pur default que elles ne sont my mise en escript & publies en Certaine. For the Good Estate of the Realm, King *Alfred* caus'd the Countys to assemble, and ordain'd it for a perpetual Usage, that at two Times yearly, or oftner if need were, in time of Peace, they shou'd assemble at *London*, to sit in Parliament, for the Guidance of God's People, how the Nation shou'd keep themselves from Sin, live in Quiet, and receive Right by certain Usages and holy Judgments. By this Estate were made many Ordinance by several Kings, down to the King that is now; (which, says the Margin, was *Edward the First*) which Ordinance are disus'd by some that are not so wise, and for want that they are not put into Writing and publish'd in Certain.*

In this Passage the Two times a Year seem to be Stationary; the Calling a Parliament oftner than Two times a Year if need were, is plainly intend'd for Contingency of State, and when the *Ardua Regni*, or Extraordinary

Affairs

Affairs of the Nation require an Extraordinary Parliament. I say, and will make it out to all the World, by Laws and Declarations of Parliament, that the King has a Power of calling Parliaments within the Law; but I never did, nor ever will say to the end of my Life, that the King can hinder Parliaments appointed by Law. These frequent Parliaments were to meet at *London* in time of Peace. We see then what has interrupted our Parliaments both as to Time and Place. For *London* was after in the hands of the *Dane*, and Foreigners Wars and Tribulations came on.

But the best way is to let an Author explain himself, which the *Mirror* does in telling us likewise the Abusions of the Law, or the Contrarietys and Repugnances to Right, or as he calls it, the Fraud and Force which is put upon Law. This way of writing Law is the best that can be invented, for it is the way of preaching by Positive and Negative, which is a two-edg'd Sword, and cuts both ways. And the truth of it is, the Negative part of the Law, which lies in a little compass, oftentimes teaches us a World of the Positive. For instance, the 33 Articles in the Roll, 1 *H. 4. m. 20.* which *K. Richard* the 2d solemnly acknowledg'd of his own Male-administration, do give us more light into the Constitution, than a Book of six times the bigness cou'd do.

But to come to the Abusions of Law which are in the *Mirror*, p. 282. he says, that the First and Sovereign Abusion is for the King to be beyond the Law, whereas he ought to be subject to it, as is contain'd in his Oath: Tho the second is my business, which is in these words. 2. *Abusion est, que ou les Parlements se duissent faire pur le salvation des Almes de trespassers, & ceo a Londres & deux foits per An, la ne se font ils forsque rarement, & a la Volunt le Roy pur aides & cuilets de tresore. Et ou les Ordinances duissent faire al Common assent del Roy & de ses Counties la le se font ore per le Roy & ses Clerks; & per aliens & autres que nosent contravener le Roy; eins desirent de luy plaire; & de luy Counseller a son profit, tout ne soit my le Counsel Covenable al Commons del Peuple, sans appeller les Counties, & sans ensuer les Rules de droit, & dount plusores Ordinances se foundent ore plus sur Volunt, que sur Droit.* The second Abusion of the Law is, that whereas Parliaments ought to convene for the Salvation of the Souls of Trespassors, and this at *London*, and two Times in the Year, now a-days they meet but seldom, and at the Will of the King for Aids and Gatherings of Treasure: And whereas Ordinances ought to be made by the Common Assent of the King and his Countys, now they are made by the King and his Clerks, and by Aliens and others that dare not contradict the King, but desire to please him, and to counsel him for his own Profit, tho it be not Counsel which is convenient for the Commons of the People; without applying to the Countys, and without following the Rules of Right: whereupon there are several of the present Ordinances that are rather founded upon Will, than upon Right.

From this Passage I shall only observe, that the Place of a Parliament's Meeting is fix'd, and still at *London*; and that the two Times a Year was standing Law down to King *Edward* the First, tho Abusions and Court-Practices had broken in upon the Law.

Now let us see how the Law stood afterwards; wherein I can only consult the Books I have by me, for I have not Health enough to go and transcribe the Records in the *Tower*, but take them upon content as they lie in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Abridgment of the Records in the *Tower*. And there in the very first Page, 5 *Edw. 2.* it is ordain'd, *Que Parliament serra tenuz un ou deux foits per An.* That a Parliament shall be held one Time or two Times a Year. Here you see the Twice a Year is dwindl'd into Once or Twice.

The next is *P. 93.* of the same Book, 36 *Ed. 3.* "The Print touching the Yearly holding of a Parliament, *cap. 10.* agreeth with the Record." Now the Print is, "Item, For Maintenance of the said Articles and Statutes, and Redress of divers Mischiefs which daily happen, a Parliament shall be holden every Year, as another time was ordain'd by Statute."

Now that Statute, as I find by the Statute-Book, for I cannot find it in Sir *Robert Cotton*, is thus, 4 *Edw. 3. cap. 14.* "Item, It is accorded,

"That a Parliament shall be holden every Year Once, and more Often if need be."

By the Reason given in the 36 *Edm. 3. cap. 10.* just now recited, for a Yearly Parliament, one wou'd think it shou'd be a Daily Parliament; because it is for the maintenance of former Statutes, and redress of divers Mischiefs which Daily happen; But I believe that a Parliament which sits but forty days in the Year are able to do that Work; concerning which we will enquire further afterwards."

In the 50 *Ed. 3. P. 138.* The Parliament's Demand or Petition is this, "That a Parliament may be holden every Year; the Knights of the Parliament may be chosen by the whole Countys; and that the Sheriff may likewise be without brokage in Court."

The King's Answer is this, "To the Parliament, there are Statutes made therefore; To the Sheriffs there is answer made; To the Knights it is agreed, that they shall be chosen by common Consent of every County."

After these Three Laws in *Ed. 3d's* Time, we come to the First of King Richard the Second, *P. 163.* where the Petition or Demand for a Yearly Parliament is this: "That a Parliament may be Yearly holden in convenient place, to redress Delays in Suits, and to end such Cases as the Judges doubt of."

The King's Answer is: "It shall be as it hath been used."

In the 2 *R. 2. p. 173.* By the King's Commandment one Cause of opening the Parliament is declar'd to be this: "Secondly, for that it was enacted that a Parliament should Yearly be holden."

Nay, if the Court insist upon a Yearly Parliament, the Country may and ought.

Thus stood the Law of *England* till the 16 *Caroli 1.* when that King having discontinu'd Parliaments for Twelve Years, and created a Distrust of him in the Breasts of his People, which was Just; (for if a Prince spoil the Government for Twelve Years together, who shall trust him in the Thirteenth?) the Nation found a Necessity of having a Cautionary Parliament every Third Year, to secure their Annual Parliaments for the Two Years immediately foregoing. This is the true Reason of the Act for a Triennial Parliament, which was a perfect Innovation both Name and Thing. For I challenge any Antiquary, Lawyer, or Person whatsoever that has turn'd over Books, to shew me the word Triennial join'd to the word Parliament, from the Foundation of this Government till the Year 1640. A Triennial Parliament therefore is so far from being the Constitution of this Government, that if it were so, a great number of our present Lords and Commoners are Older than the Constitution, and were Born before it. But as I said before, that Act was only a Cautionary Act, as a Town or Gate of a City is taken in Caution, for performance of Articles. This appears by the first thing which is enacted in that Law, namely, *That the Laws for a Parliament to be holden at least once a Year, shall hereafter be duly Kept and Observ'd.* Scobel's Collect. 16 *Car. 1. cap. 1.*

This Act was gently drawn up, and had more of a Prospect than a Retrospect, and does not look back into those Oppressions which King Charles himself in his large Declaration of August the 12th does acknowledge were Insupportable; which were wholly owing to this long Intermiſſion of Parliaments: but it wisely provides, that in case the two first Years Parliaments shou'd fail, then came a Peremptory Parliament, which the King and Keeper might call if they pleas'd; but if they did not, the Countys and Boroughs of *England* were forc'd to send. It is an Act that executes it self, like our Act for Burying in Woollen; and he that will see the Wisdom of it, may read it where I have quoted it.

After this comes the Act 16 *Car. 2. cap. 1.* and repeals this Triennial Act, because they say, "It is in Derogation of his Majesty's just Rights and Prerogative, inherent to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for the Calling and Assembling of Parliaments;" whereupon the Triennial Act is annull'd as if it had never been made.

I wish it had never been made. But we will stop there first. It is annull'd as if it had never been made: There is nothing lost by that;

that; for then our Parliaments are where they were, which was Due Annual.

Well, now let us see what Alteration is made by this new Act, 16 Car. 2. which follows in these words, *Sect. 3.* "And because by the antient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, ^{4 E. 3. c. 14.} "Parliaments are to be held very often (that is, once or twice a Year) ^{36 E. 3. c. 10.} "therefore they shall not be discontinu'd above three Years at the most." I do not use to admire Consequences which I do not understand. But under favour, I wou'd be taken right. I say, that the Recital of the antient Laws of this Realm does not repeal them, disannul them, *anneantir*, any thing, nothing; when there is not one *repealing* word concerning them in that Statute.

I knew what I said when I wish'd the Triennial Bill of Forty had never been made; and it must be remember'd that that Act is as if it had never been made; for it gave occasion to some men that came in with the Deluge of the Restoration, when it rain'd Cavaliers (tho I value all mens Rights more than my own, and Princes most because they are biggest) and it prompted them to think of turning a Cautionary Triennial, into a Discretionary. But God be thank'd they wanted words to express themselves; and if they meant it, they have not done it.

But so as they did put the Act together, and as it now stands, there are several things in it worth observing. 1st. That *if there be occasion there shall be more and oftner* Parliaments than once in three Years. Now I ask for whose sake was that Clause enacted? Not for the King's, for he was always enabl'd by his Prerogative, for the sake of the *Ardua Regni*, to call a Parliament every Month in the Year. Well then it was for the sake of his People, that if they judg'd *there was occasion for more or oftner* Parliaments, they might ask for them. For I appeal to common Sense, whether it be not ridiculous, and wonderfully beneath the Dignity of a Parliament, when a Prince was bound by his Coronation-Oath to call a Parliament once a Year, or oftner if need were (for so the Law stood, and so this Prince was at that time bound) to interpret a Law after such a manner, as to say he was enabl'd to call a Parliament oftner than once in three Years.

So much for that point; the next is this. The Upshot of this Act of Parliament, and the Conclusion of the whole Act is in these words: "To the end, there may be a frequent Calling, Assembling, and Holding of Parliaments once in three Years at the least." I do say, that if ever we came to Low-water Mark in our Laws about Parliaments, and if ever they run Dregs, it was in the time of King *Charles* the Second. And yet it was enacted, and was the end of that Law, that one shou'd be call'd once in three Years at the least. Now I leave it to the Lawyers to tell, whether a Proclamation can call a Parliament, or any thing else besides a Writ of Summons and a Writ for Elections.

And thus have I run thro the Law of Parliaments till t'other Day, and consider'd what is the Law at present. From King *Alfred*'s Time down to *Edward* the First, it seems to have been the standing Law to have Parliaments twice a Year. I know that the Invasions of several Nations, both *Danes* and *Normans*, and the Revolutions and Disturbances of State which happen, must needs cause frequent Interruptions in the practice of it. But my reason to be of that Opinion is this, because *Horne*, who liv'd in those Times, says, That Parliaments at that time ought to meet twice a Year, and that at *London*; and that the intermitting of Parliaments was the greatest Abusion of the Law but one. Tho I think I have still a greater Authority than *Horne*'s (if any thing in this World can be bigger than that of an able and honest Man) but it is a King in his Letter to the Pope; it is in the Clause Rolls, *Anno 3. Ed. 1. m. 9. Cedula*, and is to be seen in *Pryn's* large Book, p. 158. I will quote no more of it than is for my purpose; it is concerning the yearly Tribute of a Thousand Marks, which the Popes from King *John*'s Time claim'd, and there were several Years due. The Pope's Nuncio solicites the matter, but the King excuses himself that he had come to no Resolution in his *Easter-Parliament*, but by common Advice he wou'd give him an Answer in his *Michaelmas-*

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Parliament next following. At present I only mind the wording and way of expressing these two Parliaments. Concerning the first he says, *In Parlamento quod circa Octavas Resurrectionis Dominica celebrari in Angliâ Consuevit*: In a Parliament that us'd to be held in England about the Octaves of Easter. That word *Consuevit* amounts to Custom and Usage, and seems to express a Parliament *de More*. He says, that the Parliament was *in Octavis*, and by occasion of his Sickness (after they had made several good Laws, and redress'd many Grievances, but not all that lay before them) for the reason aforesaid, that Parliament was dissolv'd, and the King cou'd not treat with them about the Pope's Petition of Tribute. But he promises to do the Pope Reason in his *Michaelmas-Parliament* which he intended.

Now let us see how that is express'd; *Pro firmo scituri, pie Pater & Domine, quod in alio Parlamento nostro quod ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. futur. intendimus, dante Domino, celebrare, habito & communicato Consilio cum Prelatis & Proceribus memoratis, vobis super premissis, ipsorum consilio dabimus responsionem.* Know for certain, pious Father and Lord, That in another Parliament of ours, which we intend to hold at *Michaelmas* next ensuing, with God's leave; We, and the Prelates, and Peers aforesaid consulting together, according to their Advice will give you an Answer upon the Premises.

But I will say no more upon this Head, being intent upon another.

CHAP. III.

Shewing, That the Yearly Parliaments were fresh and fresh.

THERE are several ways of proving that there was a new Election every Year. They tell me, there are Writs extant for new Elections for four-score Years successively, where there are but about six wanting. What if they had been all lost, imbezel'd, or made away? What then, is our Constitution lost, when Bundles of Writs are lost? No, I will go no further than this last Letter to shew that there is a great appearance, that while there were two Parliaments in a Year, the second must be new call'd. Tho I hate the word New apply'd to a Parliament; for a Parliament is a Parliament, and our Ancestors wou'd no more have dream'd of a stale or old Parliament, than of an old Moon cut out into Stars. I will cite the words of King Edward's Letter, dated the 19th of June, in the third of his Reign; and when that's done, let the Reader make his own Judgment upon them.

It was in the Interval betwixt his Easter and his *Michaelmas-Parliament*. *Set antequam eidem Parlamento propter negotiorum multitudinem qua reformationis remedio indigebant sinem imponere valeremus, eodem Capellano vestro responsionem debitam sibi fieri instanter postulante, quedam gravis nos invasit, sicut Domino placuit, infirmitas Corporalis, qua perfectionem multorum aliorum negotiorum, & deliberationem petitionis Censûs annui supradicti, de quo dolemus non modicum, impedivit; sicque cum occasione infirmitatis hujusmodi, a qua per Dei gratiam, cujus est perimere & moderari, incepimus convalescere, idem Parliamentum fuerit dissolutum, & super hoc nequiverimus super petitione Censûs ejusdem deliberationem habere cum Prelatis & Proceribus antedictis.* To this Sense: But before we cou'd put an end to that Parliament, because of the Multitude of Grievances which lay before them, your Nuncio in the mean time diligently soliciting your Business, a great Distemper as it pleas'd God besel me, which hinder'd the finishing of many other Matters, and treating about the Petition of the yearly Tribute, which is a great Grief to me: and so by reason of my said Illness (from which, by the Grace of God, in whose hands are the Issues of Life and Death, I begin to recover) that Parliament was dissolv'd, and hereupon I cou'd not treat with the Prelates and Peers aforesaid about this Tribute.

From this long Quotation I shall only make this Observation at present; That in this Parliament begun in the Octaves of Easter (perhaps upon May-Day)

Day) there was a great deal of Business done, and a great deal of Business left undone; amongst the rest the Pope's, because of the King's Sickness, who thereupon could not give Answers to Bills or Petitions; and that the Nuncio's Petition was unanswered, went to the King's Heart. But upon occasion of that Sickness it was, that the Parliament was dissolv'd, and the Pope's Business hinder'd, to the King's great Regret. What, could not the King keep this Parliament alive till the nineteenth of June, when he himself began to be well again, which is the Date of the Letter? It is no more than fifty Days from their first sitting down to the Date of his Letter; and yet tho he set his Heart upon the Business that lay before that Parliament, it was dissolv'd; and to stop that Gap, he promises to call another Parliament at Michaelmas. Then it seems they did not understand the method of Prorogations, and it is unknown to me by what Law it came in. If there be such a Law, I never minded it; for I am speaking of the Constitution, and not of Innovations.

But I believe the true reason of the abrupt Dissolution of that Summer Parliament, in conjunction with the King's Sickness, was this, That if they had been held till Michaelmas, tho there was then to be another Parliament, it must have been at the King's charge. For I am of opinion, by what I have seen even as low as Richard the Second's time, that the sitting of a Parliament was usually forty Days; and that the Quarantain was not duly kept in this Parliament, 3 Ed. 1. of the Octaves of Easter. But there was a concern in holding a Parliament above forty Days about the Knights and Burgeses Wages; as appears by that memorable Record which is in *Knyghton*, p. 2682. being the Message sent by both Houses to King Richard the Second at Eltham. The words are these: *Diximus etiam quod habent ex antiquo Statuto, quod si Rex a Parlamento suo se alienaverit sua sponte, non aliqua infirmitate aut aliqua alia de causa necessitatis, set per immoderatam voluntatem proterve se subtraxerit per absentiam temporis 40 dierum, tanquam de vexatione populi sui & gravibus expensis eorum non curans, extunc licitum omnibus & singulis eorum absq; domigerio Regis redire ad propria & unicuiq; eorum in patriam suam remeare.* In short, they say they have an antient Statute for it, that in case the King wilfully absent himself, and will not come to Parliament, as having no care of vexing his People, nor regard of their great Expences, after forty Days they are free to go home, and the King has no wrong done him.

Now what is the meaning of these forty Days, but that they had waited a just Session? And how shou'd the Parliament mens Wages be otherwise adjusted, when at the end of every Parliament in those Times they were dismissed, with desiring them to sue out their Writs for their Wages? And I leave it to the Antiquarys, because I am not now able to travel in that point, to consider how the several Proportions of Land which are allotted for the Knights and Burgeses in several Countys for their Wages, can be adjusted without a Certainty of the length of their Sessions.

But not a word of this is my present business, which was to shew, that Parliaments by the Constitution are not to be stale; as I have seen one in my time retain'd about nineteen Years with Pensions, and another for fewer Years with Places and turning out of Places: But if a Parliament were corrupted neither of these ways, yet a standing Parliament will always stagnate, and be like a Country-pond which is over-grown with Ducks-meat. The worst King one of them that ever the Nation had, was so limited by the Constitution, that he did not know how to compass a long Parliament, and therefore he was fain to take other indirect ways to gain the same Point as if he had one. It was Richard the Second, who in the Articles alledg'd against him, and confess'd by him, lets us know it was by influencing Elections and false Returns. The words, as they stand in the Rolls, 1 H. 4. m. 20. are these,

19. Item, *Licet de Statuto, & Consuetudine Regni sui in Convocatione cujuslibet Parliamenti Populus suus in singulis comitatibus regni debeat esse liber ad eligendum & deputandum milites pro hujusmodi comitatibus ad interessendum Parlamento, & ad exponendum eorum gravamina, & ad proseguendum pro remediis superinde prout eis videretur expedire; tamen prefatus Rex ut in Parliamentis suis liberius consequi valeat*

valcat sua temeraria Voluntatis effectum, direxit mandata sua frequentius Vicecomitibus suis, ut certas personas per ipsum Regem nominatas ut milites comitatum venire faciant ad Parliamenta sua, quos quidem milites eidem Regi faventes inducere poterat, prout frequentius fecit, quandoq; per minas varias, & terrores, & quandoque per munera ad consentiendum illis qua regno fuerant prejudicialia, & populo quamplurimum onerosa; & specialiter ad concedendum eidem Regi subsidium lanarum ad terminum vite sue, & aliud subsidium ad certos annos, suum populum nimium opprimendo.

19. Item, "Altho by Statute, and the Custom of his Realm in the calling of every Parliament in every the Countys of England, his People ought to be free to chuse and depute Knights for the said Countys to be present in Parliament, and to lay open their Grievances, and to prosecute for Remedys thereupon as they think fit, notwithstanding the said King, that in his Parliaments he might obtain his Will which was rash, often directed his Mandates to his Sheriffs, that they shou'd return certain Persons nominated by the King himself as Knights of the Shires; which Knights indeed he cou'd make pliable to him, and as he very often did, sometimes by various Threats and Terrors, and sometimes by Gifts, to consent to those things which were prejudicial to the Realm, and extremely burdensom to the People; and particularly to grant the same King the Subsidy of Wool during his Life, and another Subsidy for certain Years, thereby too much oppressing his People."

Now if he cou'd have made Long Parliaments, he need not have made use of these mean shifts. But he cou'd make use of no other way, because Parliaments, as I said, were fresh and fresh, and Antiquity knew no other. And if any man can make out of this authentick Record, that it was any otherwise, than so many Parliaments so many Elections, then I have done with Writing and Reading.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Kalends of May.

AT last I am come to search after the Head of Nile, and the true old Land-mark of the English Constitution. How Parliaments stood in the British times I am not so certain; but that there were Parliaments then I am certain. I have it from the wise Gildas, that Vortigern and his foolish Thuyne sent to the Saxons for help against the Picts and Scots, and took into their Bosoms a warlike and fierce Nation, whom at a distance they were afraid of. And they indeed of course beat those that infested Severus's Wall, but they made mine Hosts that invited them in, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water. And those of the Britons, that oppos'd them, the Saxons drove out of their Country, whereby, as Gildas says, all their Records were lost. But out of that venerable Author we plainly see, that the lamentable Letter, which was sent some few years before to the Senate of Rome, was written by a British Parliament. For whose sake I beg of all Nations not to let in Legions of Foreign Nations to be their Masters; for when they want them and their Protection most, they shall go without it. For when the Roman Legions were withdrawn out of Britany (which caus'd our Enemys to make an Insult) and the British Parliament beg'd hard to have them return, the Roman Senate's Answer was, that they were otherwise engag'd; and they must help themselves as they cou'd, which made them betake themselves to the Saxons. A very fair Answer to a Nation that was disabl'd and disarm'd, after their Kings and Parliaments had been only Tax-gatherers to the Romans for several hundreds of Years; as if you have no true Lord Mayor, you must still have Pageants, and somewhat that keeps up the Shew.

But after these early Times, we have somewhat in King Edward the Confessor's Laws, which all succeeding Kings have been sworn to, which I will try

what

what to make of. It is a yearly *Folkmote* upon the Kalends of *May*. I do not know readily what that yearly *Folkmote* is, because those Laws of *Edward* the Confessor say that King *Arthur* invented it; *Quod Arthurus Rex inclytus Britonum invenit*. Then I am sure the original Name of it was not *Folkmote*. Then we will mind the Name no more, but come to the Thing.

Sir *Henry Spelman*, in the learnedest Glossary that ever was writ, I will not except Mr. *Somner's*, says thus under the word *Gemotum*; *Wittenagemot idem apud Anglosaxones quod apud nos hodie Parlamentum, parumque a Folcmoto differbat, nisi quod hoc annuum esset & e certis plerumque Causis, illud ex Arduis Contingentibus & Legum condendarum gratia, ad arbitrium Principis indictum*. "A *Wittenagemote* was the same thing amongst the *English Saxons*, as now at this Day a Parliament is amongst us; and a *Wittenagemote* differ'd little from a *Folkmote*, only that this last was Annual, and chiefly sat about the standing Affairs of the Nation." The other was call'd at the King's Pleasure upon Emergencies of State, and for the sake of making Laws.

Now let us see what the Learned Antiquary says concerning *Folkmotes* by themselves in the same place, p. 315. *In Folcmoto semel quotannis sub initio Kalendarum Maii (tanquam in annuo Parlamento) convenere Regni Principes, tam Episcopi quam Magistratus Libèrique homines. Jurantur Laici omnes coram Episcopis in mutuum fœdus, in fidelitatem Regis, & in Jura Regni Conservanda. Consultitur de Communi Salute, de Pace, de Bello, & de Utilitate publica Promovenda*. "In a *Folkmote* once every Year at the beginning of the Kalends of *May* (as in an yearly Parliament) there met together the Princes of the Realm, as well Bishops as Magistrates, and the Freemen. All the Laymen are sworn in the Presence of the Bishops into a mutual Covenant with one another, into their Fealty to the King, and to preserve the Rights of the Kingdom. They consult of the common Safety, of Peace, of War, and of promoting the publick Profit."

It follows in the next words, *Adhibetur præterea Folcmotum in repentino omni discrimine, exigente etiam necessitate, sub Aldermano (hoc est Comite) cujuslibet Comitatus*. "Besides a *Folkmote* is us'd in every sudden Danger, and likewise if necessity require it, under the Alderman (that is the Earl) of every County."

This last is plainly a Provincial *Folkmote* in time of necessity: but the former part of the Sentence seems to intimate, that upon a Surprise when the King had not time to call a Parliament, the last *Folkmote* met; as the last *Westminster* Parliament did, to give the Prince of *Orange* the Administration, before it was possible to have a Parliament elected.

Tho the former Description of the General and not the Provincial *Folkmote* is our present Business. And at the first sight it looks like a full Parliament, for it consists of the Princes, as well Bishops as Magistrates, and the Freemen; that is to say, the Chiefs of the whole Nation. And they are employ'd in Parliament-work, for they consult of the Common Safety, of Peace, of War, and promoting the Publick Profit. And did not the General Title of our Laws every Session run thus; To the high Honour of God, and to the Profit of the Commonwealth? If ever there were Wites in Parliament, sure it was Princes, as well Bishops as Magistrates, and the Freemen. Why then does this Learned Knight distinguish betwixt a *Wittenagemote* and a *Folkmote*, seeing they were both made up of Wites? I am govern'd by Things and not by Words, and am thorowly satisfy'd that an Assembly which does Parliament-business is a Parliament. And no doubt the *Folkmote* made Laws; for it is not to be suppos'd that an Assembly of the whole Nation shou'd sit consulting forty Days of Peace and War, of Armys and Fleets (which in those Days were Three Thousand Ships, and were able to make out the Dominion of the Seas) of the Grievances of the Nation, and the Redress of those Grievances; and of providing for the Common Profit of the Realm; and after all not be able to enact their own Conclusions. That is just as if our present Parliament shou'd spend forty Days in finding out Ways and Means for the raising Mony, and afterwards were not able to put them into a Law: or as we private men use to consult, and debate, and settle the Nation over a Dish of Coffee, without being able to oblige one single man to our Orders.

The thing which misled this Great Antiquary (as I conjecture) to make this mark of difference betwixt a *Folkmore* and a *Wittenagemote*, as if a *Wittenagemote* made Laws, and a *Folkmore* not, is this; That when the Saxon Kings issu'd out their Laws, they said they had pass'd in their *Wittenagemote*, *Concilio Sapientum*, or Council of Wise Men: And it was proper for the King to call his *Folkmore* by that Name, tho not for them themselves. As for instance, the Writs of Election at this Day call for some of the *Discreetest* to be chosen to Parliament, tho the Members do not assume that Title: And I know so much of the Old English Genius, that they wou'd no more have call'd themselves a *Wittenagemote*, than this present Parliament wou'd call their Votes which come out day by day, *Journal de Seavans*.

But I will wave Conjectures even in Antiquitys, (tho we are there oftentimes forc'd to go in the dark, to tread upon Ruins, and to feel out our way;) because I have direct proof that the *Folkmore* made all the Laws we ever had. And for this I will go no further than to the third Branch of the usual and accusom'd Coronation-Oath taken by the former Kings of England, and taken twice by Richard the Second, 1 Hen. 4. Membr. 20. inter Decem Scriptores, p. 2746. in these words, spoken to the King by way of Question. "Concedis justas Leges & Consuetudines esse tenendas; & promittis per te esse protegendas & ad honorem Dei corroborandas quas Vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas? Respondebit, Concedo & promitto." Do you grant that the just Laws and Customs which are of the Folks chusing shall be kept, and do you promise that they shall be protected, and to the Honour of God receive Affirmance by you, to the utmost of your Power? The King shall Answer, I Grant and Promise.

Now I wou'd fain know how a *Folkmore* can be otherwise express'd in Latin than by the word *Vulgus*, which is a Collective Word: Or how the *Vulgus* or Folk cou'd chuse Laws any otherwise than in a *Folkmore*?

I will not enter into the stiff Dispute which exercis'd King Charles the First and his Parliament for a long time, whether the word was *Præter Tense* or *Future*, and whether the Word was best render'd in the French Translations, the Laws which the Folk *auront esleu*, shall have chosen, or which the Folk *esliront* shall hereafter Chuse; whereupon they said that he was bound to sign and affirm all the Laws they shou'd hereafter present to him, and that he cou'd not make use of a Negative without Perjury. I say that that whole Dispute was not worth a Farthing. For if the Folk chose the Laws all along down to King Richard the Second's time, and the Kings were sworn to affirm them, then we know how the Laws antiently were made; and who cares whether *Eslieront*, or chusing for the future, be the sense of the Word or no? For if the Folks Chusing was the Constitution in King Richard the Second's time, then I wou'd fain know in what King's Reign it was afterwards that the Constitution was alter'd.

In short, the Folk chose the Laws; and I believe the *English Folkmore* and *Wittenagemote* will be found to be old Homer's River.

*Ον Ζαῖνον καλέουσι θεοί, θνητοὶ δὲ Σκαμάνδρον.

which the gods call *Xanthus*, but mortal men call *Scamander*. Now tho *Scamander* be the homelier Name, yet it is the same River.

I cannot but say there was some Difference betwixt the *Folkmore* upon the Kalends of May, and the *Folkmores* which the King always call'd for his *Ardus Contingentia*, or Contingency of State: But the Difference lay only in this, that the *Folkmore* of the Kalends of May was a Parliament *de more*, and of course, who assembl'd themselves, *sub initio Kalendarum Maii*, says Spelman, and were bound to do so, *in Capite Kal. Maii*, say the Laws of Edward the Confessor, cap. 35. de Greve; (and out of that Chapter has Sir H. Spelman extracted his true Account of a General *Folkmore*, which was Anniversary:) whereas a *Wittenagemote* or Extraordinary Parliament or *Folkmore* was summon'd at the King's Pleasure, and was ever at his Call both for Time and Place. Other Difference I can find none. For as for the constituent Parts of a *Folkmore*, if the Princes of the Realm, as well Bishops as Magistrates, and the Freemen,

Freemen, cannot denominate a *Wittenagemote*, I know not where the King will find his Wites, or Wise-men. I have spoke to that Point already. I have likewise spoken to the Point of the *Folkmites* making of Laws. We find indeed the *Saxon* Kings in the Preface of their Laws which were made in extraordinary Parliaments, decreeing with their Wites (*mid minan Witenan*) some at *Greatanlaga*, and at *Midwinter*, afterwards at *Eaxcester*, as King *Athelstan*; some at *Lundenbrig* at the Holy Easterly Tide, as King *Edmund*; others at *Wodestock* in *Mercialand*, and others at *Winchester*. Whereby it appears that the Kings of *England* had a Power to summon Parliaments when and where their Weighty Affairs requir'd them, in all places of the Realm, and at all seasons of the Year. This is an undoubted Prerogative lodg'd in the King for the sake of the *Ardua Contingentia*; and no man wou'd govern a Kingdom that cou'd not command the Advice and Assistance of his Subjects to be forth-coming, when the occasions of the Kingdom requir'd it. And for the sake of these *Ardua Negotia*, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses are to be empower'd to act in Parliament-Business by those that sent them; left for want of that full and sufficient Power, or by means of an improvident Election, these Arduous and Weighty Affairs of the Kingdom shou'd in any wise remain *Infecta*, or be left undone. This is contain'd in the present Writ of Elections directed to every Sheriff of a County at every Election of Parliament-men.

But that is not my present Business; for I am in a further search after the Annual, or rather the Anniversary *Folkmote*.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the First Founder of the Yearly Folkmote of the Kalends of May.

BEfore I proceed any further, I must clear one Point: And that is, that we find the Author and Founder of our yearly *Folkmote* mention'd in the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor (which were recited and confirm'd by King *William I.*) under the Title *De Greve*, Chap. 35. which may possibly leave a suspicion that this yearly *Folkmote* of the Kalends of *May* was a *Greve's* Court. Now what Court shou'd this be belonging to a *Greve*, or any Count or Viscount, or President whatsoever; for *Greve* is an ambiguous word? It is not a *Burghmote*, for that is three times a year by the *Saxon* Laws. It is not a County-Court; for that by *Edward* the Senior's Laws, N. 11. was in these words: "*Ich Wille that ale Geresfa habbe Gemot a ymb seower wucan.*" I will that each *Greve* have a *Gemot* at about four weeks. So that there were twelve in the year. It was not the Sheriff's Turn, or *le Turne del Vicount*; for that was twice a year, *twa Scir-gemot on ger*, by the Laws of King *Edgar*, cap. 5. it is not the *Gemot* for the view of Weapons or Arms, which every *Freeman* in *England* was charg'd with, and was bound to shew once every year, and, as was wisely contriv'd, all in one day throughout all *England*; but that Day was not in our Kalends of *May*, but the morrow after *Candlemas*, *Craftino Purificationis B. M.* And therefore I cannot for my Life make any thing else of an universal Anniversary Full *Folkmote*, which is but *semel in Anno*, scilicet in capite *Kal. Maii*, but a Stationary Parliament: especially considering who they were, and what they did.

The next thing to be consider'd, is the Author or Founder of this Antient Constitution, which we have in the aforesaid Chap. *De Greve*, Num. 35. amongst the Laws of Good King *Edward*. "*Hanc Legem invenit Arthurus, qui quondam fuit Inclutissimus Rex Brytonum, & ita consolidavit & confederavit regnum Britanniae universum semper in unum.*" This Law of the Anniversary *Folkmote* *Arthur* invented, who was heretofore the most Renown'd King of the *Britons*, and thereby he consolidated and confederated together the whole Realm of *Britany* for ever as one man.

It is good to honour the Founders of all useful Constitutions; and I believe that King *Arthur* was the Inventor of this as to this Realm, because these Laws of King *Edward* say so: And so was *Cadmus* the Inventor of Letters in *Greece*, tho we can trace them out of *Phœnicia*; and the Letters speak for themselves. For if it be *Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth* in one place, and in the same Order it is *Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta* in the other place; then we are sure there has been an Understanding and Communication. For it is impossible to be otherwise when the Alphabets are settled on both sides, by being their Numeral Letters; as it was plainly in King *David's* time by the Octonarys of the 119th Psalm, as it stands in the middle of the Bible; and as it was in *Homer's* time in *Greece*: or else the Old Scholiasts have deceiv'd me, who say that *Homer* purposely couch'd the number of all his Books in the first words of his *Iliads*: *ΜΗν ἄδ' ἑσθ' ἑσθ'*; which Numerals stand for 48. The *Greeks* likewise taught the *Welch* to tell Twenty, and I believe they taught the *Romans* too. Now by the same Rule, if there was a very antient *Folkmore* in the neighbouring Kingdom of *France* upon every Kalends of *May*, then perhaps King *Arthur* borrow'd from them; and it is good to look upon their Kalends, because it is possible they may give Light to ours.

The *French Kalends of May* lie thus in *Radulphus de Diceto*, famous Dean of *Paul's* in King *John's* time, whose History was thought so Authentick, that the *English Parliament* in *Edward the First's* time, rely'd upon his Testimony, amongst some others, in no less a Point than the Claim of the King of *England* to the Supreme Dominion of the Realm of *Scotland*. As to our present business, he has these words, *Abbreuiat. Chronicorum*, pag. 439.

Anno Dom.
662.

“ Abhinc *Francorum* Regibus a solita fortitudine & scientia degenerantibus,
“ Regni potentia disponebatur per Majores domus, Regibus solo nomine reg-
“ nantibus; Quibus moris erat principari quidem secundum genus, & nil
“ agere vel disponere præterquam irrationabiliter edere & bibere domique
“ morari, & Kal. Maii præsidere coram tota gente & salutari, obsequia
“ & dona accipere & rependere, & sic secum usque ad alium Maium per-
“ manere.”

I will render the Sense of it into *English* as near as I can: However the *Latin* lies before every man to translate it for himself. From hence-forward the *French Kings* degenerating from the Valour and Learning which they us'd to have, the Power of the Kingdom was administred by the Masters of the Palace, the Kings themselves being upon the matter only Titular; whose custom it was to come to the Crown indeed according to their Descent, and neither to act nor order any thing, but to eat and drink unconscionably, and to live at home; and upon the *Kalends of May* to preside in an Assembly of the whole Nation, and there to be address'd, to receive their Allegiances, and Aids or Benevolences, and to remercy them, and so to retire to the same Life again till another *May* came.

L. L. Edw.
Conf. cap. 35.
de Greve.

This *French Kalends of May*, is so much a Picture of ours, that I know not which is the Copy, nor which the Original. Theirs was an Assembly of the whole Nation, so was ours: Annual and Anniversary, so was ours. It was *tota Gens Kal. Maii*, in *France*: Our *Folkmore* looks extremely like it in those two Strokes; *Statutum est enim quod ibi debent populi omnes, & gentes Universæ singulis annis, semel in anno scilicet convenire, scilicet in capite Kal. Maii*. For it was appointed by Statute, that all the People and Countys universal shou'd meet together at the *Folkmore* each Year, namely, once in the year, namely, in the beginning of the *Kalends of May*. The King us'd to have fine Speeches made to him in *France*; so had we. They swore Allegiance to him; so did our Folk. They gave him Gifts (it was not *New-Year's-tide*) Aids, Benevolences, call them what you will; and our People at the same time, as Sir *H. Spelman* said above, *Consulted of Peace and War*: which cannot be manag'd without ways and means of raising Mony, which is the Sinews of War, as Laws are of Peace. The word *Rependere* at last in the *French Kalends* looks so like our *French* form of the Royal Assent given to a Mony-Bill, *le Roy Remercie ses Loyal Sujets*, that I knew not how to render the word *Rependere* any otherwise than I did, by the word *Remercie*.

I know

I know that the Year 662 was below King *Arthur's* time; but it appears that when the *French* Government was utterly spoil'd in the *Merovingian* Family, as to the other Points, still they retain'd the old Custom of the Kalends of *May*; so that it was of much greater standing.

The CONCLUSION.

AND thus I have finish'd what I at first propounded; but under such difficulties and disadvantages of a broken Health, as I do verily believe never Book was written. And for that reason I am certain, that the very great Personages to whom I ventur'd to offer it (tho it was upon presumption of a better performance) will bear with it, to whom I wholly submit it with all deference: and if one single word of it shou'd happen to be against Law, I here revoke it beforehand. And for the same reason I earnestly desire all Antiquaries and learned Men to look further into this Matter, because I my self cannot; and as they see cause, either to confirm or confute my Notion, which is indifferent to me, because I only seek Truth. I do not speak thus doubtingly concerning annual Parliaments, for I am positive in them; but if People will have the utmost of Antiquity, and the very Original of the wisest and justest Government in the World, they must sometimes be content to read with Letters that are somewhat worn; tho I have been of Opinion for many a year, that the Kalends of *May* were very legible: And I am sure that I have by this time gain'd my point, which was to set wiser men upon Thinking.

I was afraid that this Government wou'd float and move upon the face of the Waters, till we were at a certainty about our Parliaments; and therefore when I waited upon my Lord *Devonshire* before the Coronation, and it is my fault I have not done it often since, I said that we were never the better for this Revolution till we had a Settlement of Parliaments, and our antient Right was anniversary Parliaments, and that nothing else cou'd set the Government to rights. Knowing how much he had assisted the King, and seeing the white Staff in his Hand, I concluded upon his Interest with the King, and therefore said; My Lord, you may make a Complement of this Matter to the King, and tell him that we must have good Laws in a good Reign, or never, for we cannot have them in a bad one; but the Laws made in a good Reign are to support us when a bad one comes, as the seven years of Plenty in *Egypt* sustain'd the seven years of Famine. It breaks no Rules to repeat my own Discourse to his Lordship, and to say that he gave me the hearing, nor to say that a certain Knight pull'd me by the Sleeve; which had no other effect than to make me speak the more, and the more earnestly to my Lord in that matter.

Likewise when Mr. *Johnston* the present Secretary of State for *Scotland*, told me in the Court of Requests, that the Bill of Rights was going up to the House of Lords, I wish'd at that time that all the Rights were reduc'd to one Line which was our Right, to have a Parliament every Kalends of *May*. I tell these old Storys to shew that I was always of the same mind, and that no Court-Neglects nor Disappointments have alter'd me; and I will love this Court whether they will or no, for I am sure I laid the Bridg that brought them over, and am pretty certain that they did not come hither in virtue of Passive-Obedience.



Printed
1694.

NOTES

UPON THE

P H E N I X E D I T I O N

O F T H E

Pastoral Letter.

Upon the Vote of the House of Lords, *Die Martis* 24 *Januarii*, 1692. it was resolv'd by the House of Commons, *Nemine Contradicente*,

THAT the Assertion of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY's being King and Queen by Conquest, is highly injurious to their Majesty's Rightful Title to the Crown of this Realm, inconsistent with the Principles on which this Government is founded, and tending to the Subversion of the Rights of the People.

To the BARONS and COMMONS of
England in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Honours;



Do not seek your Protection for these Papers, for I have it already in your unanimous Vote against Conquerors; but I present you with a few Thoughts of an *English* Freeman, to be vastly improv'd in your large and noble Breasts for the Publick Good.

God preserve your Honours.

The

The PREFACE.

WHEN I understood that by the Author's Direction the Pastoral Letter was to be reprinted, in the self-same Session of Parliament which censur'd it; partly out of a just Disdain that an English Parliament shou'd be treated with such Contempt by an Inmate, and partly out of Indignation, That that Vial of Mischief shou'd be again pour'd forth upon the Nation, I promis'd that if it were reprinted, I wou'd bestow Notes upon it; hoping thereby to put a stop to that intended Insolence. But a Week after, out comes the sly Counterfeit, as like the other as they cou'd make it, with a false Date, and a dead Man's Name to it; and I have in part been as good as my word.

If there be a Complaint that we have Disputed Titles, they are owing to this Author, who has trump'd up a great many, but never a good one. I never saw any thing like the Pastoral Letter since I was a Boy, and then it was a Mountebank who spouted Wine, and wou'd give you a Glass of any Wine you call'd for, White, Claret, Canary, young Hock, old Hock, any thing; when every body knew there was not one drop of Wine in it, it was all Water bewitch'd. Perhaps it may be thought, that in these Papers, I have mingled very much of my own private Resentments together with publick Matters; to which I have only this to say, Is there not a Cause?

Notes on the Pastoral Letter.

I Shou'd not have touch'd upon the Pastoral Letter any more, but that the Author affects a sort of Immortality for it, and will have it live after its last Funerals. It is not in my nature to insult over a burnt Book, for I attack'd it when it flourish'd. The Doctrine that is in it shall not live while it pleases God to let me live; and the proper way for me to destroy it, is to answer it. And I will try that way; for if the highest Censures will not do it, we must do as is done in like cases, we must take a Wyth.

It is the Book, the Book alone with which I have a Controversy, and not the Author at this time. The Book has no Station, which is so often of late insisted upon, let the Author's be in the third Heavens if he think so; the Book is not capable of Ficchio's or Cardinals Horse-top-knots on or off, and therefore I need not stand upon Ceremony with it; and the Book is a senseless Book, I will be judg'd by the Reader by that time I have done with it.

The Design of it was to make Men swear to the Government at any rate; and because only the Jacobites stood out against the Oath of Allegiance, and were dissatisfy'd with it, the Government is made Jacobite, of what they will, that these Men may swear upon their own terms; and if they will not come to the Oath, the Oath shall come to them. The posthumous Apology which was made on purpose for it, in the short Preface to the *Measures of Submission*, does in effect own it to be a Drag-Net of Comprehension, to take in the Fishes both Good and Bad. But if it had drawn in Dr. Sancroft and his Brethren, besides the deplorable Damage their living too long wou'd have done their Heirs, it wou'd only have brought a Family of Plotters into the Government. This plainly appears by the Bishop of Ely's Letters to the late Queen Mary, shewing that the elder Brother and the rest of them, were intirely in her Interests and young Master's. To bring Men into this Govern-
ment

ment with their Jacobite Principles along with them, is to let so many Vipers into its Bosom. The Government needs no such Aids nor Supporters, and Nonswearing Enemys are less dangerous than Swearers.

In the first Paragraph he endeavours to fright People into the Oath, by the old wheeling Motive, *Venient Romani*; the *French*, the *Irish*, and Popish Tyranny will be upon you, if you do not take the Oath. Now whether the *Romans* come or stay, what is this to the Merits of the Cause? It is an Argument which may drive Men to their Duty; it may drive Men to crucify our Saviour, for so it did when it was first urg'd.

I am the fairest Adversary in the World, tho I say it my self, and will not dwell upon this first Paragraph, because he himself does as good as throw it away in his second; but I must shake one Note in it before I part with it. One of the things, which he says we ought to fear and tremble at, is Popish Tyranny. I wou'd fain know whether the word *Popish* added to Tyranny makes it better or worse? One wou'd think by this Phrase of *Popish Tyranny*, that several of our Prayers in this Reign had been Pastoral. Why, Tyranny is such a word, that nothing added to it can blacken it. To put a bad name upon Tyranny is false Heraldry. Popish and Protestant Tyranny are alike, their Effects are the same; and there is no difference betwixt them but only in this, that Protestant Tyranny stole in upon this Nation, and Popish Tyranny cry'd, *'Ware Horns*.

Sir *Ellis Leighton* us'd to go over into *France* in the time of King *Charles* the Second's Government, only to curse it out of hearing, and to give himself that Vent abroad, which was not so safe at home. The Burden of his Complaint was, that whereas the King had promis'd to set up the Catholick Religion, which he might do by the strength of his Guards every day, he wou'd rather play a damn'd long Church-game, which wou'd last longer than his Life. It prov'd so; but for all that, it was a wiser Game than his Successor's, who open'd Shop too soon, and seem'd to be in haste in every thing he did. He put out a Proclamation one day to assure the Nation of their Liberties and Propertys, and the next day (it was God's Mercy it was not the same) he put out another Proclamation to rob the Merchants in their Customs without the Grant of an Act of Parliament, without which he had no more Right to them than the Prince of *Wales* now has. In the mean time the Pulpits were the Insurers of the King's Word, and said it was like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* which alter'd not. And as for the Customs, they preach'd that he had a natural Right to them; for they had gotten the true Art of spelling all the Oppressions and Devildoms in the World out of the pregnant word King; tho it is impossible to fetch any more Power out of that word, than just what the People of *England* have put into it. What I write is in the memory of Man.

It is true, in *Sweden* the word King now of late signifys Infinite Power; in *Denmark* since the Force put upon the Senate, it is Proclamation-Law; in King *Joseph's* Kingdom of *Hungary*, it is doing of Justice in general, or according to his young Discretion; in *France* it is Will and Pleasure, because it is; and it is the Mouth-watering General Excise, Standing Armys, Levying Mony, All Things. This makes him a powerful and a formidable Enemy; but it wou'd be more formidable to have those Outlandish things come hither, tho it were to make another as powerful Monarch here, as the late licens'd Book of the *State of England* wou'd fain have it. I take it to be a licens'd Book, because it was publish'd in the Gazette. But I tell that Author, it is impossible to have here in *England* such a brave thing as the *French* King is, till we be first made such sorry things as the *French* Subjects are.

I have not forgot where I digress'd, and I say that by Experience Popish Tyranny is so far better than Protestant, that People are more aware of it, and sooner rid their hands of it. We saw this so plainly in *Powis-House*, that nothing more can be writ upon the Subject. A Mass-house devoted to Destruction, was sav'd by the Inscription of my Lord *Delamere's* Name, that it was provided for his Lodging; but a Protestant Inscription will never save a Mass-house a second time.

I might

I might descant upon his calling in Providence to decide a Title, which is to employ the Majesty of Heaven in Undersheriffry; and the Woes he lays upon Non-swearers, and *their fighting against God, if they happen to be in the wrong*, as I will swear they are: But I will keep my word, because, as I said, he seems to recal his first Paragraph in his second, which begins in these following words.

“But all this may look like a pathological aggravating the matter, unless it shou’d appear to be well supported. I go therefore in the next place to set before you those Reasons that seem convincing to me, even tho there were no more to be said for the present Settlement, but that we have a Throne fill’d, and a King and Queen in Possession.”

From henceforth therefore Rhetorick apart, we must expect nothing but Reasons, and convincing Reasons. I shall take the pains of examining them one by one, and find out if I can their Power of Conviction; which I am afraid is like an Estate left in *Diego’s Will*.

The first Reason which seems convincing to him, and sufficient for the purpose, is, *That we have a Throne fill’d, and a King and Queen in Possession*. A Throne fill’d, I think it is; for it never yet held more than one Person at a time, unless it were widen’d once in a Thousand Years by the Consent of the People. I believe that a King and Queen in Possession at once, or a King and Queen *de facto* together, in opposition to *de jure*, which the *Scotch Parliament* justly call’d a villanous Distinction, wou’d have frightened even *Coke* himself the first Author, that I know of that affected Distinction; and much more wou’d have frightened old *Littleton*, out of whose Mouth there never came any thing else, but *Ung Dieu & Ung Roy*.

We know a King alone comes from Heaven, or a Queen alone comes from Heaven, and either of them fills a *Jure Divino* Throne: But to talk of two in Possession together, without first naming the true Cause of it, which was the Good-will of the People, who were perfectly free to have had either, or neither, or both, is to talk of an utter Impossibility. For here all their Schemes fail them, all their Texts fail them, and they cannot shew any such Pattern in the Mount.

Besides, Possession even of a single Person is the worst Title in the World, it is the Claim of a Disseisor, an Intruder, an Usurper, and of *Oliver*, who told the Fifth-Monarchy Man, that he only kept possession of the Throne till King *Jesus* came, and then he was ready to resign it to him.

The Pastoral seems to be aware of this, and therefore immediately these words follow in the same Paragraph. “The bringing the State of the Question so low, may seem at first view not to be of so much Advantage to their Majestys Title; but since I intend to carry the matter further before I leave it, I hope it may be no incongruous Method to begin at that which will take in the greatest Numbers, since there is no Dispute in this, that they are actually in Possession of the Throne, that they protect us, and that we by living under their Protection, and enjoying the Benefit of it, are therefore bound to make some Returns to them for it.”

In my Life I never met with such a short-winded Author, for he is perpetually sucking in his Breath; and what he advances in the beginning of a Paragraph, is presently recal’d. *A Throne fill’d, and a King and Queen in Possession*, was in his very last Period a convincing Argument for this Settlement, yea tho nothing more were to be said for it; whereby it was made such a self-sufficient convincing Argument as render’d all others superfluous and needless: And yet now in this Period he blemishes his own convincing and self-sufficient Argument, as if it might lower and disparage their Majestys Title, and plainly confesses it to be purely Drag-net, as that *which will take in the greatest Numbers*.

One convincing Argument is as much as one thousand; and as the King has but one plain Title which is the Gift of the People, so there is but one plain Proof of it which is the Instrument of Conveyance of the Crown by both Houses, which the King accepting of confirm’d the thing. For that is very true, the King might have chose whether he wou’d be King or no, he cou’d not be made so against his Will, nor can any Man be forc’d to take a Trust. But after all this had pass’d in the Face of the Sun, and been transacted by the

greatest Authority upon Earth; I mean the *English* Community, which as King *Charles* the First says, moulded this Government and made it what it is, and consequently both at first erected the Office of a King, and always dispos'd of the Crown as they found cause, and never did it upon more valuable Considerations than in their last just Choice: I say, after all this was done, and the King had a Throne given him by the only competent Authority that cou'd do it, and therefore had a Throne establish'd in Righteousness; for little mercenary People to come in and start him new Titles, is instead of suffering him to enjoy that one Stable Throne, to offer him two Stools.

But being engag'd in very great Choice of Titles and Arguments, I must go on. The last we look'd upon was bare actual *Possession*, from which he will infer the Duty of Obedience; but it must be drawn by the same Chymistry, whereby Sovereign Drops are extracted for the use of the *English* Ladys from very bad outlandish Blood. However let us mind the Process. *Possession of the Throne infers Protection, and the Benefit of Protection infers a Reciprocal Duty.*

I will wait for better Arguments, for as for this it will never convince. It is no Dispute indeed amongst the Non-swearers, but it is their great Grievance, that there is an actual *Possession* of Kingship, where there is not a Legal Right first prov'd and made out. And to call for Obedience in return for such an unask'd, and impos'd, and forc'd Protection, is as if a Man for his false Imprisonment of me, shou'd demand me to be his Subject; and under pretence of guarding me from all my Enemys all that while, shou'd require Taxes, and bring me in a Bill of Charges. I rather fancy that I have good Damages against him.

Well, but the convincing Argument of *Actual Possession* is suppos'd to have led all People by this time to *Actual Obedience*; and then he has got their Noses in a cleft Stick, for then he will force them to swear; and having learn'd great *A*, they must go thro with the whole Alphabet. These powerful Consequences and Convictions we have in the following Paragraph.

"A man may lawfully promise to do every thing which he may lawfully do; so that if it is lawful to obey the King, it is also lawful to promise to do it. And therefore since it does not appear that any Persons do doubt of the Lawfulness of obeying, it cannot with any colour of Reason be said to be unlawful to promise it; and if it is lawful to promise it, it is also lawful to swear it: for an Oath being only the Sacred Confirmation of a Promise, we may lawfully swear every thing that we may lawfully promise."

Now this is an Argument which cries snap like a Mousetrap, but will catch nothing. The Author loves a mathematical way of proving, and here it is. His *Axiom* or *Postulatum* is in the first Sentence, which I will allow and give way to at present, and talk with it anon. But what he subsumes in the next Sentence is begging the Question and absolutely false, in these words: *And therefore since it does not appear that any Persons do doubt of the Lawfulness of obeying, it cannot with any colour of Reason be said to be unlawful to promise it.* For I will demonstrate on the contrary, that it does appear that all who refuse the Oath, and ten thousand men more, do doubt of the Lawfulness of obeying. As for the next Clause, it is an irrefragable Truth and beyond all Controversy, *If it is lawful to promise Obedience, it is also lawful to swear it*; because they are both the same thing. For according to the Oracle of our *English* Proverb, an honest man's Word is as good as his Bond. And therefore with respect had to the honest and downright Genius of the *English* Nation (let their Posterity take care not to degenerate) our Constitution has assign'd no more Penalty to a Perjury upon a promissory Oath, than there is to a bare breach of Promise. Perhaps to other People, that can blaw with Meal in their Mouth, this may be unknown; but yet they will be always meddling in *Alienâ Republicâ*.

If the Non-swearers cou'd give their Assent and Consent to *obey*, they wou'd certainly give their Oath likewise, and all that is within them. But by their doubting the Lawfulness of an *Oath of Obedience*, they plainly doubt the Lawfulness of simple *Obedience*, and not the Lawfulness of an *Oath*; for unless they be Quakers they cannot do that.

Which

Which way wou'd he have their doubting of the Lawfulness of *Obeying* appear? Wou'd he have them mutiny, and doubt themselves into a Goal? Or how do they *obey King William*, that wou'd not obey him at all if they cou'd chuse? All the World knows that an Involuntary Act is not a Human Act: And therefore what is here call'd Obedience, is Forc'd Obedience, and not the Obedience of Men; it is Passive and Dog-kennel Obedience. For if their Heart be with King *James* and his Title, they cannot possibly obey King *William*; believing that he has nothing in him to be obey'd.

And now I am at leisure to talk with his Axiom, *A Man may lawfully promise to do every thing which he may lawfully do*. I will give him an Instance to the contrary. It is certainly lawful for me, because our Saviour commands it, *If any compels me to go a Mile with him to carry his Burden, to go with him twain*: tho all such Precepts are to be taken with a Grain of Salt. But is it therefore lawful for me to promise this Man to be his Pack-horse all my Life, and to starve my Wife and Children in not providing for them, and in so doing to be worse than an Infidel? I trow not.

I will give him another Instance. In the Year 86. within three or four days after *Whit-Sunday*, there came an Order from above, which I read and saw was sign'd, to make me a close Prisoner; tho I was in *arcta Custodia* before wrongfully, having purchas'd the Rules, and given Two Thousand Pound Security. The Marshal pursu'd this Order in removing me from one close Hole to another, till he had almost stifl'd me; and perhaps they intended to murder me by a side-Wind. I sent him word by his Steward, who is still living, that I had rather be shot than be so us'd. However I submitted to this Usage, waiting for *Trinity-Term*. It cost me two or three Fees in Motions at the *King's-Bench* Bar to have the Liberty of the Prison, and that Counsel might come to me, because I had likewise notice of a Trial. It was for my Address to the Standing Army; in which the Parliament that put the Crown upon the King's Head did me also very great Right, and own'd it for a Publick Service, *which the Nation enjoy'd the Benefit of to this Day*. I recite the Words with all Thankfulness, being part of their Early Address to the King, which they voted *Nemine Contradicente* for my Promotion. But as I was saying, my Friends above and the Court of *King's-Bench* were at that time of a Mind: for the Oppression they laid on, the other wou'd not take off. At my Trial, and I take it for an Honour that it was then, for they had fully conquer'd the Laws of *England*, they publish'd the five Positions of the Dispensing Power: And when that was done, I publickly challeng'd them for giving me no Relief from my Duress and barbarous Usage. They had the Grace to tell me, that my Motion was to go abroad to Counsel, which I knew to be impossible as well as they, being in Execution. I said that my Motion I was sure was right, being drawn up by my own Hand; and several Gentlemen at the Bar generously attested that my Counsel, who was then not in Court, had mov'd right. But I will say no more of those Judges; for considering the great number of brave and honest Men whom they have hang'd in their time, when it comes to their own turn, they will but profane a Gallows.

Out of this long and impertinent Story, I put this short Case. It was certainly lawful for me to submit to this Usage, when I cou'd not help it; but I had deserv'd to die the Death of a Dog, and had betray'd the Rights of an *English-Man*, if I had enter'd into Engagements to abide by it.

I will give him a third Instance. At the Parliament at *Oxford* in 65, when they made the Five-Mile Act, there was the same enslaving Project on foot, as there was afterwards in Seventy odd, to swear to the Government in Church and State without Alteration. The wise Lord Treasurer *Sou-thampton* was against it; and said, that tho he lik'd Episcopacy, yet he wou'd not be sworn to it; because he might hereafter be of another Opinion. And perhaps he had been further off from that Oath, if he had liv'd till now.

The Remainder of this third Paragraph follows in these words: " And as " it appears that there lies no just Objection to the swearing Obedience, so " there arises none from the word *Allegiance*: for that being in its original

" Signification, nothing but the Service that a Vassal ow'd to the Chief Lord
 " of the Fee, if the King is own'd in fact to be our King, then he is the Lord
 " of the Fee, and by consequence Allegiance is due to him: Allegiance being
 " also now in our present acceptation, *An Obedience according to Law*, that
 " is to say, not a blind nor absolute Obedience, but such an Obedience as
 " is defin'd and limited by the Law; then the Scruple that arises out of the
 " word *Allegiance* vanishes.

Even in this short Remnant there are abundance of things liable to Exception. First, That he runs away with an Oath of Obedience, as if he had gain'd his Point, which he has not done, and never can upon these Principles. Secondly, That he here gives us a Notion of Allegiance by the halves, and not the full and adequate meaning of the Word; no nor yet, *Pag. 24.* that is eighteen Pages off, where he drops something more concerning that Word. Thirdly, That he makes the King the Lord of the Fee; to intitle him to the Allegiance of his Subjects. I am sure he cannot tell what Fee: As if the King were Landlord of all *England*. Fourthly, He makes a King in *Fact* to be Lord of the Fee; as if *English* Men did not know their True Landlord from *John a Green*. Fifthly, He wou'd have People swear *an Obedience according to Law*, in opposition to a Blind and Absolute Obedience; tho they are still to retain their Passive Obedience, which is certainly Blind and Absolute Obedience, or else there is no such thing in the world. I shall slightly touch upon each of these in their order.

First of all he out-runs the Constable, in taking for granted an Oath of Obedience, where he has neither prov'd bare Obedience, much less a Promise of Obedience onwards, to be due; for which I refer my self to what pass'd on the former part of the Paragraph. It is true indeed what a Right Reverend Preacher said, *That Possession is eleven Points of the Law*; But where is the Twelfth? We want the Point of Right; without which the Eleven Points of Law are like the Verdict of eleven Jury-men, for receiving of which King *Alfred* heretofore hang'd one of his Judges.

Secondly, He here gives us a Notion of Allegiance by the halves, for he says, *It is in its Original Signification nothing but the Service due to the Chief Lord of the Fee*. What nothing more? Yes, it was always likewise the Duty which the Liege-Lord ow'd to his Liege-man. Allegiance and Fealty were always reciprocal. And therefore he need not say so sparingly, *p. 24.* that *an Original Contract was imply'd in it*, for it was an *Express Contract*. Allegiance was always a mutual Bond, and a Duty that was promis'd interchangeably. It was so when *Canutus* and the *English* swore Fealty to one another at *Southampton*, *Brompton* *p. 903. l. 57.* It was a true Bargain upon Articles treated of and agreed upon before-hand. *Ut me teneat* (says the Liege-man in his Oath) *sicut deservire volo, & totum mihi compleat, quod in nostra prælocatione fuit, quando suus deveni, & ejus elegi voluntatem.*

Thirdly, He makes the King *Lord of the Fee*, to entitle him to our Oath of Allegiance. It is nothing so, for the People of *England* do not hold of the King: what Holy Church does I know not; they may be his Vassals for ought I know, I am sure I am none. Our Allegiance stands upon truer and surer Grounds. The King of *England* is invested with the Regal Office of governing a Free-born People. This High Office and Dominion was given him by Law, and all his Powers which are very Great, and give him an Opportunity of doing a world of Good, are all stated by Law; for else how shou'd we know they are his? and they are butt'd and bounded by Law, or else they might be pretended to be Infinite. We find it thus in the first Constitution of this Monarchy, in the beginning of the *Mirror*; and thus the Office of the King stands delineated in the seventeenth Chapter of *Edward* the Confessor's Laws: where, by the by, we find that King *James* forfeited, and ceas'd to be a King.

Our King has the most Glorious Crown this Day in Christendom, for it has not that dark Side of Impotency, which by some is falsly call'd the *Power* of doing Wrong. This Crown at the time of his Coronation he us'd to be adjur'd not to meddle with, unless he wou'd observe his Coronation Oath *bonâ Fide & sine malo Ingenio*. It is a righteous Oath, and wonderfully for the

the Benefit of this Great People; and when he has done this, he has a Legal Right as well as a Conscionable to the Oaths of all his People. For if his Subjects will not swear to Him, let us give the King his Oath again. It is true, sworn or unsworn, both Prince and People are upon the Terms of the Government, which is a stable thing, and not like Cannon to be new cast, only to put the present Prince's Arms upon it. But still I say, for the Prince to be sworn and the People not, is like a Marriage on one side; as if the other Party were to be at a loose end, and left to Discretion.

I am clearly for the old Law of Swearing every one above Sixteen at the Court-Leet, and not suffering any one that sets foot upon *English* Ground to be Unsworn above *Quarante jours*, which is the antient Common Law. And he that will not take the Oath ought to be treated as an Outlaw; for he ought to live under a Government, who refuses to give it the customary and Legal Caution. If they dote upon King *James's* unextinguishable Right, they wou'd do better to be at *St. Germain's* than here: for if I had a rightful injur'd Prince abroad, my Sense of Allegiance wou'd prompt me to follow him to the World's End.

Fourthly, He makes a King in Fact to be Lord of the Fee. We have been too long haunted with this word *Fact*, and therefore I will try to lay the Goblin. Either a King is a Rightful King or he is not; if he be, write him down so, but never call him Fact, that is Wrongful King, Usurper, Pretender, Tyrant in Title, Idol, Counterfeit King, No King. For he that pretends to a Power and Office which is by Law, and which the Law does not give him, has it not. Every Inch of a King's Power is legal, and he must come legally by it: *Lex enim facit Regem*; and again, *Per quam factus est Rex*, as our Common Law speaks by the Mouth of old *Bracton*.

He that is not let into the Government by Law has nothing to do with it; he is a private Person, as you or I may be. *St. John 10. 1. He that entreth not by the Door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, Why what of him?* He is in Possession, he is a Shepherd *de Facto*, he takes upon him as if he were the true Shepherd; But what says our Saviour? *the same is a Thief and a Robber.*

If I were a Bishop of King *William's* making, I wou'd never for my own sake call my Founder a King *de Facto*. For *Leo VIII.* who was a Pope *de Facto*, and gave Orders, and did all other Apostolical things, made Bishops and Clerks only *de Facto*: for they were afterwards forc'd to sign their own Nullity in these words. *Pater meus nichil sibi habuit, nichil michi dedit.* For indeed of *Nichil* comes *Nichil*. *Radulphus de Diceto ad Annum 968. p. 457.*

Suppose any man by forcible entry gets possession of the Mannor-house, is he thereupon Lord of the Mannor, or has he a Right to the Rents of the Tenants? It intitles him to nothing that I know of, but to be follow'd by a Writ of Ejectment. For the Right and the Estate are for ever inseparable. For tho the Right Owner be not in the Estate, yet the Estate is always in him.

Fifthly, He wou'd have People swear an Obedience according to Law, in opposition to a Blind and Absolute Obedience, tho they are still to retain their Passive Obedience, which is certainly Blind and Absolute Obedience, or else there is no such thing in the World. He has, *p. 20. l. 15.* enter'd a Salvo for the highest Principles of Passive Obedience; for he argues from those Principles, and shews how the Oath shall not hurt them. I will discourse further of that matter when I come to it, and will prove that those highest Principles of Passive Obedience are his own: And that there is not ranker Passive Obedience, nor more grown up to Seed, than that which stands unretracted in his own Books. In the mean time how can he take into his mouth such honest words, as *Obedience according to Law*? For his Passive Obedience is all the sorts of Blind and Absolute Obedience, that can enter into the Heart of man to conceive. It is blind, and must neither see nor examine; and it is dumb, that must not dispute, and that openeth not its mouth. And it has resign'd it self till the Day of Judgment, at which the Welchman who fear'd hanging desir'd to be try'd, but all Plaintiffs desire a shorter Day. In a word, it is Obedience without reserve, it is bottomless and endless.

For

For it is all the Absolute Obedience in the world in the second instance; I mean, not in the performance of the first bare Command, but as that Command is enforced with a Penalty. For example, Suppose I liv'd under the Great Turk, and he for Will and Pleasure commanded me to break my Neck down a Precipice, and I on the other side, out of a natural tenderness for Life, desir'd to be excus'd; why there is the biggest Command in *Europe*, *Asia* or *Africa* lost. But if Passive Obedience come in the Black-Box, I must give up my willing Neck to the Bow-string, and there it is broke without Resistance, and the thing is done. And suppose this be practis'd upon 6666 Men, then you have a *Theban* Legion compleat. And Oh! *What a Fervour wou'd such a Story leave upon some mens Minds?* What a Heavenly thing Slavery and Suffering is to some Men! But then it is always other People's Suffering and not their own, which so wonderfully edifys them.

For my part I always hated Passive Obedience both for my self and every body else; and yet a great deal of it has fallen to my share; so that I am the better able to write against it, having had occasion to study the Point, and having known the thing by Experience: As my Lord *Montagu* will allow no man to be a competent Physician, nor able to cure any one Disease, which he has not labour'd under himself. I say then, that Passive Obedience is the Upshot of the most Blind and Absolute Obedience in the world. For an Infinite Obedience resolves it self only into this, either to do the thing or to do worse; either to fulfil the Tyrant's Will and Pleasure, or to suffer it. Now when we are come to Suffering and Passiveness, this is the last Office that can be done to a Tyrant. And if this be the Duty of the People of *England*, they live under the last Degree of Tyranny.

It is vain to talk of Laws which secure to us our Lives, Libertys and Estates, when Passive Obedience comes into play: for the Property we have in these things, which makes them all our own, is swallow'd up by Irresistibility; and all the ridiculous Owner-ship we have, is the ridiculous *English* word *Mine-take-it*: which all the Children in *England* know, is equivalent to *Your's-take-it*.

For if a Thing be not mine to keep, it is none of mine; but it is uncontrollably his, who can take it away without Controul.

A Prince needs not an antecedent Title to that which is his for sending for: His Title commences in sending for it. And *Cesar* has an undoubted Right to all things, if no body has a Right to say him nay.

The Ghostly Doctrine of Passive Obedience superinduc'd upon our Civil Rights, is like the Saving or Reserve of the King's Sovereign Power, where-with the Court and Bishops wou'd have clog'd the Petition of Right, *Quarto Caroli*: which wou'd have frustrated the whole Act, and supplanted every Branch of those Fundamental and Inherent Libertys, which are there claim'd and confirm'd. The wise Conferences full of Law and Learning which pass'd upon that Occasion, are worth every body's reading, either in the *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, or even as they lie in Mr. *Rushworth's* Collections. For whenever Sovereign Power and Irresistibility exert themselves, we are gone: And if we are bound in Conscience to submit to Commands illegal, there is an end of all Law.

These Men do very wickedly and profanely, not to say blasphemously, to christen their Bow-string Obedience, and to call it the Doctrine of the Cross; thereby abusing the adorable Mystery of our Salvation, and turning it into a State-Engine of Tyranny and Slavery. For it is not the *Doctrine of the Cross* in any wise, unless it be in some such wretched meaning as this, That no free Nation can live under it.

What is done according to Law every body must abide by, because every body's Consent is involv'd in the making of every *English* Law; and then it is no more than common Honesty, to stand to one's own Act and Deed. But in the way of the Passive Doctrine, to prostitute the Lives, Libertys and Estates of the People of *England* to the Will of the Prince, is Treason against the Realm, and Higher Treason than the High Treason against the Prince: For as *Fortescue* and the rest of the Lawyers say, the King was made for the Kingdom, and not the Kingdom for the King. And as
Treason

Treason against the Realm is such as the King cannot pardon, so it is such as an actual King by succession is capable of being guilty of; as appears by several Acts of Parliament, which I can shew to any Dabbler in our Government that understands it not.

He clenches his third Paragraph with a fourth, which follows in these words. "This is either true, or all those who live upon a Continent, and that are subject to the Conquests and Invasions of their Neighbours, must be miserable: For tho our happy Situation has exempted us for a whole Age from falling under any such difficultys, yet this is a case that falls often out in all different States, which are on the same Continent: for if Subjects owe their natural Prince such an obstinate Allegiance, that neither Desertion nor Conquest can dissolve it; then in what a miserable condition must they be, when they fall under the power of their Enemy, that never thinks himself secure of them, but treats them still as Enemys, till they swear Allegiance to him? Now all the true Maxims of Government being such, that they must tend to the preservation, and not to the ruin of Mankind; it is certain that all those are false which tend to the inevitable destruction of Cities and Societys; and therefore this of an indefeasible Allegiance, must be reckon'd among these, since the fatal consequences that must attend upon it are evident. And this is the opinion in which all who have consider'd this matter, either as Lawyers or Casuists, do agree."

This is shifting the Scene, for he knows that we are a World by our selves, and have nothing to do with the Continent. It is a Londlopeing Argument; and till we are in the condition of the *Flanderkin* Towns, he need not urge us with their Practice and Example. And he is wholly out of the way in every word he utters. For we are not deserted or forsaken, nor conquer'd or subdu'd, nor under the power of an Enemy, nor treated as Enemys, and cudgel'd into an Oath of Allegiance, nor ever will be. If I were hir'd to write against the Oath of Allegiance, I wou'd use such Arguments as this is. Are we in the case of those that are Slaves under the *Spaniard*, and Slaves under the *French*, that often change their Master, but never their Condition; that are Prize, and retaken, and Prize still? Let him answer me to that. If not, why must our Vertue be taught us by their Necessity? God help them, my Soul pitys their Case, and I shou'd not readily know what to do in it, because I never consider'd it. And perhaps it is like one of those wherein our Saviour forbids Forecast, and wou'd have no man premeditate, but promises help at a dead lift, *Dabitur in illa hora*.

But in all his Travels cou'd he find no Copy for us to write after, nor no Body to match us with, but a Conquer'd People? What then is become of our Thanksgiving Deliverance, which God and Man have been told of? If after all we are to be in the condition of a Conquer'd People, it is a Deliverance down-stairs, and our last State is worse than the First. For we were not Conquer'd in King *James's* time, tho we were in election to be so, and tho his *Westminster-Hall* Redcoats had made a fair Progress in it. And therefore I am sure neither King nor Parliament have reason to thank him for the Choice of this Argument.

When all is done, as I said before, all Arguments that come from abroad are foreign to Us. We live under Municipal Laws, and Local Statutes, and By-Laws that are peculiar to this Empire. And therefore if he had offer'd us the tenth part of an Argument, fetch'd out of the Bowels of our own Laws, we wou'd have hearken'd to him; but as for his Storys from abroad, he may even if he pleases carry them home again.

But I love to talk with his Maxims, as I do the sight of an Afs, who looks like Wisdom and Gravity, and is not. For Allegiance defin'd by Convenience, is much like Religion defin'd by maintaining a Coach and Six. However let us have his own words over again. "For if Subjects owe their natural Prince such an obstinate Allegiance, that neither Desertion nor Conquest can dissolve it; then in what a miserable condition must they be, when they fall under the power of their Enemy, that never thinks himself secure of them, but treats them still as Enemys, till they swear Allegiance to him?"

Now

Now I can tell him that Allegiance is so obstinate a thing, that neither Desertion, nor Conquest, nor any thing in the world but what is intrinsic to it, (that is Breach of Covenant or Consent of both Partys) can dissolve it: it is a Moral Duty, and Heaven and Earth may pass away before Allegiance can pass away. As for Desertion, we must first know what it is, before we can know whether it will affect our Allegiance. A Soldier's Deserting and running away from his Colours we know, but what is this Deserting a Crown or a Kingdom? A Resignation, Renunciation, Cession, accepted by the People, is valid, and they are words current in our Law; and the Prince being thereby depos'd, Allegiance ceases. But as for Desertion, we must enquire further about it. Did the King Desert willingly or unwillingly? Did not his People desert him first? If so, then for shame never say that King James deserted, but say that he was Deserted. Well, now we are coming to the Merits of the Cause. Had the People Reason to forsake King James or no; had he Forfeited, had he broke his Allegiance first, was he the Aggressor? Yes. He had made our Allegiance to him impossible. For we were by the Constitution sworn Brethren, *Conjurati Fratres ad Defensionem Regis & Regni*; and he had brought things to that pass, that we must either part with our King or our Realm. The keeping our Allegiance to King James's Person wou'd have perjur'd us; for we ow'd a higher Duty to our Country and Laws, to which he was sworn as well as we. But instead of the double Duty which lay upon him of *observare & observari facere*, of keeping the Laws, and causing them to be kept, he abridg'd our Common Law and Statutes into five Positions of a Dispensing Power: After which I wou'd never look upon a Statute-Book more, but kept the Copy of that Compendious Law always in my Pocket, to see whether it wou'd outlast the Paper, which fell in pieces at the Prince's coming. Now an Allegiance to the destruction of our Laws is no Allegiance; it makes our Circumcision to become Uncircumcision.

What is Impracticable is Void; as those great Souls saw, of whom the World was not worthy, who wou'd have set aside the Duke of York in time, and not have suffer'd him to play his *Rex*, which they knew was a contradiction to this Government. A Traitor King, a Protecting Destroyer, and a Wolf Shepherd, they knew were things not of a piece, and irreconcilable. And therefore all honest men were for being rid of King James long before, and they were in the right. It was not such a puny thing as the after-clap of a Prince of Wales, which made them part with him. For tho' the labour'd Discovery of that Fraud wou'd have done great Service to this Government, and ought not to have been spoil'd by being put into a strong Box, and let out again to disadvantage; yet we must have more than a supposititious Child to justify this Revolution. For you must stop there; you may indeed set aside the Changeling, but that does not extend to Out the Father, who was Tenant for Life, because perhaps his Wife went forty weeks with a Cushion.

In short, knowing that King James was a Contradiction to the Government, and had render'd our Allegiance impossible, we parted with him upon Reasons that were Primitive and Coeval with the Government: But as for those that do not allow that he Forfeited, and yet wou'd not assist him against an Invasion, as he proclaim'd it; and as for his Mercenaries that revolted from him, and pick'd his Pocket, what Reasons they had I know not. If he deserted, he was forc'd to desert; for the very ground he stood upon fell from under him, as I told more than forty people it wou'd be so, before ever the Prince of Orange embark'd; and because I lov'd my Country, was mightily pleas'd that it wou'd be a brave Dry Dutch War without any Blood-shed. And therefore as for those that forc'd away James the Just (when according to them he had made no Forfeiture) either by their Resistance of him, or by their Non-assistance, They must never plead his Desertion in discharge of their Allegiance; for that is to make their Crime their Plea, and to take advantage of their own Fault, which neither Law nor Reason will ever admit.

So much for Desertion; now for Conquest, which is become a very great modern Point. And here we meet with new and unheard of Conquests, of a King Conquer'd, and not one of his Subjects: For so all the Conquering
Bishops

Bishops now pull in their Horns and say, that they meant that King James alone was Conquer'd, and not the Nation. That is a cleverer tip in my opinion, than taking out the middle Pin, and throwing down none of the rest. But let us see now what Earnings they will make of their Ten-pin tip, their solitary Captive King James. If the Prince of Orange did conquer King James in a Just War, why then he was his Prisoner of War, and he might sell him and his wearing Clothes: Or because, as another Bishop says, *The Rights of War are the same here as they are abroad*, he might have put him to Fine and Ransom, as the French King did the Duke of Wirtemberg, or as Teckley did General Heufler. But what does this intitle him to further? Not a farthing of the Revenue, for that is publick Mony: not a Jewel of the Crown, for that is the Goods of the Kingdom; much less to a Dram of Allegiance, for that is wholly a new Score. And yet this Conquest is continually alledg'd, both in and out of the Pulpit, as a motive for Swearing; as if it were the chief Ingredient in our Allegiance to this Government.

There is nothing at all gain'd by conquering King James's Person, for he did not carry the Government of England about him. If he had been willing and so dispos'd, he cou'd not have resign'd the Government to the Prince of Orange: for the Parliament in Edward the First's time, declar'd King John's Resignation of this Kingdom to the Pope to be absolutely void, because it was done *sans leur Assent*, the Parliament's Consent was not had to it. And on the other hand, the ruining and spoiling an Old King, does not make a New one. For that is but a Tartar's Conceit, that if he destroy a Wise or Handsom Man, he shall forthwith inherit his Wisdom or Beauty.

But how came King James to be so abandon'd, as to be singl'd out and conquer'd by himself? We that knew he ceas'd to be a King, or perhaps of Right never was one, can give a fair account of this matter. But where were his Lieges all this while, that held him for their Natural Lord, and by Divine Right, and yet fail'd him? They that thought their Allegiance intire, and not dissolv'd by King James himself, ought by Law to have defended him *contra omnes homines vivos & mortuos*, against all men both alive and dead: So that if old Schomberg shou'd chance to walk, for ought I know, by virtue of their Allegiance, they are bound to fight his Ghost. This is a Consideration which belongs to the Conquering Bishops and their inferior Clergy, and I leave it amongst them.

So much for this new-fashion'd partial Conquest, of a King conquer'd, and his People untouch'd. But I have known by long experience, that to serve a present Turn, these men have an excellent faculty at newly devis'd Fables. I believe it was never heard of from the beginning of the World, that any one who was own'd to be their Rightful King was ever conquer'd, and his People not; but instead of that, they look'd on. Such a Kingdom belongs to some other World, and not to this; for in this World, as our Saviour said, their Subjects and Servants wou'd fight for them. This is the new Separate Interest; as if a King were not so much as Knight of the Shire, or as if the Country were no way concern'd in their Representative.

As I said before, I set aside this partial Conquest, and come to that which is a true Conquest, and will examine whether that dissolves Allegiance. Suppose a King and his People (who are all of a piece till either of them break Faith with the other) are both run down, and fall under the chance of War: It is no matter which of them is in the Conqueror's hands, because they are all as one. If their King have that hard Fate, they must either rescue or ransom him, tho their private Mony and their Church-Plate go for it: And if any of his People fall into the Enemy's hands, he must do the same by them. If neither of them can do this, but they are overpower'd and unable; the next thing is to advise the Party that is in the Briars to make the best terms they can, *Redime te Captum quam queas minimo*. This is a Duty on both sides; and where this Advice cannot be express'd, it is always imply'd, and justly presum'd. But how then does Conquest dissolve Allegiance, when it is plainly the Agreement of the Partys themselves, which sets them free from one another?

But the last part of this Paragraph is Oracle, and therefore we ought to hear it with great Attention. "Now all the true Maxims of Government being

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"such,

“such, that they must tend to the Preservation and not to the Ruin of Man-
 “kind, it is certain that all those are false which tend to the inevitable De-
 “struction of Citys and Society; and therefore this of an indefeasible Alle-
 “giance must be reckon’d among these, since the fatal Consequences that must
 “attend upon it are evident: and this is the Opinion in which all who have
 “consider’d this matter, either as Lawyers or Casuists, do agree.”

I have ever had a great Aversion to all *Maxims* of Government, true or false: for there always lies lurking this Deceit in Generals and Universals, that tho they be true for the most part, yet they are conceiv’d in terms large enough to be falsely apply’d; and then they become false, and are usually the Tools that dishonest Men go to work with. And I never saw a Man deal in transcendental Politicks which are over our heads, and avoid coming down to Particulars and to the Point, but with a purpose to deceive. This of mine is likewise general Talk, and therefore I must come to Instances. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*, Let the Safety of the People take place of all Laws, was the old Roman Law, and a celebrated Maxim of State ever since. But because in Monarchys the Interest of a Prince drowns that of inferior People, and the Life of my Lord the King is worth ten thousand of theirs, I have seen this Maxim, by no less a Casuist than Bishop *Sanderson*, made free of the Court, in such a manner as has made a ricketty Head; and the Destruction of a great part of the People wou’d still have been *Salus Populi*. Tho I expected no better from such a Casuist, who makes Six in the Hundred Sabbath-breaking; and every one that takes lawful Interest for his Mony to be guilty of the Breach of all the Ten Commandments, and particularly of the Fourth, because his Plough goes on Sundays.

Necessity has no Law is another Maxim; but it is pity there is not Law for it, for it has always been on the Court Side, and never on the Country’s, tho one wou’d think the Maxim lay equally betwixt them both: but the truth of it is, they either are or shou’d be all one. In the beginning of King *Charles* the First’s Reign it was loudly complain’d of in Parliament, that *Necessity* was an Arm’d Man, and an Evil Counsellor; and indeed it had done much mischief then, but not so much as the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*’s Maxim did afterwards, *That there was a Rule of Law and a Rule of Government*, and the Rule of Law must knock under and give way to the Rule of Government. Yes, it was that Rule of Mis-rule that confounded these Nations, and was the Death of many hundred thousands of brave Men, who were not so easily rear’d. And in the late King *James*’s time *Necessity* return’d again and cancel’d all our Laws, and was the chief Ingredient in the Dispensing Power. Yet after all I must acknowledg that a real, and not pretended *Necessity*, is superior to all Law: For unforeseen Cases may happen, and such as admit of no delay, wherein the Lawgivers themselves wou’d have made their Laws quite otherwise; tho this can seldom be, where there are to be Anniversary Parliaments, and Parliaments always within call. But then all Men must act very honestly in such cases, and so as to acquit themselves to their Country; for to them they must answer it, who are competent Judges of so plain a thing as *Necessity* is. For I believe the refin’d Statesmen themselves cannot but say, that common People have common Sense. Whereas to say that the King is sole Judg of *Necessity*, as our false Judges did in the last Reign, is to bring us back to *Richard* the Second’s Maxim, *That the Law of England was in his Breast and in his Mouth*.

Another Maxim which was to have converted my Lord *Russel*, and to save his Soul (in the Letter which in a new way was brought by the Sender) was this, That in case our Religion and Rights were invaded, it was unlawful to defend them, *Because the Government and Peace of Human Society cou’d not well subsist upon these Terms*. I have been assail’d with this Maxim, and it has been quoted upon me several times even in this Reign, and therefore I shall answer it.

I ever took it for granted that Government ceases and is lost, when all the ends of Government are destroy’d, as they plainly are where the Religion and Rights of a Kingdom are invaded, for the more surety and security of which Rights men at the first enter’d into Society; I speak the Language of *Fortescue*. Who then in this case is the Friend to Government and wou’d have it live, He that

that invades, or he that stops such destructive Invasion? Again, who is it that breaks the Peace of Human Society, he that invades all that Mankind have, or they that are only willing to defend their own? I in my Simplicity thought that the breach of the Peace had been with the Trespasser. And I thought likewise that by the Law of *England* I might justify the beating of any Man that wou'd take away my Goods, and that in so doing I shou'd not break the Peace, neither wou'd the Law impute it to me, but to the Invader. These were my former Thoughts, but we must now learn a new Lesson. For it seems the way to preserve Government is to see it destroy'd, and to let Tyranny alone, and to suffer Invasion to go on; for otherwise, tho the Peace be already broken to pieces, you disturb the Peace. But if it were not lawful to advance Paradoxes, and Contradictions to common Sense, how cou'd Men shew their Learning, or wherein wou'd they differ from other Men? As for this Maxim, it is exactly calculated for the use of a perverted Government, or of an insolent Hedg-Constable, that beats a quiet and orderly Person for the conservation of the Peace, and knocks him down to bid him stand.

But to come closer to the Point, is not the Invasion of the Religion and Rights of a People, the highest Tyranny that can be conceiv'd? And how then came the *English* Divinity to be such a pimp to Tyranny, and to be so deeply concern'd for the Subsistence and Continuance of it without molestation, as to damn all Men who wou'd not undergo a severe Repentance for being of another Opinion; and to urge them to recant their *English* Principles upon the very Scaffold? Tho I think that to be a much more proper place for retracting destructive Errors than deliverance Truths. But I can tell all the World how this came to pass, for one Day teaches and certifies another, and things are clear'd up in time, which were Mysterys before. The Reason why the Clergy were so zealous for Tyranny, was because it was a Tyranny on their Side; their own Interest and Strength to crush all other Protestants lay therein, and then according to the *Greek* and *Latin* wish to Enemys, Invasion so apply'd was a good thing, and the worse the better. That made them so very liberal of the *English* Rights, and to sacrifice them all at once in a Peace-Offering to *Moloch*; and it was a true Act of Worship, for it signaliz'd their Loyalty. But when Judgment began at the House of God, as Dr. Sherlock preach'd upon the Bishops being sent to the Tower, then their Note was quite alter'd; King James had forfeited, and ought to be depos'd, with a great deal more to that purpose. This which I say shou'd be depos'd as well as King James, if need were. But afterwards, when they grew jealous of this Revolution, and cou'd not tell what to make of it, having miss'd two hits, both of having King James, and afterwards of having his intended Deputy the Prince of Orange in their hands, and wanted a third hit, then the words were these: Well, will not the Convention send for the King back again? If they will not, we have forty thousand Men to fetch him back. Dr. Sherlock best knows where those forty thousand Men now are, but I believe King James wou'd be very glad of half the Number.

To proceed in my Story, the very Man that had asserted that King James had forfeited and ought to be depos'd long before he was, or even before the Prince of Orange was expected, began with change of Interest to have change of Thoughts; and then he cou'd not allow King James to be lawfully set aside, nor wou'd swear to this present Government, and his forfeited Place at the Temple was supply'd by I know who. At last, after he had stuck as himself says a great while, for stick he did, he was happily reliev'd by a lucky Coincidence of Bishop Overall's Canons, and the Victory at the *Boyne*. And then he settl'd the Government upon its own Settlement, which we that pretend to dull Reason do say is a Circle, and proving a thing by it self. It is true, he call'd Providence in aid of this Settlement; but they have talk'd of late as meanly of Providence as ever Mankind did of the *Swiss*, who are of all sides, and in *French* and *Dutch* Service both at once. Or as a great Bishop wisely decided the business; it was a great Providence of God that so many of the Clergy swore to this Government, lest the Church shou'd be destroy'd: And it was the same Providence of God that so many of the Clergy refus'd the Oath, lest People shou'd think that there was no such thing as Religion, and

incline to Atheism. But I am afraid the prospect of double Bishopricks makes Men see double.

Whenever I am like to have any undue Thoughts of the Divine Providence, I desire to die the Year before and not the Year after, for that wou'd be a Year too late: but as for these Men, they are not fit to take the Name of God's Providence in their Mouth, for as they order the matter Providence is of contrary Partys; it is with the Swearers, and it is with the Non-swearers. But I am confirm'd by an infallible Authority, *that Providence thus divided against it self cannot stand.* For to say that Providence ordains that Men shall swear, and that they shall not swear in the same instance, and forecasts both ways, is to say that it has two Wills, or which is the same thing, has one contradictory Will. Now this is an Imperfection which may befall mistaken and ill advis'd mortal Men; they may (or they may not) deliver Folks out of bad hands into the self-same hands again; they may be of two contrary Partys, that is of none, and so have none for them; they may conquer known Enemys with unavailing Bosom-Kindness, and they may conquer known Friends with Unkindness at Arms length; they may eat, and drink, and sleep, and live Contradictions, so that all they do shall be as broad as 'tis long, and come to nothing; they may at every turn of two contrary Men conjunct make one known Compound; they may go to Plough with an Ox and an Ass, and make baulks of very good Land: But far be it from all Mankind to impute such All-to-mall and Linsey-wolsey to the Providence of God, *for he is not a Man that he shou'd repent, or be better advis'd.*

I have not forgot my Preacher who said, that *Judgment began at the House of God*, when the Bishops were in the Tower; whereas I know that it began at the House of God when *Stephen Colledge* was murder'd, who suffer'd more for the Protestant Religion and his Country, than all the Bishops either in or out of the Tower, and than the whole Clergy of *England* put together, and left a dying-Speech which out-weighs their Sermons. And he was a true First-Martyr *Stephen*: for as his bare-fac'd Murder threaten'd every honest Man in *England*, so he was follow'd in his Martyrdom by better Men than are now living, whom this Nation does dearly miss. And yet when he was sent down to the *Oxford* Slaughterhouse to be destroy'd, because it cou'd not be done here at *London*, I remember several of the Clergy play'd with his Death, and were very much pleas'd that they had one College more in their University.

But for quietness sake it shall be his own *House of God* the Bishops, for I grant that that word, and the *true Religion*, and the like, are doubtful words, and signify nothing till we know of what Religion the Man himself is. These are by-matters; but the Question is, how a Man that had a right Notion before, came to lose it the next Year, and has not been able to recover it to this Day? For if he had stuck to his own Occasional *English* Principle (but then was then, and now is now) *That King James being a Tyrant had forfeited, and having broke with the Nation ought not to reign*, he had not stuck at all among Jacobite Principles, which however are forty times better than his own Hypothesis of Usurpation: for the Jacobites, tho mistaken, pretend to Right; but he proceeds upon avow'd, bare-fac'd, open, impudent, outrageous Wrong; as Usurpation either is, or there is no such thing in the World. It is all that either the Giants or the Devils ever attempted against Heaven. But he had no other way to make a *Case of Allegiance* to King *William*, to chime in with his unretracted *Case of Resistance*, written heretofore in favour of Tyranny; for tho Passive Obedience had no hand in the Revolution, yet perhaps he was inform'd, it might be a grateful Present to a Settlement: however I must tell him that Passive Obedience must be crook'd and bent like a Ninepence, and look contrary ways, before he can make a Token of it to this Government; for actual Resistance of Tyranny gave this Government its Birth and Being, and it stands and can stand upon no other bottom. I am assur'd of what I say, in a wiser way than trying Experiments.

This *English* Priestcraft is the coarsest that ever I saw; the *Romish* is fine, and has made a delicate Book of *Father Paul's Trent-History*, but ours will never make a Book worth the reading. Theirs is the Depths of Satan, and ours is his Shallows. For wou'd any man, to bring two very pitiful Cases upon the

the Stage both at once, his *Case of Resistance*, and his *Case of Allegiance*; the first being to authorize Tyranny in Exercise, and the other to authorize Tyranny in Title, which we commonly call *Usurpation*; and having declar'd against Tyranny in Exercise in the mean time, and having likewise stood out against Tyranny in Title for some Years, take this silly method at last to reconcile all together? First, to castrate his first Book, and clear it of a very material Passage against Usurpation, that he might make way for his second Book of Usurpation-Allegiance, which for a long time he himself had withstood: and secondly, to make such a pitiful excuse for this variance, both betwixt his two Books and himself, as to say that it was the Effect of his Study, and that he grew wiser. For at this rate we shall never know when Dr. *Sherlock* is of Age; and all his Hearers, Readers and Admirers, must suspend their Belief of what he says, till they are sure that several Years of his after-Studys will not contradict the former. But for my part I will never mind what he says, for he plainly goes back in his Studys; because tho he knew that a Tyrant was to be depos'd five Years ago, yet he knows nothing of it at the five Years end; and tho he knew long before that time, that an Usurper might be resisted, yet now he knows better things: So that his studying has the same effect as a Pharisee's profelyting, which makes Men twofold more the Children of Darknes than they were before.

For all *Englishmen*, in their pure Naturals, know without studying, that a Tyrant or Usurper is no King, and that a King is some highly lawful Person plac'd at the Head of the Commonwealth for the Good of it. These Notions they suck in with their first *English* Air and Mother's Milk; and even the People that follow the Plough know that a Tyrant or Usurper is some base outlandish thing, that cannot stand in an *English* Proclamation: for if instead of saying God save the King, the Cryer shou'd say God save the Usurper, or God save the Tyrant, there is never a one of them all that wou'd say *Amen*.

And again all *Englishmen* that have any tolerable knowledg of the Constitution are sensible, that the Office of a King depends wholly upon the Law, both in its making and in its being; and that a King as he is empower'd by Law must act by Law: and therefore they must needs know at first sight, that a King whose Authority is antecedent to the Law, independent of the Law, and superior to the Law, as Dr. *Sherlock* says ours is, is an invented and study'd King, whom the *English* Law knows not; but is of Dr. *Sherlock*'s own making, and is a King of Clouts. I cannot but scorn the Improvements of such Studys.

Perhaps some of our Fools think, that Great Men ought not to be so treated; but let them and their Great Men know, that I am in the way of Writing, and there he is the greatest Man that has the best Arguments; and besides that Greatness does not lie in actual Preferments (for that is still but like Usurpation) but in having most right to them; and in doing (for I will not mention my Sufferings by their barbarous Hands) more for my Country than they were able to do against it. But I will recount no more of their Merits, lest I shou'd make them still Greater Men, which is no part of my Intention. In short, the Magicians of *Egypt* were in *Pharaoh's* Project for the perpetual Slavery of the *Israelites*, and us'd all their Skill for that purpose; but *Moses's* Serpent was the mastering Serpent, and destroy'd theirs; and therein, tho not in Places, he was greater than all the Magicians of *Egypt*: And again, he was the greater in this, that what he did, tended to the Deliverance of an injur'd and oppress'd People, which likewise ensu'd; whereas their Business was to lock them up fast in the House of Bondage.

For the aforementioned Reasons it is impossible that any false Maxim shou'd be a Maxim of Quality, and therefore I shall return to the last Maxim, and engage it more closely. It was this, *That the defence of our invaded Right wou'd spoil the Government and Peace of human Society*. Now as I shew'd before, the Government determines, and the Peace is broken to pieces when the Rights of the Kingdom are invaded, and therefore Defence comes too late to be guilty of that Mischief. For to do a thing done, or to undo a thing done, are equally impossible.

But

Notes on the Pastoral Letter.

But what I have now to say upon this Point shall fall under these two Heads. First to say somewhat concerning Defence; and secondly to consider it in reference to this Revolution.

First I say, that no wise Man in the world ever desir'd the use of Resistance or Defence, because it is a great Calamity for any man to be put upon it, for it implies Peril. Is the Benefit of *se defendendo* such an envy'd Blessing, when a Man shall be forc'd to fight for his own, and tilt for his Life, in which he has an original Property, greater than Human Laws can bestow upon him; for tho they can take it away they cannot give it him? There may be Loss, but there can be nothing got, by putting a man's own Coat to Arbitration. Resistance is like the After-game at the *Boyne*, where a Great King was fain to go thro Fire and Water to come by his own, which was as much his before as it has been since. And therefore all wise Men provide against Defence, and endeavour to prevent it, and wou'd no more come to it than to a last Remedy. As that Great Lord said in his last Speech, who was concern'd in this Dispute, *that he was always for Parliamentary Ways*. But when Parliamentary Ways are eluded, and Mens Rights cannot be defended in that way, they are to be defended as they may: For in a case of Right, he is no *Englishman* that will die for fear of being kill'd. Our Rights are our own to keep but not to relinquish, we are but Tenants for Life; and as they were transmitted to us by our Forefathers, oftentimes seal'd with their Blood, so we ought to leave them, dry at least, to our Posterity.

But you will say, if Men are so loth to defend themselves, and to practise their Doctrine of Resistance, why have there been Martyrs and Confessors for it, and to what purpose does it serve? Why truly it is much of the same use, as those peaceable and sometimes rusty Swords, which men wear by their Sides to prevent Injurys, and to keep them off at a distance, instead of going with their Hands ty'd behind them to invite them. And the only way to preserve a Nation from Tyranny, is to leave them their Hands as free as the Law has left them, tho they make no other use of them than a *Dutchman* does of his, to put in his pockets. For when all is done, Reputation is the best sort of Power, and defends Men from Injurys without War and Bloodshed. While mens Hands are their own, their Rights are their own; and therefore all Tyrants use this method in destroying a Nation, bind the strong Man and then spoil his Goods: first they employ their passive Priests, and then their active Executioners. So it was in *France*, the Protestants were dragoon'd by passive and slavish Principles, long before St. *Ruth* came amongst them. And so it was here, this Nation was bound hand and foot by passive Principles, and laid upon the Wood, and we all know that the sacrificing Knife was always ready.

Armorum quadam sunt tuitionis Pacis, &c. says *Bracton*, The People of *England* have Weapons for keeping the Peace; but our peaceful Clergy knew a better way, and beat all our Weapons into Plowshares and Pruning-hooks: and when Mr. *Hunt* and I endeavour'd to restore them to their former lawful Shape and Use, they said we had been down at the Forges of the *Philistines*, and dealt with Jesuits; and Dr. *Pelling* cou'd shew some Pages which Mr. *Hunt* had plunder'd out of *Doleman*, tho I do verily believe what he told me, that he had never seen the Book. But thus they went on both in and out of the Pulpit to cheat us of our Sheriffs and Charters, and of the whole Strength of the Nation, and to enslave the very Minds and Consciences of Men, by bringing down every free *English* Thought to the Obedience of a Tyrant, and by flashing Hell-fire and Damnation in the Faces of all those that knew they might defend themselves against Tyranny: And so this mighty Nation, which was never conquer'd before, was at last upon the point of being conquer'd, I am ashamed to say it, by a very small Force, not the ten thousandth part of the *Dutch* Force, even by *Phantoms* and *Theban* Legions.

But wou'd not any man who was a Lover of his Country venture his Life upon a rescue in such a Case, and endeavour to unpinion *Old England*, and assert his Countrymen that Liberty to which they were born? No man that understood the pious Fraud, tho at the same time he understood his own Danger in discovering it, cou'd endure to see Chains and Fetters thus treacherously put upon his Country, under pretence of Religion; as they put them upon
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men in the Inquisition, for their Souls health. For if we are to love our Neighbour as our self, our Country is so great a Neighbour, and has so many Millions of Neighbours in it, that it ought to be lov'd so many times better than one's self. And if a man shou'd fall in such a Cause, and lay down his Life for so great a Good, seeing he must die sometime or another for nothing, he makes Earnings of Mortality. And tho his Endeavours shou'd want the desir'd Success, provided he did his true Endeavour (for I grant that wishing well in all cases is no more than dreaming well) it affords him greater Satisfaction than any thing in this World can; for a human Soul is made so very large, that nothing but the Love of God and of a man's Country can fill it.

Thus far the very Reputation of defending our Rights does service to the Publick, it checks and discourages Tyranny, and is the Shore and Sea-dyke against arbitrary Power, and says to its proud Waves, Hitherto shall ye come and no further. There is no such Rule of Justice can be given to Mankind, as to know their own; for it makes other men to know it too. But a Nation is lost when it is so Priestridden as to be preach'd out of all its Rights, by the falsest Interpretations of Scripture that were ever yet put upon it since it was pen'd; and when they become so very passive as the Addressing part of the Town of *Northampton* was, who perjur'd themselves in surrendring their old Charter, and pray'd that in their new Chaater they might not have the choice of their own Magistrates, because the King cou'd chuse better for them than they cou'd for themselves. If I had been a Knave Minister of State at that time, I wou'd certainly have taken these Minors at their word; and part of their New Charter shou'd have been, to have Nurses sent them from above to have fed them with Spoons, and held them out, and turn'd them dry, and treated them according to the State of Infancy which they profess'd; and their Estates shou'd have paid for it at the year's end: For the willing can have no Injury done them, it's all their own. If men bar their own Rights, they are bar'd.

Well, but must the Wise and Free and Great Men of a Nation be Slaves for Company with such Perfectionists in Church-Doctrine, and lose all their Rights because the others give away theirs? I think not. Then is the time for all honest men to meditate the actual Defence of their Rights, when they see a Court and Church agreed to swallow them up: For when they see men murder'd before their faces, there is nothing got by staying to be eat last, it is better to be eat first; I know even by what I have found, that that is the easier Death of the two.

And it was no remote Case, when my Lord *Russel* spoke of defending invaded Rights, for he had surviv'd all the Rights of the Nation long before he fell. He saw that Parliaments were libel'd in all the Parish-Churches in *England*, by the Declaration for dissolving the *Oxford* Parliament; whereby we were plainly bid to take our leave of Parliaments, and so we did for that Reign. He saw that the Choice of Sheriffs was ravish'd from the City of *London*, and the true Sheriffs durst not try their Cause, but let it fall; one of them is alive to witness what I say. He saw plainly that this was intended for the Destruction of such great Men as himself by pack'd Jurys: For the Papists and their wretched Adherents neither fear'd nor car'd for Jurys as to themselves, being under the Protection of *Noli Prosequi's* and Affidavit-men; but they thirsted for Blood. This the State-Interpreter of those times, Sir *Roger Lestrangle*, told us openly in his *Observators* was the meaning of that Point of gaining the Sheriffs. I know he will thank me for not quoting his words, for they are bloody ones. That great Man saw likewise a parcel of traitorous Lords, who under pretence of being Prisoners had taken the *Tower*, and had rais'd so many Batterys against the City, that the Lord *Arun-del* of *Warder* wanted but one Battery more. I remember my Lord *Russel* was mightily pleas'd with the Courage of the Citizens at that time, and particularly of Alderman *Cornish*, who slighted these Preparations against them by saying, they might indeed do some Damage to some of their Chimneys. I need not mention the intended Citadel of *Chelsea-College* to straiten the City on that side, nor their greatest Citadel of *Westminster-Hall*, where they had perverted all Law, and plainly put a stop to it by dismissing a Grand

Jury

jury before their time. At the notorious Case of *Fitz-Harris* my Lord was present, for which Serjeant *Pamberton* can give the best Reasons, because he reserv'd them at that time, and no doubt they are improv'd by this; and brought up a fashion, which we do not find in the Year-Books, for Judges to give no Reasons for their Judgments.

As to the Case of the City Charter, it was so very plain, that I desir'd Sir *George Treby*, now Lord Chief Justice, who was to argue for it, to use only this short Argument, To carry *Magna Charta* in one hand, and a Penknife in the other, and to desire the Court to cut out the Chapter of *Magna Charta*, where the Rights of the City of *London*, and the other Vills and Burghs and Cinque-Ports are confirm'd; and when their hand was in, to make but one business of it, and to cut out all the rest. I am sure the City of *London* will give me leave to say, that they and their Chamber, which was the best Fund in *England*, was at that time broke; and when it will be repair'd, I know not: but they may easily know whom to sue for Dilapidations, and in what High Court that ought to be done. And the ready way is to extend the Estates of all those that treacherously destroy'd that City, and made it the finest Village in *Europe*, and saluted the King, *King of London*; as if he had not been compleat King of it till it was ruin'd.

I need not mention their Standing-Guards in time of Peace, of which the Parliament-men us'd to say, *There go our Masters* (and so they had reason after Sir *John Coventry's* Usage) and which all the great Lawyers of *England* declar'd to be illegal from the first, and such a Force upon the Nation as the Law abhors. The Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* had the Honesty and Courage to tell my late Lord *Macclesfield* so, tho he then commanded and was at the Head of them. My Lord very honourably remember'd this as an Instance of that Great Man's Integrity. And who that ever had the Honour of knowing the last Great Man, can ever forget his? But the Guards became more formidable afterwards, when an Undertaker offer'd with a Thousand of their Horse, of which they had always more, to go and conquer the City of *London* in a contemptuous manner; and when with their Detachments, and filling up again with new men, they cou'd at any time form an Army. They had likewise their Nursery of *Tangier* within call, and when they saw their time it came over.

Ever since the last Sentence that pass'd upon me, I am somewhat out of conceit with the name of *Guards*. For having made as honest an Address to the *Army* as the World can shew any thing, and being run down for it as a High Misdemeanor, I took my Exceptions to the Information, amongst other things that there was no averment of any *Army* in it; and I said there cou'd be no such thing, because it was contrary to the Law of *England*. Whereupon both the Attorney General *Sawyer*, and the Court of King's-Bench said, that the Camp at *Howslow-Heath* was not an Army, but only the King's Guards. I reply'd, that I thought they were too far off for Guards, and too great a Number. To which the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* answer'd, that the King wanted a greater number to defend him from my Papers. At which I cou'd only smile, to see a Rag or two of the Press made a Pretence to keep up a Great Army. But as I intimated before, *Guards* shall be an Army, and an Army shall be Guards, when such men think fit.

Aristotle in his Politicks is very severe upon Guards, and says, That it is the Mark of a King's turning Tyrant, if he require a Guard; and says further, that if a King demand a Guard to defend him against his People, his People ought to demand a Guard to defend them against him. And it is very plain, that the additional Guards of Horse and Foot in the two last Reigns (for there were never any before, but the Band of Pensioners and the Band of Archers, now Yeomen, who were the antient Establishment for the Preservation of the King's Person) were not intended for the King's Preservation, for that was done to their hand; but to awe the Nation, to animate Judges in false Judgments, and to back Officers in illegal Proceedings: for where the Law wou'd not hold out in the way of a legal Writ, it was as well supply'd by an arbitrary Command, and two or three Files of Musketeers.

I will name but one thing more, which was occasion'd by the Bill of Exclusion. That Bill was carry'd *Nemine Contradicente* several times in the House of Commons; but when it came in the *Westminster* Parliament to be carry'd up by my Lord *Russel* to the House of Lords, it was so ill receiv'd there, that the Bishops were for throwing it out to rights: however after a Reading, and after a Debate which lasted till about Midnight, it was thrown out. That learned Nobleman the Great Earl of *Essex* was pleas'd to tell me what Arguments he insisted upon in that Debate. The first was that the Regality of *England* was an Office, concerning which the seventeenth Chapter of King *Edward* the Confessor's Laws is wholly spent; and it is so declar'd to be in many Acts of Parliament as low as Queen *Mary's* Time; and that a Woman as well as a Man might be invested with the Regal Office. Hereupon he said, that a Person unqualify'd, as all the World knew the Duke of *York* was, cou'd not be admitted to that Office. Upon discourse about this, I remember, his Lordship was pleas'd to take down *Lambert's Saxon* Laws, and shew me several Particulars in that seventeenth Chapter which I had forgot. His second Argument was to prove, that if the Duke of *York* had unqualify'd himself for that High-Office, as he plainly had for the meanest Office in *England*, then the Parliament had undoubtedly Power to foreclose him and set aside his Remainder in the Crown, because they had Power to do more. This he said was the known Law of *England*, and agreed upon by the Lord Chancellor *More* and *Richard Rich* then Solicitor General and afterwards Lord *Rich*, as a first establish'd Principle; upon which they argu'd about the Supremacy. It stands thus in the Record, as we have it p. 421. of the Lord *Herbert's* History. "The Solicitor demanded, if it were enacted by Parliament that *Richard Rich* shou'd be King, and that it shou'd be Treason for any Man to deny it, What Offence it were to contravene this Act?" Sir *Thomas More* answer'd, that he shou'd offend if he said No, because he was bound by the Act; but that this was *Casus levis*: Whereupon, Sir *Thomas More* said he wou'd propose a higher Case, suppose by Parliament it were enacted *quod Deus non sit Deus*, and that it were Treason to contravene, whether it were an Offence to say according to the said Act: *Richard Rich* reply'd yea; but said withal, I will propose a middle Case, because yours is too high. The King you know is constituted Supreme Head of the Church on Earth, why shou'd not you Master *More* accept him so, as you wou'd me if I were made King by the Supposition aforesaid? Sir *Thomas More* answer'd, the Case was not the same, because said he, a Parliament can make a King and depose him, and that every Parliament-man may give his Consent thereunto; but that a Subject cannot be bound so in the Case of Supremacy, *Quia Consensum ab eo ad Parlamentum præbere non potest, Et quanquam Rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia, plurima tamen partes extera idem non affirmant.*" Because the Parliament-man cannot carry the Subject's Consent to Parliament in this Case, (that is to say, no body but Christ cou'd make his own Vicar, and the Head in Heaven make the Head on Earth) and altho the King be held to be Head of the Church here in *England*, yet the greatest part of the World abroad are of another mind.

Here Sir *Thomas More* stuck, for I believe *stick he did*, because he laid down his Life for it; but you see that the undoubted unquestion'd Law of the Land was this, *That a Parliament can make and depose a King*, for it is the Foundation of their arguing: And it cannot be thought that a learned Lord Chancellor and Solicitor General shou'd be both ignorant in the First Principles of the Law. Neither wou'd *Richard Rich* have been made a Lord and the Head of a Noble Family of Earls, if it had not been current Law in those Days: for such a Principle upon Record wou'd have been as bad, and hurt his Preferment as much as if he had been stigmatiz'd. And therefore my Lord of *Essex's* Argument was more than measure; That if a Parliament cou'd make and depose a King, and make *Richard Rich* King, much more they might foreclose the Duke of *York* who was no King, and more unqualify'd than *Richard Rich*; and might make the Prince of *Orange* King, an other-ghes Man than *Richard Rich*. Thus that Great Man argu'd, but Care was taken that he shou'd argue for the Good of his Country no more; and there-

fore we that are left behind, partly to bewail the Loss of such Great Men, and partly to imitate them, ought to uphold their Cause; and as mean a Man as I, am able to maintain these plain Truths against all the World.

Tho indeed my Lord of *Essex* told me that his Adversarys in that Debate wav'd the Jargon of Divine Right and the Line of Succession, (which had been inculcated in the Second Volume of the *History of the Reformation*, and by the Hero himself to whom it was dedicated) and at that time they betook themselves chiefly to Reasons of State. They were got at the old Scarecrow *Venient Romani*, the foreign Catholick Princes wou'd espouse the Duke of *Tork's* Quarrel; the antient Kingdom of *Scotland* wou'd admit him for their King in opposition to our Act of Parliament, and this wou'd entail a dangerous War upon the Nation: (That is I suppose the Navy Royal of *Scotland* wou'd have given Law to the *English* Fleet.) They were likewise doubtful of *Ireland*; and if these two Kingdoms were dismember'd from us, the solitary Kingdom of *England* wou'd not make that Figure in the World as it us'd to do. And therefore according to the Method of all hir'd Politicks, they must make sure of sinking three Kingdoms for fear of losing two, and deliver up the Castle for fear the Suburbs shou'd revolt. With such fitting Arguments was that Cause supported; and if I have broke any Rules in repeating that Great Man's private Discourse, now it is done I cannot help it: But, I say, let his Integrity be known, and speak as loud as his Blood cries. And I am sure they that wou'd stifle that Man's Honour, wou'd stifle his Death.

But the Bill of Exclusion is of no concernment at this Time, tho if we had then ventur'd our Lives for it we had done well, and it had been good Husbandry; for it had sav'd more than a Hundred Thousand Lives since, which are all of a price, and as dear to them as own'd them, as ours are to us. I grant a true Statesman is of another Opinion, and values being call'd his Grace or Noble Marquis more than a Million of Lives, provided that in such a general Destruction he can but save one. And to confirm themselves in their ill-gotten Honours, they generally hatch Plots, suborn Rebellions, or any thing that they think may create Business, keep themselves from being question'd, and thin Mankind, whereby they lose so many of their Enemy's, which by their Oppression they have heap'd up to themselves. So I have been told a certain Person being ask'd why he destroy'd my Lord *Ruffel*, said it was Self-preservation, he did it in his own Defence, because my Lord *Ruffel* wou'd have destroy'd him. A fit Answer for the Answerer, because it is just the Excuse of a Highway-man who adds Murder to his Robbery and Wrong, because otherwise the true Man might have pursu'd him and hang'd him for it. But the Master-piece of their Policy they have stoln from the old Popes of *Rome*, to send their Princes into the Holy Wars, while they domineer'd and play'd their own Game at home. I express'd my Fears as soon as he was crown'd, that our King wou'd be so serv'd, and that taking advantage of his matchless Courage they wou'd put him upon hazardous Expeditions: for such Counsels are on Nature's side, and are soon hearken'd to by a *Cordelyon*, or an *Edward* the First, who were all on fire for Crusadoes. And it was easy to tell what Advices the Statesmen wou'd give, such to be sure as agreed with his Inclinations, but were much more for their own Interest: for if a Man but look into the Tying-room and see the old Actors, he knows what the Play will be, without a Bill.

It is the Observation of the learned Antiquary *Selden*, that our Nation got nothing by those fruitless Voyages into the *Holy Land*, after a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, but only the Sign of the *Saracen's* Head. For after our People came home again worsted and with great Loss, they had no other way to save their Credit, but to represent the *Saracens* as Giants, and to picture them with Eyes like Saucers, and a Mouth big enough to eat a Man. And it is well if the *English* bring home any more out of *Flanders*, than some such ill-favour'd Story, of what a strong way of encamping the *French* have. But what Business had we there? The Sea is our Element; where our Shipping was lately more numerous than any Nation's in the World, and better built being of *English* Oak, and our Seamen Heart of Oak. Such a Strength, well manag'd and well apply'd, is fit to give Laws to all the World.

World. And till now from King *Edgar's* Time, who had a Fleet of three Thousand Ships to justify his Claim, we have always pretended to be Masters of the Sea; and shou'd have scorn'd *Dutch* Help to fight the *French* Fleet, and to go to War upon Crutches: for how can impotent Men stir, if their Crutches at any time be out of the way, and be not ready? Or how if the *Dutch* and we shou'd ever fall out, or the *French* and they be Friends, where are we then? And therefore we are *No Nation* till we can stand upon our own Legs, but we live precariously, and had need to have very kind-hearted Neighbours about us.

To know where our Strength lies is a first Principle of Nature; and the dullest Creatures are not without it. I never saw an Ass offer to butt with his Ears, tho they are as long as Horns; but I have seen him strike with his sullen Hoof, because the Instinct of Nature led him to use that part which wou'd do most Execution. And therefore it cou'd not be out of Ignorance, but for sinister Ends, that our Naval Force has been so neglected, which is our known Strength; and that the Treasure of the Nation has been diverted into foreign Channels. For many Millions spent upon the Fleet wou'd not be two pence Loss to the Nation, but is as cheap as a Man's playing at Cards with his Wife and Children, where none of the Winnings go out of the House.

It is true that heretofore this Nation alone has been an Overmatch for all *France* by Land as well as by Sea, and our Kings have clear'd up their Title to that Kingdom in the Heart of it: but those Days are done; for we were then a Land of Soldiers, and there was not a Man in the Kingdom who was not expert and knew how to handle his Arms from sixteen. But the Artillery of the World being chang'd since that time, we shall never be a warlike Nation more, till all our excellent Laws about Bows and Arrows which are wholly disus'd, be apply'd to the use of Fire-Arms. For tho such a raw thing as our present Militia (which will then be another thing) does well enough to keep House; yet it must be a well-train'd, if not a veteran Army, that shall do any great Matters abroad.

What then? shall we have a Mercenary Army to supply this Defect, and lose *Old England* to win *France*? I hope not, but so it wou'd be; for a standing Army plainly destroys this Government. There are no Quarters, nor is there room in *England* for an Army. If they be quarter'd in Houses, it is a forcible Entry, and Disseisin of a Man's Freehold: if they encamp at *Hounslow-Heath*, it is a Rout Riot and Unlawful Assembly. A fourth part of the Petition of Right, which only asserts our Fundamental Rights, is spent against Billetting of Soldiers. There was indeed a Confederacy in the late Tyranny betwixt the Court and the Justices of Peace to put this Difficulty upon Publick Houses, either to receive Soldiers or to lose their Licences; tho Licences ought not to be taken away except for a Forfeiture, which refusing of Soldiers is not, but a Right: But such Frauds and Abusions of the Law never wrought any thing else but Abdication.

Knute, than whom there never look'd any thing liker a Conqueror, and who put an end to disputed Titles in the *Severn*, at the desire of the *English Barons* sent his Army back to *Denmark*; for which see *Bracton's Englescheria*, the finest Point of Law in our *English* Constitution, almost in the same words, and exactly in the same sense as King *William the First's* Laws.

Bracton, Lib. 3. De Corona, Cap. 15. Fol. 134. b. Sect. 3. *Causa vero Inventionis murdrorum talis fuit, quod in diebus Canuti regis Danorum, qui post Angliam acquisitam & pacificatam, rogatu Baronum Anglorum, remisit ad Daciam exercitum suum; & ipsi Barones Anglia erga ipsum regem Canutum fidejussores extiterunt, q. quotquot rex in Anglia secum retineret, firmam pacem per omnia haberent, ita q. si quis Anglorum aliquem hominum quos rex secum adduxit interficeret, si se super hoc defendere non posset Juditio Dei. s. aqua vel ferro, fieret de eo Justitia, si autem aufugeret & capi non posset, soluerentur pro eo. 66. marca, & colligebantur in villa, ubi quis esset interfectus, & ideo, quia interfectorem non habuerunt; & si in tali villa pro paupertate colligi non possent, colligerentur in hundredo, in thesauro regis deponende. Sect. 4. Et dicitur murdrum extraneorum occisio & notorum: quia siue notus sit vel extraneus, ille qui interfectus est, semper*

reputabitur Francigena, nisi Englescheria rite fuerit coram iustitiariis presentata; per hoc quod sciri possit quod Anglicus extiterit. Et qualiter Englescheria presentari debeat, infra plenius dicitur suo loco.

Knyghton, pag. 2358. Lin. 40. Williel. 1. Leges. Item, Murdra quidem inventa fuerunt in Diebus Cnuti regis Dani, qui post Adquisitam Angliam pacificam rogatu Baronum Anglorum remisit ad Daciam exercitum suum. Ipsi vero Barones erga regem suum existerent fidejussores, quatinus quotquot in terra secum retinerent firmam pacem haberent per omnia; verumptamen si quis Anglorum aliquem illorum interfecerit, si se super hoc defendere non posset, in Deo scilicet, aqua vel ferro, fieret de eo Justitia: sin autem fugeret, solveretur ut supradictum est.

I do not love Digressions because they interrupt all Discourse, but-I cou'd not well avoid this, because the mentioning the Bill of Exclusion led me into it; tho my Business was not so much the Bill of Exclusion, as what befel upon the Rejection of that Bill, being another Instance of the Oppressions and Invasions of those Times. I appeal to every Noble Lord now living who has sworn to this Government, whether an Exclusion then had not been better than an Exclusion now; and whether they had not better have done that to an Heir Presumptive, which they have been since forc'd to do to an Actual King: For they were even then known to be both the self-same Man. After the Bill was rejected with as large a Scroul of Protestors as perhaps was ever seen in the Lords Journal, it came to Equivalents and Expedients for the Security of the Nation. And amongst many other things which were order'd by the House of Lords to annul the Power of a Popish Successor, and to make him the Sign of a King, and not to leave him the real Authority of a Thirdborough, (tho those things were no more like to have been enacted than the Bill) there was this, That an Association shou'd be drawn up, as was done in the Reigns of *Edward III.* and *Queen Elizabeth.* A Noble Peer who was very much out at Court, not for the Court Drudgery he had done, but because he wou'd do no more, tho of course he was very ungratefully loaded by themselves for what he had done, was some time afterwards accus'd by the suborn'd perjur'd *Irish* Court-Witnesses of an *Oxford* Plot. The Evidence to the Grand Jury, of which that true Lover of his Country *Sir Samuel Barnardiston* was Foreman, was in a new way given in Court, and afterwards was printed. I refer the Reader to the Perusal of their own printed Paper alone, to see the open Perjury in that Case, and some bold Strokes of *Pemberton-Law*, and what a Train was laid for the Lives of the honest Lords and Commons of *England.* Every body in *England* knows that there was no more of an *Oxford* Plot, than there is on the back of my Hand; but that on the other side a great number of Lords in an Address sign'd by them and presented by the Earl of *Essex*, besought the King they might not meet at *Oxford*, as doubting of their sitting in Safety, having been threaten'd by several blabbing Life-Guard-Men what they wou'd do when they had them there.

In short, there never was more foul Play from the beginning of the World, than was in the Prosecution of my Lord *Shaftsbury* for an *Oxford* Plot, and in the Practice of Subornation upon Captain *Wilkinson*, to put a Force upon him to swear against that Lord, and in the Consequence of it against a vast number of the best Men in *England.* For the Captain was brought to a Dilemma, and was plac'd just in the midst betwixt Chancellor *Finche's* two sorts of Advancement, which with as much Wit as Honesty he put the Captain in mind of at that time. For he was either to accept of a great Sum of Mony, or the Duke of *York's* five hundred Pounds a Year Land to swear against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, or else to be hang'd himself before my Lord *Shaftsbury*; with which Chancellor *Finch* threaten'd him. But the brave old Soldier was proof against both, for he abhor'd the Wages of Unrighteousness and the Price of Blood; neither did he fear a Halter, which I believe loses its roughness and feels soft to the last to an honest Man.

Perhaps the Captain did not expect to be so slighted for his Honesty under a Revolution, nor to see his dear sworn Friend and the Lieutenant of his *Oxford* Troop advanc'd over his Head: But he may thank himself for it, for not reprinting his Narrative, which consisted of so clear Matter of Fact, that

that tho the Suborners gnash'd their Teeth at it, yet they durst not even then touch it. For our People in *England* are very forgetful; a new Coronation, two or three Lord-Mayor's-Shews, and the new Project of a Million Fund to make Provision for younger Children, will put all old things out of their Heads. And besides we have *Scotch* Doctors to teach us the Art of Forgetfulness: *Pray you have Gude Memorys, Gude Memorys; do not remember bad things*, meaning the Murders and Oppressions of the last Reigns, *but keep your Memorys for Gude Things, have Gude Memorys*. So that we forfeit the Goodness of our Memorys and have Evil ones, if we remember our Headless Great Men; the best Blood in *England* spilt like Water upon the Ground; Men murder'd in cold Blood, and hung up in sport by eleven or twelve at a time, according as the Clock struck; Men hang'd and then brought to Life again, to extort from them a Confession of Passive Obedience, but it was then too late for Falshood and Flattery. And lastly, (for I do not mention the Widows, Fatherless, or starv'd Familys of any of these Men) several Hundreds now lying unregarded in Exile, and sold into Slavery, only for endeavouring to redeem their lost Country from Slavery; who did a hundred times more towards this Revolution than some that had been made Dukes and Earls, for nothing that I know of but coming to see *England*.

But I marvel where these Men learn'd their good Memory, not out of Scripture I am sure, for there it is made the mark of a wicked Memory, *not to remember Joseph but forget him*; that is, a Sufferer who was the means of their own Deliverance; and when they lie at ease themselves, *not to be griev'd for the Affliction of Joseph*, which I think is not possible, when Men have studiously forgot it, and discharg'd their Memory of it. Nor have they learn'd this sort of Memory out of any good Book of Politicks, because such a good Memory extinguishes our happy Deliverance. For what were we deliver'd from but the Tyranny and Oppressions of the former Reigns? which if they are to be forgotten as if they had not been, then we are deliver'd from nothing, that is to say we have no Deliverance. Look see, read the Prince of *Orange's* two Declarations; Did not he come to help the Nation to see Justice done for these things? so that if we must forget these things, then we must forget how he came to Town, and what Business he had here. And this very thing of stifling and palliating the Violences and Injustice of the late Times, has given encouragement to King *James* to look homewards, and to meditate a Return; and has given occasion to the Princes abroad to look upon him as an injur'd Prince: for if he had not done great Wrong to this Nation first, we have done a great deal to him since; and yet there is not one Instrument of his Tyranny that has answer'd for it, but they have been all protected if not very highly promoted, and by the very means of a Gude Memory. But after all it is impossible for a vast number of People in *England* ever to attain to this Gude Memory, because they have continually evil Remembrancers to the contrary; some their broken Fortunes and Estates and want of Bread, some the loss of their near Relations whom they dearly miss, some the Thoughts of their Great Father's Heads sticking upon Poles; and as for me, while a certain Traveller was making his Court to the Cardinals at *Rome*, I got such an Almanack in my Bones, that I am sure I shall never learn this *Scotch* Trick of a Gude Memory; I will sooner be hang'd and forget all.

I wonder therefore that Dr. *Burnet* shou'd send to me in the time of the First Parliament in this Reign, when my illegal and barbarous Usage lay before them, *Not to name Persons*. I know the Language of that Day was, Do not smut, that is, let the Oppressors of your Country and of you go off clear, and scape scot-free. I gave an *English* Reply to that Message, Let him mind his Business, I will mind mine. His Bookseller Mr. *Chiswell*, by whom I had the Message, seem'd loth to carry him that blunt Answer; Oh, says I, he has got the Title of a Lord lately, I must qualify my Answer; *Let him please to mind his own Business, I will mind mine*. But the Bishop was mistaken in his Man all over, for it was always in my Nature even to a Fault to spare every body. Sir *Roger L' Estrange* knows it, and many a Man besides, notwithstanding very great Provocations. And I have been so far from Rigour all my Life, that I never su'd any Man, tho I have lost several Scores of Pounds by it, which I have since known the want of.

of. And therefore the Bishop was out in thinking that I wanted such a Message, and as much out in thinking that I wou'd mind it. What did he take me to be, one of his Cubs, whom he cou'd lick into his own Shape and Fashion by a Message? I am a Slave to Truth and Right, and therefore any body's Message, supported with wise and honest Reasons, wou'd have mov'd me; but I knew at the first sight that neither one nor t'other belong'd to that Message.

Now the Bishop may see how little I regard his Message, for I will name Persons when I have just occasion, tho it chance to be his Lordship. But at that time I confess I was so wrap'd up with the hopes of a happy Reign to come, and that the evil Instruments about the King wou'd at least, at the instance of the Parliament, be dismiss'd, that I was got into *Mephibosheth's* Elevation, let Ziba take all the Land to himself; I care neither for the purloin'd half, nor the remaining half; let *Shimei* live and mend, they are not worth their Halters, why then shou'd the Nation be at that expence? Let them go to the end of the World, why shou'd we stop them? And so they had gone, if Great Men from Court had not sent to them to pray them stay. In short, I was so intent upon the Publick Welfare, and ever inclin'd to give that the precedence, that I cou'd not snatch and catch at the Advantages of a Revolution, as others did to whom they were not due; but when my Friends urg'd me to mind my own Business, my constant Answer was, that it wou'd keep cold: I have reason to remember it, because an honest Yonker in my own House has since upbraided me, that my Business has catch'd cold.

I have taken this freedom with the Bishop of S ———, because he has taken a great latitude with me, and has given me out for a Madman above these four Years. But I speak the words of Truth and Soberness which are always well weigh'd, that I will sooner prove him a Betrayer of *England*, and a Publick Enemy, than he shall prove me a Madman. It is an ugly Imputation if it be but laid upon a Dog, because of the ill Consequence of it, for it amounts to the knocking out of his Brains; but it is still worse to place it upon a Man, because it makes a Fool of all his wisest Discourse, which is the end of a Man's living here: for if they dislike any thing he says, they have Authority to call it raving; and if they chance to like it, it shall only have the allowance of lucid Intervals. Besides it effectually ruins all a Man's Preferment, because it unqualifies him, whereby his Posterity suffers for it to the end of the World; so that the Madman fares worse in that case, than the mad Dog, because that Imputation never affects his Breed.

But I am not the only Person that has been so serv'd, the Courtiers of this Reign serve every body so, if they do not like them. I appeal to the House of Commons, whether Sir *Peter Coryton*, a worthy Member of that Honourable House, and since intrusted by them as one of their Commissioners to supervise all the Publick Accounts of the Nation, which is a Charge that requires some Brains as well as all Honesty, ought to suffer under such an Imputation, and whether it be not at least Breach of Privilege? And yet he lost a considerable Government in the *West-Indies* by being so represented to his Majesty, after the King had promis'd it him; with which Suggestion the King was so far impos'd upon, and so fully possess'd with it, that he pity'd the poor Gentleman: And so *Kendal* had the Government, a Man no doubt more for these Courtiers turn, and not blemish'd with that sort of Insufficiency.

I have not Evidence for what I am now going to say, but I am morally assur'd of it, that the Great *Wallop* was thus hinder'd from being made a Judge; of whom I will say the less; because his own Integrity in the worst of Times has eterniz'd him: And if he be not honour'd for it in these Times, then they are the worst. To pass by a hundred more of his Sayings, his comparing King *James's* Declaration upon the very spot to the scaffolding of *Paul's* Church, was so wise, so weighty, so seasonable, and so useful a Saying, that that new *Paul's* when it is built shall want new Scaffolding again, before that Saying is forgot by the wise and honest part of this Nation. One Mr. *Stephens*, another brave Man, has been put into the List, tho I am certain Sir *Matthew Hales* was of another Opinion when he made him his Executor; but one wou'd sooner take him to be a Witch than a Madman, when he talk'd of the

Cart

Cart being bewitch'd. I will not mention all the People of Quality that have been so us'd; they themselves may look after their own dry Godfathers, who have given them that Name out of Baptism: I know mine, and I will stick to him; and tho I have burnt all my Reading, yet he shall know whenever he pleases to put me to it, that I have an odd Remnant of honest Intellectuals still left at his Service.

It is the cunningest Accusation in the World, because it oftentimes proves it self; for to treat a man like a Madman is enough to make him so: But I wou'd advise them not to multiply their Madmen too fast, for the sake of a Story that I know. There was a Fellow of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, who had the misfortune to be really craz'd, and either was, or at least thought himself to be ill us'd by the other Fellows; and when another of the Fellows fell mad, he was wonderfully pleas'd with it; and being ask'd the Reason of his Joy, Oh says he, we shall be a Majority in time, and then we will use the other Fellows as they us'd me.

I think I shall never finish my intended Story for these Impertinencys which continually cross my way; but in short, after the Grand Jury had dismiss'd the Bill of Indictment against my Lord *Shaftsbury* for the *Oxford Plot*, the Court had not done with him so, but invented a new thing, and made the Earth open its Mouth upon him, I mean their dirty Abhorrrers. I know that Great Men have fallen under Ostracisms in *Greece*, and even *Cartes* himself was us'd like a *Skellum* in *Holland*; but those were Legal Banishments and according to the Custom of the Country, whereas that Earl's Usage was never known to any civiliz'd part of the World. For having his Papers plunder'd to find Matter against him (which my Lord *Anglesey*, tho he was one of the Committee of Council appointed to overlook those Papers, acknowledg'd to Mr. *Charleton* and me, was a very illegal Practice and abominable foul Play, even while he himself was employ'd about it) amongst his Papers they found a naked Draught of an Association, which as I said before was a thing so much above-board, that it was order'd by the House of Lords themselves. This Paper, which signify'd nothing when it was accumulated with their *Irish* Evidence at the *Old Baily*, was not to be lost; but was afterwards set up by it self for a Country Quintin, to be thrown at by all the Loyal Sparks of the Nation, where they were to get Garlands for knocking it down. For those were the Men whom the King delighted to honour, and it was an assur'd Knighthood to the Foreman of an Abhorrence, if not to several of his Fellows. And if the Knights of *England* were to be survey'd, I believe the Knights of the Address, and of the Abhorrence of Associations, wou'd be found to be the largest Order; but I dare say wou'd have been the thinnest, if they were to have been created Bannerets. But the rotten part of the Law belonging to the *Middle-Temple* who were in haste for Preferment, the *Saunderses* and the *Shoreses*, and I care not who, were forward to pleasure the Court in this matter, and began the Yelp from an Inns of Court, which was thought authentick in the Country; and so all the Curs in *England*, from the *Foreland* of *Kent* to *St. Michael's Mount*, set up a full-mouth'd Cry against that Earl. I refer my self to the infamous *Gazettes* of the Year 82. which were remarkable upon this account, that they were often a whole Sheet, being swoln with Abhorrences. Now I desire any Noble Earl in *England* to lay his Hand upon his Heart, and consider whether he wou'd be content to be so serv'd, and to be bated twice a Week with Abhorrrers, in Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* Bear-Garden, for the best part of a Twelvemonth together, and at last be forc'd with downright worrying to steal out of *England* and go and die in a Ditch.

After this no Man cou'd call his Country his own, for the Character of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, which they had endeavour'd to render hateful, with the same ease might have been stuck upon another: for the Kingdom of *Poland* being elective, it lay in the Breast of the Court to chuse whom they pleas'd King of *Poland*. If when my Lord *Shaftsbury* was forc'd to leave his own House, and had secreted himself at Mr. *Watson's*, he talk'd with *Howard* of *Escreck* about relieving himself and his County: he did amiss, and it was a defect; for talk is but talk when all's done.

Now

Now my Lord *Ruffel* was an Eye-witness to this long Scene of Invasion of Rights, and his Foresight was much earlier, witness a Letter of his of an old Date, which I shed Tears upon at *Woburn*, at some distance of time after his Death; but I find that no length of time will dry them up. I have spoil'd the entireness of that Scene of Tyranny which my Lord liv'd to see, by frequent Digressions; but it signifies nothing, because the Bishops that mooted the Case with his Lordship, suppos'd the Religion and Rights of the Nation to be actually invaded; which case his Lordship wisely shorten'd, by saying that our Religion being establish'd by Law was a Civil Right, and so the Question reduc'd is in short, Whether the Rights of the Nation being actually invaded, may be defended?

And here I join Issue with those two Bishops, and so I won'd with a Bench of them upon these two Points which I will maintain.

First, That the Rights of the Nation being invaded, may be defended.

Secondly, That no body has a Right to defend them, but they whose Rights they are.

First, That the Rights of the Nation being invaded, may be defended; for otherwise they are no Rights; they may be the Effects of special Grace and Favour, Bountys, Courtesys, Court-Smiles, Places at *Whitchhall* during Pleasure, the Breath of the Court which may be suck'd in again, ill-advis'd Gifts which may be recall'd by Acts of Resumption, or any thing but Rights. If I cannot defend that which is mine from him that wou'd take it away, then it was not mine from the first. As Mr. *Selden* us'd to say, he that had but Two-pence was King of Two-pence, and might defend his own against a King of Ten-pence. What signifies the King's having more Rights than I, if they be all upon the same bottom? for if he invades my Two-pence, at the same time he destroys his own Ten-pence, because he breaks down that Hedg of the Law which secures all Mens Rights, and then I am sure all lies in common. Words do but darken so clear a Point; for if any thing be mine, it is mine to *Have* and to *Hold*.

Secondly, That no body has a Right to defend these Rights, but they whose Rights they are. This necessarily follows from the former, for Rights must be a Man's to *Have* before they can be his to *Hold*. Besides, what has any body else to do with other Mens Rights? It must needs be that the Rights of a Nation are to be defended; for Kings and Queens, and all the Retinue of Government, were ordain'd by the Nation for that very End: and if they turn upon us and invade our Rights, as Chancellor *Fortescue* says, *We are defrauded and over-reach'd in our first Intention; for then our King shall injure us, which before we had Kings it was lawful for no Man to do.* That's a hard case; for a King of *England* had always Revenue enough to keep him honest, and had no need to take indirect ways to enslave his People; that is to say, to put an end to a Government, which it was so much worth his while to keep. And there can no tolerable account be given of the Attempts made in the three last Reigns upon our Libertys, but only Bigotry; they had a mind to convert their Kingdoms, and knowing that most Mens Souls follow their Boddys, they took it for granted that if they establish'd an absolute Empire over the one, they shou'd have a full Command of the other. And so after a world of Arbitrary Proceedings, the Common-Prayer-Book was sent down into *Scotland*, where the King had no more Right to send it than into the *Mogul's* Country; but it was under a pretence of Uniformity, when there was nothing less meant, for it vary'd from ours, and was nearer the Original Mass-book out of which it was taken. No, the Design was to enter them of the *King's Religion*, and then they might have had a new Edition of their Common-Prayer-Book the next Year; and then the Reason of Uniformity holding alike in both Kingdoms, ours ought to be like theirs. But the old Herb-woman at *Edinburgh* put an end to that Game, for hearing the Arch-bishop who watch'd the Rubrick, directing him that read the Book to read the Collect for the Day, she made a gross Mistake and cry'd, *The Dieul Collick in the Wemb of thae*, and withal threw her Cricket-stool at his Head, which gave a beginning to the War of *Scotland*: for when the Statesmen have reduc'd a Kingdom to Tinder, the least Spark will kindle it. The best Friends that King had, and who spilt

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their Blood for him, cannot deny but he had set his Heart upon a *Laudean* Religion and an *English* Patriarchate, which we all know wou'd have ended in *Latin*, and have been still *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as it was in all Ages. I must needs be very impartial in relating these things, for I was a great Neutral in those Days. I cannot say I was so in the following Times, for I saw the Church-game play'd here, and heard of the Counter-part which was at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and in the *Polish* Memorial; and I have view'd the very Mals-house where the last open'd Shop, and wanted Customers.

Now we ought to be somewhat the wiser for our dear-bought Experience, and never to suffer a Prince Popishly inclin'd to be admitted to the Government more; for they have a standing pretence of Religion and Conscience to enslave the Nation, and to do it for our own Good, to save our Souls; and so all our Temporals shall go to wreck *in ordine ad Spiritualia*: whereas, whenever a Prince is known to be of our own Religion, or of a travelling Religion which will comply with ours, then he has no Church-pretence of spoiling the Government, he cannot be Arbitrary if he wou'd, because he has no Excuse left; he must tyrannize for Tyranny's sake, and that being open will never go far nor last long. Nor will any wise Protestant Prince venture upon such a hazardous thing; for if he shou'd miscarry in it, he will not have so much as a Bull from *Rome* to bless himself withal. And if any future Prince shou'd arise, who shou'd think that to be Prerogative which those former Kings practis'd, and thereupon form a Resolution that the Crown of *England* shall not be the worse for his wearing, I shall humbly offer him my Advice beforehand, not to think of their Crown; for it was no wearing Crown, it was so stufft with Prerogative that it was top-heavy, and it visibly hurt two of the Heads that wore it: I know not, nor I care not who eas'd the middlemost of that Burden. But our present King came on purpose, as appears by his two Declarations, to discharge the Crown of all Arbitrariness, and to reduce it to the Standard: So that if our Parliaments do not pursue the Ends of those Declarations which are annex'd to the Crown, and are the Foundation of this Government, they betray the Nation, and are worse to us than the Pensioner Parliament was.

2ly, The second thing which I propounded, was to consider the point of defending our Rights with reference to this *Revolution*. In which I shall carefully distinguish betwixt the *English* Right of Self-defence, and the welcome Assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, which came like a Hand out of the Clouds to help us.

First I say, That if the People of *England* have not a Right to defend their Libertys and Propertys against Tyranny, they have neither Libertys nor Propertys.

2dly. When this Nation falls under Tyranny, they must be deliver'd either by *Miracle* or *Means*; not by *Miracle* (as a Great Man very truly said) and therefore we must use the *Means*.

3dly. If we have not a Power within our selves to preserve our selves, then (as Mr. *Manwood* said in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time in Parliament) *The Realm is no Realm*, but we depend upon somebody from Abroad.

4thly. I say, That neither the Duke of *Hanover*, nor any other Foreign Prince who is related to the Royal Family, is Guarantee to the Coronation Oath and the Oath of Allegiance, which are the Terms of this Government.

5thly. That if the Prince of *Orange* had not come in by the Sollicitation and Consent of the *English* People, it had been a proper *Invasion*.

6thly. The Original Right which the People of *England* have to defend themselves, enables them to call for Assistance whenever they are beset and cannot help themselves, and to pray in Aid: And here this happy Revolution centers. For it wou'd be a strange thing to me, that any Person who only looks over the Hedg, shou'd have more Right to defend a Man's Freehold than the Owner himself, who is upon the Premises.

And thus I have done with the *Maxim* about *Defence*, and come at last to our Author's Touchstone of Maxims, which is, *That all which tend to the inevitable Destruction of Citys and Societys, as indefeasible Allegiance does, are false Maxims*. But what then is become of their darling Maxim with which their

Churches us'd to echo in the Exclusion-time, *Fiat Justitia, pereat Mundus*; let the Duke of York have his No Right, tho the World go to wreck? for that was the true *English* of it. True or false, they have no Maxims nor Principles at all, for they are steady in none. For is not *Fiat Justitia, pereat Mundus*, as true a Maxim in an Abdication as in an Exclusion? It is with some Assurance that I speak it, because I have already prov'd it, That Allegiance is a rigid, obstinate, unalterable, and *indefeasible* thing, and that it must be dissolv'd by one of the two Partys themselves; but is impossible to be dissolv'd by any third Person.

I had but two Maxims in the World in reference to State-matters, the one was that *Honesty is the Best Policy*, and the other was that *Allegiance is indefeasible*; and he is a going to take away my last Maxim from me, which I will not part with, because I have sworn it to King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

I said I wou'd not part with my *indefeasible Allegiance*, but he brings a whole *Posse* upon me to prove it false, in these words: *And this is the Opinion in which all who have consider'd this Matter, either as Lawyers or Casuists, do agree.* Now I say, that all his Lawyers and Casuists never said a word of Truth in their whole Lives: For all Lawyers and Casuists are none; and he having nam'd no body, I have affronted no body. But whenever he pleases to name his Lawyers and Casuists, and produce their strong Reasons against my *indefeasible Allegiance*, I will talk with them round: In the mean time I am weary, and break off here.

and therefore for a Resolution that the Crown of England should be, not to give for his working, I shall hardly offer him my Advice, but to think of their Crown; for it was no wearing Crown, it was to fluff with Protestants that it was top-heavy, and it visibly hurt two of the Heads that wore it: I know not, but I cannot but think the insolence of that Resolution, that our present King came on purpose, as appears by his two Declarations, to dissolve the Crown of all Abstractions, and to reduce it to the standard: So that if our Parliament do not part the Knot of those Declarations, which are annex'd to the Crown, and are the Foundation of this Government, they betray the Nation, and are worse to us than the Pensioner Parliament was.

The second thing which I propounded, was to consider the point of

reference to this Resolution, in which I shall

of the Prince of Orange, which could be a Hindrance of the Good

to help us. That if the People of England have not a Right to defend their

Liberty and Property against Tyranny, they have neither Liberty nor Pro-

erty. When this point was under Consideration, they will be deliver'd either

by Mr. A. or by Mr. B. (as a Great Man very truly said) and

therefore we must wait for the Answer.

If we have not a Power within our selves to resist our selves, then

Mr. A. answers that in Queen Elizabeth's Time in Parliament, the Answer

was, that we should send some body from Abroad.

I say, that the Answer of Mr. A. is, that we should send some body from Abroad.

is refer'd to the Royal Family, is Contrary to the Constitution of the

Crown of England, which are the Terms of this Government.

That if the Prince of Orange had not come in by the solicitation and

Consent of the English People, it had been a proper Reason.

The Original Right which the People of England have to defend

themselves, enables them to call for Assistance whenever they are betted and

cannot help themselves, and to pray in Aid: And here this happy Revolution

comes. For it would be a strange thing to me, that any Person who only

look'd over the Word, should have more Right to defend a Man's Breach'd than

the Owner himself, who is upon the Premises.

And thus I have done with the Answer of Mr. A. and come at last to

the Author's Touchstone of Maxims, which is, that all maxims tend to the

good of the State, or the good of the Church, or the good of the

King, or the good of the People, or the good of the Nation, or the good of

the World, or the good of the Universe, or the good of the

Churches. But what then is become of their darling Maxim, which they

claim as their own, that all maxims tend to the good of the State, or the

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A
CONFUTATION Printed 1697.

Of a late

PAMPHLET

INTITLED,

*A LETTER Ballancing the Necessity of keeping
a Land-Force in time of Peace, with the Dangers
that may follow on it.*

The PREFACE.



THIS whole Controversy about a Standing Army, which is a dispute betwixt Legions and Laws, has been cautiously manag'd on both sides, for no one Author has set his Name to his Book: The Author I write against has suppress'd his, for which reason I have forborn mine merely to be conformable. I am very certain, so as to be able to make it out to any Man, that what I have here written, is the best and truest Service I was capable of rendering to the King, which I am bound to do: and to my Country especially, for whose sake it is that we have a King at all, and for whose good and benefit that Office was instituted. "For an English King is made and ordain'd for the defence of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodys and Goods, whereunto he receiveth a Power deriv'd from his People, so that he cannot govern his People by any other Power." As Fortescue says, p. 32. *Ad tutelam legis Subditorum Rex erectus est, &c. Potestatem habet a Populo effluxam, &c.*

A Confutation of the Ballancing Letter.

On the other hand, they who are for a Standing Army, endeavour to alter the Government all at once, and make it absolute and arbitrary, whether the King will or no, and tho he have no mind to it. For if he have a Standing Army, he can enslave the Nation if he will, and then they are Slaves already. For to depend upon Will and Pleasure is the lowest degree of Slavery. And that he will not use them like Slaves, when he can every moment, is more than a Nation can possibly know, or even he himself. The greatest Slaves we know are but dragoonable; they are not always actually dragoon'd, that is time enough when it comes.

And therefore they that go about to arm the King against the Constitution, and to make him the rickety Head of a weak and languishing Body, are common Enemies both to him and the Realm. For tho the Genius of a Hero, and personal Endowments make a great Man, yet it is a great and considerable People alone, which makes a great King: and a Greatness built upon their Ruins, is a false and ruinous Greatness, and such Power is always Weakness.

This following Discourse was written some while ago, whereby some few expressions in it may seem less seasonable, and to have lapsed their time: but if it be worth reading, it comes out time enough; if not, too soon.

A Confutation of the Ballancing Letter.

EVERY body must needs be glad to see the *Ballancing Letter*, because Weight and Measure go thro the World, and there can be no deceit in them. And therefore omitting the Author's Preface, and our Fleet, which is allow'd to be necessary, and is given us by the Lump, I come to that which he makes the Question, p. 2. in these words. "The only Point in which our Opinions may perhaps differ, is, whether we ought to maintain so considerable a Force at Land, as will be sufficient to make a stand against an Invasion; or whether the Militia can be made so considerable, that we may trust to it at home, as well as to our Fleets abroad, and be safe in this."

Now he ought to have put this first preliminary Question thus, *Whether the Militia as it is at present, and the whole Strength of England beside, is sufficient to oppose an Invasion without a standing Army?* This is a plain Question, and thereupon it wou'd soon be determin'd whether a standing Army were necessary or needless. For then it wou'd cut off that trifling Dispute, what a deal of time it wou'd take up to train and model the Militia, and make it serviceable; what Slips and Uncertaintys that Work is liable to, &c. p. 7, 8. The true State of the Question wou'd likewise have shrunk a standing Army to nothing, as to the purpose of defending the Nation. For the *Militia as it is at present, and the whole Strength of England besides*, includes not only the Barons of England, who are stil'd *Robur Belli*, and the Gentlemen of England who are no Cowards, as also the Auxiliaries, and innumerable Volunteers, such as were at *Purbeck*; but likewise this whole *Veteran Army* it self, which tho disbanded, will be always within call, and ready to be rais'd again upon an Invasion, and perhaps may in great part come sooner to the place of Landing, than a peculiar standing Land Force it self, which may chance to be far out of the way. And if this suppos'd Invasion come in any reasonable time, it cannot be imagin'd that the Skill, Valour and Conduct of our disbanded Troops, nor none of their military Attainments will so soon depart from them; and consequently that this Strength will still continue in the Nation; and wou'd likewise certainly be at the service of the Nation, if it were not for one Objection, That if you disband Soldiers in time of Peace, and when you have no need of them, they will not help you in time of War, and when you have need of them.

I do not believe a word of this, That any true Englishmen will be unwilling to help us and themselves too when an Enemy comes; especially if there be no distinction made, and if they do not see others kept in idle pay, and themselves discharg'd who have done the same Service; for this will breed Emulation amongst Brother-Soldiers, which is not so well: Provided also that they be dismiss'd with an honourable Gratuity, which I look upon to be a due Debt. The Nation being in this posture, there is no more need for twenty thousand of the Army to be kept up Regimentally to withstand an Invasion, under a pretence of being in readiness, than there is need for these twenty thousand to have their Horses always bridl'd and saddl'd, their Muskets and Pistols always cock't, or to lie in their Boots. So that the necessity of keeping a Land Force in time of Peace, when it comes to be examin'd, does not outweigh the Dust of the Ballance, and we need weigh nothing against it.

Our Author proceeds, p. 2. "I will not suggest so unbecoming a Thought, as to imagine that any of our Neighbours will seek to take advantage against us; or break the Peace, and invade us contrary to the Honour and Faith of Treatys: No, I will not suspect it. But the best Guaranty of a Peace is a good Force to maintain it: and the surest way to keep all our Neighbours to an exact performance of Articles, is to be upon our Guard. They will be then faithful to Agreement, when they see no opportunity of surprising us, and that our Peace does not lay us asleep, and make us forget the Art of War. I mean, it is no reflection on any of the neighbouring Princes, when I conclude that their Faith is not so absolute a Security, but that we must help them to be true to their word, by shewing them they are not like to get much by breaking it."

In this third Paragraph he is at a deal of complemental pains with our Neighbours, to get leave of them for his supposal of a treacherous Invasion: Or else he has no pretence for a standing Army, to help them to be true to their word. He does not suspect, but only supposes, in order to get a Land-Force establish'd, and then they may come at their perill.

But does not this kind of Discourse very much disparage our new Peace, that the next day we must stand in fear of an Invasion, which p. 15. he calls *our present danger*; as if their Invasion were to come first, and their Embassadors after: and to have our Peace so false built, as to want propping and shoring already with a Land Force: and that we must have our Peace clad in Armour, and look so like a War, that we cannot know them asunder, unless it be by this difference, that then our Army was abroad, and now he wou'd have it in our own Bowels?

That which follows is still more surprising, in these words, p. 3.

"But mistake me not:
"When I seem to prepare you to consider the necessity of keeping a Land-Force, I am far from the thought of a *Standing Army*. Any man who wou'd pretend to give a jealousy of the Nation to the King, and suggest that he cou'd not be safe among them without he were environ'd with Guards and Troops, as it was in the late Reigns, ought to be abhor'd by every true *Englishman*, by every man who loves Liberty and his Country. The case at present is, whether considering the circumstances that we and our Neighbours are now in, it may not be both prudent and necessary for us to keep up a reasonable Force from year to year: The State of Affairs both at home and abroad being every year to be consider'd in Parliament, that so any such Force may be either increas'd, lessen'd, or quite laid aside, as they shall see cause."

In this Passage there are as many Fallacys and Deceits as there are lines. For first, here is the christning of a standing Army by the name of a Land-Force, and then it is no longer a Standing Army; no, God forbid. This is like the *Lollards* device to keep *Lent* with a Pig; it was but plunging it into a Tub of Water, and saying, *down Pig, up Pike*, and forthwith it became very good Fish. I give the honour of this Invention to the Author of this Letter, for it was written before the meeting of the Parliament, so that he did not copy. And we are beholden to him for many more such disguising Terms and Blinds to the Nation. From hence came our Desertion and Abdi-

cation

cation instead of a plain *English* Forfeiture, which the *Swiss* Parliament honestly call'd *Forfeiting*; hence likewise came our Convention Parliament, which they might better have call'd a *Vestry* or *Wardmore* Parliament, for that had been an *English* Name. Now the mischievous design of this was to rob the Nation of two important Points; first, That a King cou'd forfeit; and secondly, That a true Representative of the Nation might be a Parliament without the formality of the King's Writ. Whereas if King *James* did not forfeit, I defy any man to shew how we came by this Government: And if the free Parliament which they call'd the Convention, was not a true Parliament, as well as the free Parliament in 60, which is adjudg'd so, particularly in the case of the *Coveant-Grarden* Act; how then cou'd it make a true King capable to call a true Parliament ever after? The Defects and Difficultys are incurable. But allowing what they wou'd have, that neither K. *James* nor any other King can forfeit; and that it is no true Parliament which meets upon the like occasion, as that which they disabl'd by the name of Convention; you plainly see they have got two impregnable Fortresses of arbitrary Power ready built, which want nothing but to be well garison'd with Land-Forces.

It is a known art of Deceit to give any hated thing a new Name, whereby in effect it is put out of peoples knowledg, and the old notion and apprehension of it is lost: so coining of Dollars is unlawful, but casting of them may be lawful. A Papist was a Name justly hated by Protestants, and always call'd to mind what the Nation had suffer'd by them: and yet in the last Reign, when they swarm'd most, there was not one Papist left; they were all Catholicks, or of the King's Religion. So that if we were not perfectly reconcil'd to them under these new Names, we must fall out both with our King and our Creed. In like manner a Standing Army was always a name of dread and horror to an *English* Ear, and signify'd the worst sort of Invasion, being intestine, and already got within us: And therefore only the Thing was to be brought upon us, but the startling Name to be renounc'd; and then Land-Forces will become as gentle and innocent a thing as Catholicks.

In the next place he wou'd insinuate a difference betwixt a Standing Army now, and the Guards and Troops of the two last Reigns; as if a Standing Army were not the same thing, and equally destructive to the Libertys of a Nation at all times, let the pretences of keeping them up be what they will. Slavery is the same, by what-ever fetch it is brought about; and therefore whether a Standing Army then was under pretence of the King's safety, or now for our own safety, it alters not the case, if we be alike overpower'd and subdu'd by it, and Slavery inseparable from it, which is demonstrable. For to live under a Force, and yet to enjoy Liberty, or be a Freeman at the same time, is an utter impossibility, and a contradiction in terms. And therefore his own words return upon himself; Any man who suggests a pretence to the King for a Standing Army, *ought to be abhor'd by every English-man, by every man that loves Liberty and his Country*: for the reason and force of the Abhorrence does not lie in the difference of suggestions to the King, but in the Guards and Troops which are thereby rais'd; for they it is that ruin our *Liberty and Country*, and therefore give but a bad character to any body that is for them.

The next remarkable Deceit, for it wou'd be tedious to reckon them all, is the prudent and necessary provision of a *reasonable Force from year to year*; as if it were upon liking, tho all the Reasons are perpetual. For our Neighbours mistaken Notion of keeping up a mighty Force is like to continue; and if those Forces were disbanded, yet they are in being, and may soon be rally'd: *England* will always be an open, and I hope a plentiful Country, tho not so subsist an Army; Our Fleets liable to be Wind-bound, &c. So that his business is to get footing for an Army for a year first, and then we are like to have them for ever: for they ought not to cease while the reason of them continues.

And Lastly, this annual Army is to depend upon the regulation of an annual Parliament; but our Act is Triennial, and not over-easily obtain'd. However in a Parliament when it sits, the Land-Force will come into consideration in order to be either increas'd, lessen'd, or quite laid aside as they shall see cause. There never will be cause to the end of the World to lay it aside, if not now;

for

for now we are farthest off from an Invasion, having just struck up a firm and fast League, and made a sincere and lasting Peace, which if it be not the best at first, is worse than a new Broom, and differs from all other things in the World, which are always the worse for wearing. We were lately told, that once *there appear'd but one speck of blue in the whole Horizon*, whereas now it is all blue, and there is not one speck of a Cloud. This Preface likewise says, *England is now the Wonder of the World*; and it wou'd be a greater Wonder, if it shou'd just now be invaded: and I challenge any Man to name any imaginable State of Affairs, when it shall be fitter and safer and more necessary to lay aside an Army than now. And therefore to say, it is now *indispensibly necessary to our Preservation*, and that it is *present and certain Ruin* to be without it, and yet talk of laying it aside hereafter, shews that he neither means good Faith, nor writes good Sense. Pag. 15.
Pag. 16.

His next words are these: "I will not argue with you so unfairly, as to urge much the Reasons that we have of trusting the King; for how much soever may be said on this Head, either from his Temper, his Circumstances, his Interest, and the Course of his past Life, either with relation to the United Provinces, or to us here in *England*, and with how much reason soever this might be prosecuted, yet I will not lay much weight on it; for it is not just to press an Argument, that puts another Man in pain, when he goes to answer it. I know it may be said, That Men are but Men; so that we make a dangerous Experiment of their Vertue, when we put too much in their Power: and that what is done to one King who deserves it, and will manage it faithfully, will be made an Argument to do the same for another King, that has neither Merit nor Capacity to entitle him to so entire a Confidence."

"To say all in one word, if we were in the same Condition in which we and our Neighbours were an Age ago, I shou'd reject the Proposition with Horror. But the case is alter'd; the whole World, &c."

We will talk of *Plowden's* Saying and the Alteration of the Case by and by; in the mean time we will dispatch the former Paragraph. He says with a seeming Candour, *that he will not urge much the Reasons we have of trusting the King*. The Nation has already trusted the King with all that ever they had to trust him with, all the Rights of an *English* King, and the Imperial Crown of this Realm, with all the Dominions, Jurisdictions, Prerogatives and Preeminences belonging thereto. And when the Parliament invested His Majesty with this Regality, he was pleas'd to accept of it as the greatest Trust they cou'd repose in him.

But the new Trust this Letter insists upon is an Army which can overpower and conquer the Nation. For it is to be such a Force as can withstand an Invasion, which all the Nation besides is not able to do; that is to say, it can beat those that can beat us, and therefore it can much more beat us. So that it is a Force which commands all our Lives, Libertys, and Estates: and this Power is to be put into the King's Hands, and consequently the whole Nation is to be at his Discretion. This is the Trust. Now never trouble your Head more about it, nor about extolling the King, nor be in pain for your Answerer, how he will get over the Argument of the King's Merit to have this Trust and entire Confidence put in him. For we have higher Thoughts of the King than you have, and particularly this honourable Notion of him which you have not, That he despises and scorns all your little Flatterys; and yet we believe that he does not deserve this Trust, nor can manage it faithfully; that he has neither Merit nor Capacity to entitle him to so entire a Confidence.

No, not if he had all the Perfections upon Earth, as he has a great many; nay, if he were an Angel, he were not fit for this Trust. For such an absolute Resignation of our selves is only proper to be made to God. Thus the great *Coligny* render'd up himself to God when the treacherous Guards broke in upon him, *Here I am, do with me as thou pleasest*. It is an Act of Worship to commit our selves and all that we have to a Discretionary Power, and therefore it ought to be paid to nothing but a Being of Infinite Goodness, which is also under the Conduct of un-erring Wisdom. This Trust is too big

big for the Port and Capacity of a Map, or of any thing that is finite and fallible. This Author says, p. 4. *in an arbitrary Government all depends upon the Will of the Prince.* How cou'd he have otherwise describ'd the State and Condition of Creatures, in reference to their great Creator? That all shou'd depend upon that Sovereign Will which brought us into Being, is highly reasonable; but that a Nation's All shou'd depend upon the Will and Pleasure of a Man of their own setting up, is flat Idolatry, and beneath the Popish Worship of Saints and Angels. For what is this Will of the Prince that All depends upon? Is it essential Goodness and Righteousness? No, it is nothing less; it is Arbitrariness, it is Self-will; *We will, because such is our Will and Pleasure*, the most arrogant and senseless Will in the world. God never assum'd this to himself, but he always acts by eternal Right and Reason; and his Throne is establish'd in Righteousness. And therefore when Princes affect to be Arbitrary, they affect a proud, monstrous, blind and brutish Power, which is neither fit for Heaven nor Earth.

Ninus Belus,
O.C.

The first rude and unexperienc'd Age of the World fell into the admiration of some great Personages, whom they chose for their Kings, and were govern'd by them at discretion; for they idoliz'd and worship'd them both alive and dead. But they soon found their Error: *they saw that to live by one man's Will, became the cause of all mens Misery; and this constrain'd them to come to Laws*, as Hooker's words are. Now to relapse into this Folly and Idolatry wou'd be unpardonable, after the World for so long time has known better. Neither cou'd Mankind after such wrecks on the Shore, and such warnings of Mischief, ever fall into the like again, were they not wrought upon by practice, and grossly deluded. Sometimes a Nation is enslav'd by a point of Religion; as the Grand Seignior's being Successor to *Mahomet* makes him absolute and arbitrary. He is a Vicegerent, and represents the great Prophet himself. Sometimes a Nation is taken at a disadvantage, when they are intoxicated, and hardly themselves, as after a Restoration or Revolution, upon any Deliverance, or transport of Joy and Affection to their Prince; then is the time for designing men to over-reach a Nation, and to ruin them by their own fond and hony-moon Grants. Then a project of *John Gyldenstern*, for instance, is very reasonable. These are the soft and easy Times, in which the Statesmen know a Nation is capable of being new moulded: for at such a time they have not one wise or wary thought in their heads. At other times a Nation is under some great Difficultys, and is forc'd to give some particular Power to enable their Prince for that present Distress; for instance, to levy Mony in an extraordinary way, while there is a War in the Country and the Parliament cannot meet; but he afterwards retains that Power, when the reason and occasion of it ceases, and perverts it to the altering of the Government. At another time a Nation is actually invaded, and foolishly and causelessly distrusting its own strength, gets help from others. So the *Saxons* help'd the *Britans* with a Land-Force, but they help'd them too much.

But there never was such a Jest in the World as the present pretence which is now on foot. The shadow of an Ass, an imaginary Invasion, which they dare not suppose without unsupposing it again in the same breath, as we saw how this Author mumbld his Thistles in the third Paragraph. And under pretence of this supposable not to be suppos'd Invasion, we must have twenty thousand men in Arms, to be upon constant Duty, to watch when the Sky falls, and to shew the Man abroad that all the Nation is not asleep. Altho when the Man abroad pleases to come, we have those very twenty thousand ready enough to entertain him, tho they do not stand regimentally in their Arms seven years together to await his coming; and we have thirty thousand more as well finish'd Soldiers as they; and a hundred and fifty thousand more that either are, or soon may be, as good as either of them; and some millions of able Men, who when they are try'd, may behave themselves as well as any of them all. Now here lies the Cheat of the business, tho this twenty thousand men be too many for an Embassy, and too few for the Man abroad, yet a small part of them is more than enough against all the men at home, and an overmatch for the whole People of *England*: for in that capacity they are said to be irresistible; and have none to deal with in that case, but naked un-

arm'd men with their hands bound, whom they may conquer with the bare face of Authority. In short, this propos'd Land-Force is too few to defend the Nation against a numerous Invader, and more than enough to destroy us at home; so that this Author's necessity of having them, shews for what purpose he wants them, and cannot be without them: for if they are necessary, they are an indispensable means to an End; and it is plain which End they can compass, and which not.

But to return from whence I have made this Digression. *In an arbitrary Government all depends upon the Will of the Prince.* Is a whole Nation made for one Man? why else shou'd it entirely depend upon his Will? Were they created for his Will and Pleasure, or is that Will and Pleasure of his always conducted by Divine Attributes, so as to be qualify'd for so great a Trust? If neither of these can be said, then it is plain that an arbitrary Government is absurd and monstrous, and that it is against all the Right and Reason in the World, for ten millions of men, endu'd with the same Facultys as he has, to depend upon the Will of one Man, as if he were a God. If there must be a publick Will, there is as much reason for a publick Conscience, and then the old Question of *John Gerson* Chancellor of *Paris* returns; *Quorsum mihi mea conscientia, si mihi secundum alienam conscientiam vivendum est & moriendum?* In like manner, why did God give every man in a community an Understanding, and Will, and power of Choice and Consent, if they are all to depend upon one man's Will? They had better have had none of all these. This Government therefore is contrary to the frame and constitution of human Nature, it is fit only for creatures which have no Reason, no Will, no Understanding; it is Commonwealth Government.

I like the Kingdom of *Ceylon* in one point, for there we find plain dealing. The Kings have immemorially been in the mistaken Notion of keeping up Standing Armys, Thorn-Gates, and all the devices of arbitrary Government: On the other side, the People (as we wou'd call them, but they know better) depend upon the Will of the Prince, and are in a most profound and devout Slavery; but then they treat their Prince and themselves thereafter. The King they call by a name that signifys somewhat higher than a man, and next to God. Heretofore they stil'd him *Dionanxi*, which is an addition to God; but a late Rebellion has frighted him, and put him out of conceit with that blasphemous Title which he took before, but has since forbid it. When they speak to the King concerning themselves, they do not speak in the first person, and say *I did so or so*, but *Baulagant, the Limb of a Dog did so*. Or if he ask them how many Children they have, they answer, *the Limb of a Dog has so many Puppy-Dogs*, and so many *Bitch Puppys*. Very concise and expressive! one wou'd take it to be a Philosophical Language.

Well, *Gaudeant bene nati*, as *Sir Theodore Mayern* us'd to say upon another occasion, God be thank'd that we were not born Puppy-Dogs: And let us think never the worse of our Ancestors for not providing us a King of a different Species from our selves. In the mean time, let the more refin'd parts of the World brag, that their King can send for their Head, tax them high and low, send them to their Wars, or to their Gallys, as they please; and let them laugh at those few Nations as borish and barbarous, uncourtly and unciviliz'd, who are not so intirely devoted to the will of their Prince as they are: provided none of these slavish Principles come hither, we fear no other Invasion. God has given us here a World by our selves, and if any Slaves from abroad can beat us out of it, we ought not to enjoy it an hour longer; for he made no part of the World for Cowards.

I return to our Author. "To say all in one word, if we were in the same condition in which we and our Neighbours were an Age ago, I shou'd reject the Proposition with horror. But the case is alter'd; the whole World, more particularly our Neighbours, have now got into the mistaken notion of keeping up a mighty Force, and the powerful't of all these happens to be our next Neighbour, who will very probably keep up great Armys; and we may appear too inviting, if we are in such an open and unguarded condition, that the success of the Attempt may seem to be not only probable, but certain. *England* is an open Country, full of plenty,

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A Confutation of the Ballancing Letter.

"every where able to subfist an Army: Our Towns and Citys are all open,
 "our Rivers are all fordable; no Paffes nor ftrong places can ftop an Ene-
 "my that fhould land upon us. So that the whole Nation lies open to any
 "Army that fhould once come into it."

Now we are coming towards the Title-Page of this Letter, and the merits of the Cause; the neceffity of a Land-Force, and the Dangers that may attend it. The *Dangers* of a Land-Force, and the new Trust, muft needs be unfpeakably great, when if we were in other circumftances, our Author would reject the Proposition with horror: And the Neceffity muft needs be as unfpeakably great, if we muft take fanctuary in a Proposition of horror, and make that our Refuge. If this be true ballancing, bad's the beft.

And the Cafe of poor *England* muft be strangely alter'd in one Age, if a Proposition of horror comes to be embrac'd as the only means of our Preservation. This Author is well aware that there is fome deep Mifchief included in this Trust of a Land-Force, and in putting the full Power and abfolute Difpofal of a whole Nation into the hollow of one Hand, or elfe he could not in any Cafe reject it with horror. And therefore he ought to have fairly laid it open at large, and to have given it full weight, when he was weighing it againft the Neceffity that there is for it. But inftead of that, he dwindles this horrid Mifchief into fome *may be but improbable Dangers that may follow on it; remote and uncertain Fears of Dangers that will probably never happen.* A Land-Force, poffibly at fome diftance of time, may at fome time hereafter have ill Effects on our Liberty, which cannot be confiderable while *England* is true to it felf. How can it be true to it felf, when it is out of its own power, by being once fatally falfe to it felf? No body can be true, but where there is a Trust. Nay, if any others mention the bad Confequences of a Standing Army, which he calls opening copioufly upon the Subject, this with him is Rhetorick wrong apply'd, becaufe the matter will lie before an undoubtedly once-a-Year Parliament: And therefore thefe Dangers in conclufion are the imaginary Fears and Amusements of a difeased Melancholy, which lies dreaming of what will probably never happen. Now if the Dangers of a Land-Force amount to no more than this, how is this Propofal to be rejected with horror? And how come thefe Dangers to be ballanc'd? For melancholick Fears, Imaginations, Amusements, Dreams can be ballanc'd with nothing; becaufe a Million of them will not turn an empty Scale.

Whereas if he had dealt plainly and faid, the Eftablifhment of a Standing Army is an actual Surrender of all our Libertys at once; that thence forward the whole Nation is at Difcretion, and lives under an arm'd irrefiftible Force; that all depends upon the Will of the Prince; that thereby we make our felves as effectual Slaves as a Conqueft can make us, and irrecoverably fo, which that does not: If he had thus given us the plain *English* of his Trust and Land Force, the Neceffity of them had immediately been fhent, for every body would have rejected the Proposition with horror, in any ftate of Affairs whatfoever. There never was fuch a Propofal in the World, unlefs that of Col. Titus to Oliver, and that I fuppofe not in earneft neither, that he would kill himfelf left fomebody elfe fhould, and left it might be done by fome vulgar Hand.

On the other fide, a Foreign Invaftion is no Proposition of horror, becaufe we are always liable to it; and it cannot be otherwife, unlefs we liv'd in the Moon. It only imports that we may be put to defend our own, which we never enjoy'd upon any other Terms. Our Lives, Libertys, Propertys can be upon no other Tenure than to have and to hold; and if we do not think fit to defend them, they are none of ours, but the next man's that comes: for it is a virtual relinquifhing our Right, and the laft Occupant in that cafe is the firft, and enters upon that which has no Owner. But God be thank'd, *England* needs not to be fo abandon'd; for we have fuch an overplus of Strength in the Nation now, as we had not an Age ago: And as for the purpofe of defending our Country, we never were in better Condition in any Age; tho I confeff not for Conquefts abroad, which however is neither our Buftnefs nor our Intereft.

If therefore we shall appear too *inviting* to an Invader, unless we keep up a Standing Army; the Man abroad, HE, as it is in the Querys (which is only this Letter turn'd Questionist) may come when he pleases, and all his Men in Bear-skins: Nay, and every thing shall be just as this Author supposes; HE shall have a *Lapland* Wind for HIM, and against us, and our powerful Fleet, which ought to maintain our Empire on the Sea, shall be as insignificant and insufficient to stop him as a Navy of Cockle-shells. Under an Arbitrary Government, you know, this Invasion may be so privately carry'd on, that they shall not know of it themselves: Therefore it will be impossible for us to get any Intelligence of it; so that like white Gunpowder it shall do Execution and give no Report, but land and surprize us. Well, and what then? Why then *England* the Wonder of the World is conquer'd and lost, for we cannot withstand it, and what is worse our Author's Stake is gone. Pag. 2.
Pag. 6.
Pag. 5.

There was never such a Scorn put upon the *English* Nation, which is a free independent Empire, to be represented thus little, as if it were no Nation at all, nor able to preserve it self, but lay at the Mercy of the next Invader; and must hire twenty thousand Men to keep their Country for them, lest it be pirated from them, and run away with; whom they must make their Patroons and Protectors at once, and be gladly enslav'd by them, for fear of being enslav'd by some body else. I have other Marks to guess at this Author by, but this plainly shews that he has not one drop of *English* Blood in his Veins, otherwise he wou'd have let it all out, before he wou'd so treacherously have disabl'd his Native Country, in order to enslave it: and because I take him to be neither Native nor Trueman but a Spy, I will deal with him thereafter, and show him wherein the Strength of *England* consists; and it lies in these three things, their Cause, their Courage, and their Numbers.

Now our Cause against an Invader is such as no Country in the World has; we have such valuable Rights and Libertys of our own, and so intire a Propriety in our selves and all that we have, that wou'd make any Man in earnest to preserve them. Perhaps this may look like vanity and magnifying our own Country, and some Neighbours of ours may think much at it, who have call'd their Country *Gremium Libertatis*, the Lap of Liberty, and now represent *England* by a Milch-Ewe; but I am satisfy'd that the *English* Libertys are the most substantial that are left in these parts of the World, tho indeed they are due to all Mankind. Such as the making of our own Laws in Parliament; the applying these general Laws to a particular Case, by our Jurys; the entire Property and Dominion we have in our Estates, so that, as Mr. *Selden* us'd to say, he that has but Two-pence in *England* is a King of that Two-pence. And the Air that we breathe in is so free from Slavery, that no Man can be a Slave in *England*, but his very coming hither is a Manumission. These, as I said before, are the Birth-right of Mankind; and for certain they did not enter into Society to be Losers by it, nor establish Government to unman themselves, and to destroy the Rights that are essential to their Being; but did it only for the better Security of them, and to preserve and protect them by a united Strength. Now to have a due value for these Libertys is half in half towards the keeping them; so this Fetter-maker himself acknowledges in these words, p. 16. *And whensoever the Nation has lost that noble Sense of Liberty, by which it has been so long preserv'd, it will soon make Fetters for it self, tho it shou'd find none at hand ready made.* Either there is no coherence in the whole Letter, or the Fetters ready made to our hands are a Land-Force and the Consequences of it; and who then sent for him to force these Fetters upon us, by no less than an absolute and indispensable Necessity, and to enslave us before the time? For the City of *London* has not yet lost the noble Sense of Liberty; for in the last Speech the Recorder made to welcome home the King after the Peace, he says in the Name of the City, that their Libertys were dearer to them than their Lives; and I am sure the Country is of the same mind.

They that have these Libertys, and this Opinion of them, cannot chuse but venture freely for them; whereas they that live under an Arbitrary Government have nothing of their own to defend, they can but secure their present Master's Claim to them, and only fight not to be turn'd over: Slaves they are already, and an Invasion can make them no worse, and therefore they can have but small

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Heart or Encouragement to oppose it. And if they did not fight as blindly as they believe, but seriously reflected, that they venture their Lives to support an unnatural and wicked Power of Oppression, as good Soldiers as many of them be, it would make their Swords drop out of their hands. On the other side, when Men fight for a Country and Constitution that there is no out-living, and Death it self is the least damage of the two, they are ready to sacrifice themselves for it: Especially when what they defend are the just Rights of Mankind, and to preserve their Posterity from being Puppy-dogs; when they follow the eternal Counsel of God, as *Zwingli* calls it. *Ipse thou mayst be free use it rather*, and seek only to continue his Servants and their own Men, this entitles them to a higher Assistance: For *omnibus honestam Libertatem querentibus* (and which is better *propugnantibus*) *Deus preesto est*; and God himself will own such a Cause as this.

Besides the Goodness of the *English* Cause, the Courage of the *English* is a part of our Strength, in which it is enough to say that they are not inferior to any Nation: only this seems to be the Advantage of a free Government, that whereas in other Countrys there is as true Valour to be found as any here, yet it is not national; if it be in some of the Nobles, yet the Peasantry is abject and quite out of Heart. It is true, the Nation is not so well exercis'd in Arms, as they were when Bows and Arrows were the Artillery of the World, tho it is easy to apply the old Laws about them to the use of Fire-Arms: But in the mean time where there is sheer Courage in a Nation, Men are Soldiers by instinct, and as soon as they see an Enemy know how to kill him; and tho they cannot do it in Manner and Form, and with Address, yet if they do it any how it will serve turn: for if they are to seek after the first firing, and are forc'd to use the But-end of the Musket, as it was at *Philips-Norton*, an invader brain'd is well kill'd, and such undisciplin'd Hands will do the work. But this is an invidious Subject; and the Courage of any People appears best by being tried.

The last thing is the Numbers of *England*, which tho it be the Arm of Flesh, and not proudly to be rely'd upon, yet it may be put into the Scale and weigh'd against the Terrors of an Invasion. Upon such an occasion as this, when the late King's Ministers were endeavouring to establish a Standing Army by a side Wind, only by getting a Supply of Mony for them for a Year, this was Sir *Thomas Clarges's* Argument against it in Parliament, That we had a Native Strength of seven Millions of Men in *England*, and therefore had no occasion for a Standing Army, either against an Insurrection or an Invasion, for both of them were pretended at that time. And it is such an Argument, as makes all the Pretences for a Land Force look very ridiculously. Is the Nation defenceless with seven Millions, and is it safe with twenty thousand, part of that seven Millions? I have heard of one Man chasing a thousand, but I never heard of one Man guarding a thousand. So that it is here, as *Polybius* says it is in Declarations of War, one Reason is given out, but that which is conceal'd is the true Reason. But to return, in seven Millions we have so great choice, that if one Million will not fight to defend their native Country, another will, and a third may see fair play, and a fourth is a good Reserve, and so are all the rest. So that under God we defy all the Invasions of the World beside, and especially if an Invasion shou'd come from one quarter I am satisfy'd that the Nation is ready for them, they are so ill belov'd, at an hour's warning: And there are many thousands in *England* that wou'd rather see them on Shore, to have the fighting of them, than go to their Dinner.

In these three things united lies our Strength; for if our Cause and Courage were gone (as they will go or stay both together) *Nos numerus sumus*, and we shou'd be an easy Prey to the next invader: For the Wolf never cares how many the Sheep are. And again, tho our Cause and Courage be ever so good, if it were possible for an invasion to out-number us, they might subdue and be too many for us by their odds. And therefore it is worthy of the publick Wisdom of the Nation to take care to preserve it intire in all these Particulars: for while the People are in heart to fight, and have somewhat to fight for, and are enow of them, there is no danger of any harm coming to them. They

They can indeed be broken and enslay'd no other way but by a Standing Army; for while there is no Force to over-rule, the Law takes place; but then they may be drain'd and diminish'd in the Strength of their Numbers several ways, these two especially.

First by suffering the Natives of *England* to straggle into foreign and remote Countrys, from whence in all likelihood they will never return; especially if they have Offers of Preferment, and those are often our usefulllest Men, whereby they are lost to the Nation; or else into Countrys nearer home, where they may possibly hereafter take Service and be employ'd to our Prejudice; and these are a double Loss, for every single Man that goes out, is two against us. The like may be said concerning our Horses, which next to our People are of the greatest use in War; and yet agreeably to all our other Contradictions, we fright the People with Invasions, and at the same time transport our Horses daily and mount our Invaders.

A second way of diminishing the Strength of the Nation as to its Numbers, is by letting in Foreigners and Aliens amongst us. To a man's first superficial Thoughts it may seem quite otherwise, and that it is an Addition of Strength; but upon a true Computation it is a great Abatement, and for every Foreigner living in *England* we have an *English* Man the less. Because they not only are a dead weight to the Nation, and cannot be rely'd upon for any Assistance, but perhaps they may be Enemys, for who can vouch for Inhabitants unknown? And then so many Thousands as they are, so many Thousands we must strike off from our seven Millions, to ballance them. The old *Romans* had that Notion of a Stranger that he was an Enemy, and by the Name *Hostis* indifferently express'd them both; and indeed who can know them asunder? And if they be Enemys, they are certainly the most dangerous, as being already within us. Neither is it the first time that Strangers in *England* have been the Nest-Eggs of a Foreign Invasion. The *Saxon* Aid that *Portigern* and his silly *Thanes* let in, sent afterwards for so many more of their own Countrymen, as serv'd to conquer the Nation. The *Normans* likewise that were here in *England* in the Confessor's Time, were a great Help, and Encouragement, and Inlet to the following *Norman* Invasion. For tho the Kingdom expressly order'd when they first sent for him over (as having dearly paid for the admission of Strangers) That he shou'd not bring any number of *Normans* along with him, *mandantes ei ut secure cum paucis Normannis veniret, paruit autem Edwardus & cum paucis in Angliam veniens, &c.* yet so many found the way hither afterwards as fill'd the best Places both in Court and Church, as we learn by *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland*, who very well knew. So that Duke *William* had a settled Correspondence, and a Party ready form'd long before he came. I know there are many amongst us that can find out great Security in their being of this or that Country, this or that Religion: so in *New-England* they have a Distinction of Friend-*Indians*, and Enemy-*Indians*; but very often that Distinction is lost, and they prove all one.

But these Men have a yet farther reach, for they will have neither Friend-*Indians* nor Enemy-*Indians*, nor *Indians* at all, but know how to make them all their own, and very good *English* Men, by a General Act of Naturalization: which is just such a Fetch, as the winning of Persons disaffected to a Government by giving them the greatest Places of Trust, which only enables them to do the more Mischief. This Project is so contrary to our Constitution, that he who has the Original *Magna Charta* with King *John's* Seal to it, may find there, if he pleases to look into it, this Original *English* Right, That all Strangers shall be remov'd out of the Kingdom. Accordingly the Practice was ever both before and since to keep Strangers out of the Kingdom, or when ever they got in and increas'd to any number, to expel them, and set them a fatal Day for their departure: by which time they all slunk away and vanish'd like so many Phantasms or Apparitions; for so the old Historians pleasantly express it, as if the Nation took great Contentment in it. And indeed they thought them always such a Grievance, that when they cou'd not otherwise find means to send them home, (as when they were the Queen's Kindred, or otherwise countenanc'd by the Court) the Barons with Sword

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in hand wou'd see it done. At other times they bought them off, when they cou'd not otherwise be fairly rid of them, of which we have this following remarkable Instance.

Hanelec Prince of *Denmark* marry'd an Heiress to one of the *Saxon* Hepharchs, and thereby the *Danes* got footing in *England*, which caus'd all the *Danish* Outrages till *Knute*. But when *Knute* was possess'd of the whole Kingdom, after the Death of *Edmond Ironside*, "To have *England* see that now he was hers, he sends away his Navy and Stipendiary Soldiers home to their Country, and puts himself wholly upon this People; taking the way of Mildness, a better means for his Establishment than Force: but the Land paid for the Remuneration of his People and this Evacuation of Strangers 83000 Pounds of Silver; which it rather consented to do at once, than to have them a daily Burden to pester the State for ever." These are the words of our Historian *Daniel*, p. 19. Our antient Historians add, that this was done *Rogatu Baronum*, at the Request of the Parliament, which is plain by their paying the Mony.

Notwithstanding this, there were so many *Danes* got into the Kingdom in these three *Danish* Reigns which lasted but twenty six Years, as serv'd to lord it over the Natives: so *Brompton*, p. 934. expresses their contemptuous Usage of the *English*. "If a *Dane* met an *English* Man upon a Bridg, the *English* Man durst not stir a foot till the *Dane* had quite pass'd the Bridg; and moreover, unless the *English* had made the *Danes* an Obeysance, they were sure to be soundly beaten." But this at the Death of *Hardiknute* put an end to the *Danish* Line, and occasion'd the total expulsion of them for ever. And this might justly make the Realm so very cautious about the next King the Confessor's *Norman* Retinue; which for all their Care laid the Foundation of the *Norman* Invasion. For as soon as Duke *William* heard both at once of the Death of *Edward* and the Coronation of *Harold*, he assembles the States of *Normandy*, and lays before them his Pretensions to *England*, and solicits their Assistance to recover it; shewing them apparent Probability of Success, by infallible Intelligence he had from the State, his strong Party therein; with the Debility and Distraction of the People. *Daniel* p. 34. These were Friend-Indians got into the Bowels of the Realm, who thus betray'd it to a foreign Invasion.

In short, the Wisdom of the Nation in former Ages, by which we subsist at this day, was against the admitting of any Aliens into the Kingdom, unless it were Merchant-Strangers for the sake of Commerce; and they too were restrain'd in these two Points, besides divers others, not to take a House, nor stay above forty Days: as we find by the *London* Petition reciting the antient Usages, and the Act made upon it, 50 E. 3. *Tener hostiel, & de fair leur demeure outre 40 jours, la ou en temps passe nul estranges Marchants nul des cestres points solint user.* But this is a Subject that deserves a just Discourse; because the very great Care our Ancestors took, and the weighty Reasons upon which they proceeded in this Affair, cannot be fully seen at a glance, nor be truly represented in a few words by the by. The impairing of the Natives, the discovering the Secrets of the Realm to our Enemies abroad, the ill-Offices they always did at Court, witness the Count of *St. Paul's* Advice to *R. 2.* which put him upon all the outrageous Tyranny of the latter part of his Reign; their being the constant Implements of Arbitrary Princes, when they cou'd not confide in their own Subjects; that is, when they wou'd not serve them in their Arbitrary Designs, nor be made the Instruments of enslaving their native Country; these were some of the most obvious and most frequently avow'd Reasons against the admission of Strangers, or suffering them to be here. But then there were others which lay much deeper, at the very bottom of the Constitution: For every Hundred in a County being subdivided into Decennarys or Tythings, and these consisting of Men that were all bound for one another, and were mutual Pledges for the good Behaviour of each other, and every Master of a House answerable for his whole Family, it was impossible there shou'd be any room left in *England*, either for Strangers or Vagabonds. And this was the Perfection of the *English* Constitution both in the *Saxon* and *Norman* Times, which render'd it the most

most united Nation under Heaven; and they were all of them in strictness of Speech *conjurati fratres in defensionem regis & regni*, and as much sworn Brothers as if they had been one Mother's Children. Now in such a Constitution it was impossible for a Stranger to thrust in his Nose; for where cou'd nine Men together be found to answer for Monsieur *Whatchum*, who had neither Friends by Father's side nor Mother's side to be his Hostages, with whom they must converse by an Interpreter, of whom they cou'd have no Hold nor Security having no knowledg, and who might go and leave his Pledges in the lurch as lightly as he came? And therefore the Strangers and Aliens that were so often evacuated cou'd not have made their abode here, if they had not crept in as Inmates into great Citys, or at Court, or in the Church; and there it was they swarm'd, and liv'd upon the Spoils of the Nation. Our most judicious Antiquarys cannot mention these Decennarys or associated Neighbourhoods, without bewailing the Decay of that part of our Constitution; as if the Nation had thereby lost all its compacted Strength, and were become *like a great Wall of loose Stones without Morter*, and only a multitude of Individuals. I am sorry too, but do not think the Loss of them so fatal. For whether the *English* Temper and Inclination led them to these Guilds and Fraternities, or whether the living so long under them produc'd that Temper, or both; I am sure it runs in a Blood, and all *English* Men still retain a Reserv'dness and Shyness towards Strangers, and cannot be suddenly acquainted; they also will engage very far for one another, and they take an Injury done to another as done to themselves. These Fruits and Advantages of the Decennarys still remain, as if they were yet standing. And tho the *English* have now Squabbles and Differences amongst themselves (so they had then, and a Headborough to compose them) yet a common Cause and a common Enemy always reconciles and unites them; and as loose as the Stones may seem to be, let but an Invasion come and that will find Morter.

This was the old *English* Conduct heretofore towards Foreigners, but the modern Policy is for the direct contrary, a General Naturalization. Whenever I hear that Word, I cannot forbear thinking, What is *Old England* now to be planted and peopled? Or are we to begin a new Commonwealth with an *Asylum*, in *Romulus's* way? The Nation never yet wanted People to keep the Plough going, notwithstanding the great increase of Tillage; and we have more Hands for Manufactures than we can find in Employment. Our Merchants and Retailers are innumerable, and most of our Professions are overstock'd. And this glut of Men continues, tho one wou'd have expected that the vast Colonys we have sent into *America*, shou'd long since have drain'd us. We have Shoals of Seamen to maintain our Dominion there, and to enlarge Commerce; and tho *England* be an open Country, yet it is so well man'd, that it scorns all other Fortifications. What then do we want Strangers for, unless it be to make a dearth of Provision, which is always a greater Tax upon our own People than a Capitation, and more unequally laid; or else to beat out our own substantial Manufactures, with outlandish Frippery and foreign Knacks? I have heard indeed that it will raise the Price of Land, but is the Nation going to sell? However, raising the Price of it, will make it only so much the worse for an *English* Purchaser. Others wou'd have a General Naturalization for the sake of the *French* Refugees, who being shut out of their own Country for being Protestants, ought by all means to be encourag'd to make this their home.

I think all the World endeavours to make earnings of that poor People, and to serve their own little Ends upon them. Their own Monarch gain'd several Points by expelling them out of *France*, for thereby he shew'd the Plenitude of Arbitrary Power, which will have all its Slaves believe as they are bidden, as well as they do every thing else; and can at pleasure make out-casts of vast numbers of Natives, who had as much Right to stay in their own Country, as any of those whom they left behind them. And then he cou'd do nothing greater to ingratiate himself with the See of *Rome*, and with a Church of his own, which is so full of Riches and Treasure, that if we give any heed to the Author of the Querys, it may have I know not how many

many Invasions in the Belly of it. King *Charles II.* reap'd as great Advantages on this side the Water by entertaining and succouring them. For thereby he strongly confirm'd the old authoriz'd Cheat of his being a good Protestant, which enabled him to carry on his Church-game, and to settle a Popish Successor after him. It gave him an opportunity likewise to tax and burden the Whig part of the Nation with large Collections and Contributions for them, in which the Popish Party and their Adherents did not think themselves concern'd; so that by his tender and compassionate Briefs in their behalf, he found a way to weaken and impoverish the Protestants here, and gave them an indigent People to keep. Their Passive and Slavish Principles were also of great use to him, and very instructive to his own People, how to bear all the Hostilities of their Prince, and to submit to be dragoon'd without Resistance, and even to turn Refugees themselves, whenever the *French* and *Irish* Papists were to be call'd for in their room. The Church likewise, that then was, wou'd lose none of the Advantages which they cou'd make by them, but presently beguil'd *John Calvin* of his Country-men and Followers; and by getting them to conform, and renounce their own Orders in taking Episcopal, render'd our own Dissenters at home so very inexcusable, that then they might pound them and pinfold them, and do what they wou'd with them. The late King *James* still continu'd them in the Nation, and let in more, to make good that Spirit of Forbearance and Toleration, which he always profess'd; and to shew that whatever the *French* Popery was, his was only for a *Magna Charta* of Liberty of Conscience. And what further use may be meant to be made of them, I list not to enquire; but if ever hereafter *England* be hurt, it must be by Mercenarys and Foreigners.

And therefore I take it to be the happiest expedient which several *French* Persons of Quality have found out for them, to go and be their own Men in a new-discover'd Country, and there hold their very cheap Lands of the Mannor of *Greenwich*; wherein they will fare as well as our own Refugees did in *New-England*; and which is the worst I ever wish'd them, I hope they will fare better, and never have their Charter taken from them. For if on the other hand they be hir'd to settle in *Ireland*, that Kingdom will soon be found, not to be in *English* Hands. But wherever they go, they must needs say, that they have met with a very kind Reception in *England*, considering that all the while they have very much impair'd many thousands of the Natives here, and have interfer'd with them in their very Livelihood. They have likewise had Taxes granted towards their Maintenance, which was an Indulgence not extended to the *English* Refugees that fled from the *Irish* Massacre, and to many more that have had fairer Pretensions to it.

Another Argument for a General Naturalization is Gratitude to the *Dutch*, who ought to share in the Advantages of *England*, since they bare so great a part in preserving them for us, and in giving us our present King. That's a Debt, I confess, which will be always paying and never paid, tho the People have requited him with Three Kingdoms, the greatest Recompence upon Earth. But I will be judg'd by *Hugo Grotius* in his *de Rebus Belgicis*, whether that State cou'd ever have help'd it self, much less any body else, if it had not been for the *English* Assistance heretofore. Which I often thought of, and therefore thought it very long before they interpos'd in our behalf, when by our Folly we had brought our selves full as low as the once distress'd States of *Holland*; but they did it at last very amply and very effectually. So that there has been an intercourse of mutual Kindness and good Offices betwixt the two Nations, which I hope will never be wanting upon all other Occasions, but shou'd be right sorry if the like Occasion shou'd ever happen to either. But what is this to a General Naturalization? Because the *Dutch* and we are very good Friends and Allys, and do best as Neighbours, therefore we must adopt them, and give them the Birthright of *England*, and the Inheritance of *Magna Charta*! We did not come so lightly by those Liberties; but the transmitting of them down to Posterity has been a Business of much Toil and Sweat, and much Blood. Yes, say these Men, by communicating this Benefit to the *Dutch* Protestants, we gain another to our selves, and make it their Interest to help us maintain our Constitution, against a false Party within us which wou'd betray it. But

But they must first understand our Constitution, before they can help to defend it, which no Foreigner ever yet did. I appeal to those who have convers'd most with foreign Embassadors and the ablest Ministers from abroad, whether any of them cou'd comprehend the Nature of our Government, tho they have resided here never so long; or were ever able to frame a tolerable Notion of what the *English* Constitution is. For instance, when they have been inform'd that this is a Monarchy and an Hereditary Monarchy, they presently conclude the King can do all, and there is an unalterable Line of Succession; and when they come here and see it otherwise, then they conclude the King can do nothing, and the Kingdom is elective: and when they are told that neither is it so, then they conclude it is a Riddle of a Government; and so it is to them, for it is the *English* Government, which falls under no Rules nor Terms of Art. For it was not borrow'd from *Aristotle* or *Plato*, or any of those Platform Men; neither was it moulded by our Ancestors out of a mixture of *Absolute Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*, as the Answer to the Nineteenth Proposition says. But it is wholly built upon the Reason of the thing, it is directed to the high Honour of God, and the common Profit of the Realm; and consists of downright Honesty and deep Thought; it has no other mixtures in it. Accordingly a *Saxon* Koning had never been call'd a *Monarch*, but only to shew that he was no Heptarch, and it was equivalent to *Totius Albionis Rex*; not that it imported any Absolute Power, for he was empower'd by the Folkmote. *Potestatem habet a populo effluxam*, as *Fortescue* expresses it, speaking of an *English* King. And yet you cannot say that he has no Power because he has only a Legal Power; for he is invest'd with as large and as great Powers, and as truly Royal and Imperial, to answer all the Ends of Government, as any King or Emperor in Christendom: And the noblest of his Powers, and which has most Perfection in it, is this, *That he can do no Wrong*; for to be able to do that is but Impotency, as *Fortescue* has wisely observ'd.

So again, this Monarchy you may call Hereditary if you will, because it often goes that way, unless the State think fit to order it otherwise. And yet this Hereditary Monarch is solemnly adjur'd not to meddle with the Crown unless he mean to keep his Oath and govern according to Law: and the Consent of the People to have him for their King, is as absolutely requisite at his Coronation, as if he were chosen in the Field. And the Succession is so far from being unalterable, that it was laid down as a first Principle by Sir *Thomas More* and Sir *Richard Rich* Attorney-General, *That an Act of Parliament cou'd make him Richard Rich King*, in their Argument about the Supremacy of *Henry VIII.* And this is so fundamental a Point in the *English* Government, of such undoubted Right and such weighty Consequence, that the Denial of it was made High Treason during Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and it is still a Premunire to this Day. And yet I trow we are no elective Kingdom neither, but a wiser Constitution than that comes to. We have no *Interrex* in a Vacancy to play his *Rex*, nor Cardinal Primate to make a false return of an Election, and to elude the Peoples Choice; but the Crown rests and remains with the People of *England*, who had always the Disposal of it, till they invest a new King with it; and during that time the Pleas of the Crown are theirs, and the Offences committed against the Peace, are done against the Realm, and must be so prosecuted.

The Rights likewise of the *English* Subjects are as little understood by Foreigners, which occasion'd that Speech of one of them not long ago, *The English take themselves to be all Kings, but e'er long they will find their mistake.* No, the *English* don't take themselves to be all Constables, much more Kings: they know their Distance and their Duty to that High Office, no People more. And if they have a good Prince, they know how to value him; if they have a Tyrant or an Oppressor, that's their own fault and not his: but if they have a good one, they think themselves happy to live under him, they love, honour and obey him, they reverence and admire him, and all but worship him. And this they do freely and chearfully, not with a forc'd Subjection, but as Freemen and not Slaves, nor with made Cringes and inward Hate. But when that is done, in all their *English* Rights and Libertys they are as free

Testam.
Alfred. apud
Affer. Menet.

Pupilla Oculi,
f. 59.

in the Thought in a Man's Mind; and no Emperor can be more. So King Alfred and his Parliament declar'd them, and I never read of their being enslav'd since. *Knights* swore Fealty to them, and the other reputed Conquerors took the present Coronation-Oath. I cannot but say that several of his Successors did their true endeavour to enslave the Nation; but they perish'd in the Attempt, and it ended in their own Destruction: And it was all their own. For it was impossible for English Men not to know and maintain their Rights and Libertys, it being in those Days made a matter of Conscience so to do. All Confessors were requir'd to be perfect in *Magna Charta*, on purpose to inform and direct the Consciences of the People in keeping it. And *Magna Charta* was likewise order'd by several Statutes first to be publickly read in all Cathedrals twice a Year, and then the Breakers of it to be excommunicated, and their Excommunication denounc'd in all Parish Churches; in order to which every Cathedral was furnish'd with an authentick Copy under the Great Seal. But in latter Reigns, instead of inculcating and enforcing the English Rights and Libertys, the Cathedrals and Confessors have untaught them the People, and have sacrific'd them up to Sir *Wynstan Churchill's Divi Britannici*.

I will not go about to reckon up all the Worthys that have signaliz'd themselves in this Service, but leave that to the Historiographer Royal of Passive Obedience; nor instance in *Bancroft*, *Sibthorp*, and *Manwaring*: the first of whom transforms several of the English Principles into dangerous Positions, and fetches them from *Geneva*, whereas the Confessors in Queen *Mary's* Time carry'd them from hence; and the other two by their Arbitrary Doctrine so far profan'd preaching, that they did not make it the Foolishness *St. Paul* speaks of, but quite the other thing. But I will confine my self to the late Archbishop *Laud*, as being a Representative, and Head of that Party which the late King *James* term'd the *Laudean Church of England Men*; and which, that he might the more confirm to himself, he assur'd by *Dr. Parker* in 83. *That as they had been always for him, he wou'd be always for them.*

Laud's Hist.
p. 409.

About three or four Years ago came out his own History written by himself, whereby it appears that his great Design of establishing Arbitrary Government was admirably well laid. For he goes orderly to work, *removendo prohibens & promovendo adjuvans*, first by throwing down *Magna Charta*, and then by setting up his own Arbitrary Canons. A Writing of his (which was brought in evidence against him, to prove his endeavouring to subvert the Law) began with these words, *Magna Charta had an obscure Birth, and was foster'd by an ill Nurse.* "Upon this he says, the Manager of the House of Commons spake loud, and ask'd, What Laws he wou'd spare, that spake thus of *Magna Charta*?" After some little shuffling of an Answer to keep his hand in ure, he justifies those opprobrious words, and intimates likewise that another Manager afterwards was conscious of the faultiness of *Magna Charta*, and indefensibleness of it against that Paper, by omitting the mentioning of it upon two very just occasions of mentioning it, *else he wou'd never have deny'd a Vindication to Magna Charta.* "Here, says the Publisher, is a void space left in the Margin, with design (as I suppose) to insert therein some Passages out of Law-Books, concerning the obscure Birth of *Magna Charta*: which space was not fill'd up. H. W."

I am very certain that *Magna Charta* had never done him nor any other English Man any Wrong; but because it stood in his way, and hinder'd him from making his Court with his Passive Obedience, and from making himself and his Master great, he thus vilifies it, and endeavours to bring it into Hatred and Contempt. It is the same Aspersions which is express'd more plainly and less slyly by others of the same stamp, *That it was at first extorted, and afterwards maintain'd by Rebellion*; who have likewise made the House of Commons to be of the same Extraction, and alike born in Sin, being founded in Rebellion, 49 H. 3. There is no honest English Man but if there was occasion wou'd spend his Blood for *Magna Charta*, that sacred Repository of all the English Libertys; and therefore I shall not grudge to spend a few Lines in vindication of it, tho it be here represented as if it had been some spurious Birth and been suckled by a Wolf. But this must be the work of a second Part.

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
CONFUTATION
OF THE
Ballancing Letter,

BEING
An Occasional Discourse in Vindication of

MAGNA CHARTA.

The PREFACE.

I Have seen several Objections publish'd against the former Part, wherein if that Author cou'd have shewn me any one Fault, I wou'd have thank'd him, and mended it; but I do not write Books for such, as after a long search to find a Knot in a Bulrush, make one. That I may not give him nor any body else any Offence by my false Inferences, cloudy Reasonings, Mistakes or Misapplications whatsoever, I shall barely set down two or three Quotations, which are able to speak, dispute, argue, and answer for themselves. The first is to shew, that for a King of England to have standing Forces, or Men at Arms, is contrary to the English Constitution; or else Mr. Bacon, who has given us an excellent Book of it, collected out of Mr. Selden's

Bacon of the
Laws and Go-
vernment of
England,
Part 2.
p. 114.

den's Manuscript Notes, has strangely mistaken it: For his words upon Henry the Seventh's instituting a Guard of 50 Archers, are these: "That [Guard] of his [Person], he only pretended as a Ceremony of State brought from the French Court; and yet it is strange that it went so well down with a free People. For that Prince that will keep Guards about his Person in the midst of his own People, may as well double them into the pitch of an Army whensoever he pleases to be fearful; and so turn the Royal Power of Law into Force of Arms. But it was the French Fashion, and the King's good hope to have all taken in the best sense." This is so well known, that the very Author himself of the Ballancing Letter has those words, Page 3. l. 15. "Any man who would pretend to give a jealousy of the Nation to the King, and suggest that he could not be safe among them without he were environ'd with Guards and Troops, as it was in the late Reigns, ought to be abhor'd by every true English Man, by every Man who loves Liberty and his Country."

M. P. p. 261.

Knighton,
Col. 2445.
l. 50.

My other Quotations are about an incidental Point which fell into my former Discourse concerning the Admission of Foreigners into England. This, according to the sense of all Antiquity, is giving them our Country. The words in K. John's Charter at Runnymede concerning them, are these. (Et nos amovebimus omnes alienigenas a terra, Parentes omnes Girardi de Athies, Engelardum scilicet, Andream, Petrum, Gyonem de Chanceles, Gyonem de Cigvini, uxorem prædicti Girardi, cum omnibus liberis suis, Gaufridum de Martenni, & fratres ejus, Philippum Marc, & fratres ejus, & G. nepotem ejus, Falconem, & Flandrenses omnes & ruptarios, qui sunt ad nocumentum Regni. Here K. John is to amove Aliens out of the Land, both all and some, as a Nuisance to the Realm. And to conclude, my last Quotation is one of the Statutes made at Oxford 42 H. 3. founded upon K. John's Charter, and in pursuance of it. Statuerunt etiam, Quod omnes alienigenæ cujuscunq; conditionis existerent, seu nationis, confestim repatriarent sub pœna membrorum & vitæ. That all Aliens of whatsoever condition they were, or Nation, shou'd forthwith repair home, under the penalty of Life and Limb. The Act is general, but no body can say that it is an Act for a General Naturalization.

A Vindication of Magna Charta.

IN order to this I shall first shew, That *Magna Charta* is much elder than King John's time, and consequently that its Birth cannot be blemish'd with any thing that was done in his time, tho his Confirmation of it had been really extorted by Rebellion. Secondly, That the Confirmations which were had and procur'd to it in King John's and H. 3. time, were far from being gain'd by Rebellion.

De Laud.
Leg. Ang.

First of all, The Contents of *Magna Charta* is the undoubted Inheritance of England, being their Antient and Approv'd Laws; so antient, that they seem to be of the same standing with the Nation; and so well approv'd, that Fortescue applauding our Laws, triumphs in this, That they pass'd thro all the British, Roman, Danish, Saxon and Norman times, with little or no alteration in the main. Now, says he, if they had not been lik'd by these People, they wou'd have been alter'd. Accordingly in this last Norman Revolution King William the First (falsly and flatteringly call'd the Conqueror) swore to the inviolable observation of them under this Title, of the Good, Antient, and Approv'd Laws of the Realm, and particularly and by name K. Edward's Laws. So antient is the Matter and Substance of *Magna Charta*.

Secondly, Nor was the manner and form of granting these Laws by Charter, or under Hand and Seal, with the Confirmation of an Oath over and above the Coronation-Oath, any new Invention or Innovation at all; for as
William

William I. began it, so I am sure that H. 1. and King Stephen, and H. 2. did the same before. And therefore if the obscure Birth of Magna Charta was in King John's time, it was then born with a grey Beard, for it was in being in his Great Grandfather's Reign.

For Thirdly, That very Charter of his Great Grandfather H. 1. was the Ground and Reason of the Parliament's insisting upon having the like Confirmation of their Libertys by King John, and was the Copy by which they went. For tho King John at his Absolution at Winchester from the Pope's Sentence and Excommunication, had solemnly sworn to restore the good Laws of his Predecessors, and particularly those of King Edward; and tho presently after at a Parliament at St. Albans, the Laws of K. H. 1. were ordain'd to be observ'd throught all England, and all bad Laws to be abolish'd: yet contrary to both these late Engagements, he was marching an Army in all haste to fall upon several of his Barons, who had lately fail'd in following him in an intended Expedition into France. But the Archbishop stopt him in his career, by following him to Northampton, and there telling him, that it wou'd be a breach of his Oath at his late Absolution, to make War upon his Subjects without Judgment in Parliament. The King hufft him, and told him, *That this was Lay Business, and that he wou'd not delay the Business of the Kingdom for him;* and by break of day next morning marches hastily towards Nottingham. The Archbishop still follows him, assuring him that he wou'd excommunicate all his Followers, if they proceeded any further in this hostile way; and never left him till he had set a Day for a Parliament, that the Barons might there answer it.

A. D. 1213.
Reg. 15.

This Parliament was held at London at St. Paul's Church, where before it ended the Archbishop took some of the Lords apart, and put them in mind how he made the King swear at Winchester to restore the good Laws of King Edward, and cause them to be observ'd by all the Realm. And now, says he, there is likewise found a certain Charter of H. 1. King of England, by which if you please you may be able to restore your long lost Libertys to their former state and condition; and producing the Charter, he caus'd it to be read all over in their hearing: which the Lords having heard and understood were overjoy'd, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, *That when they saw it convenient for these Libertys, if need were they wou'd spend their Lives.* The Archbishop for his part promis'd them his most faithful Aid and Assistance to the utmost of his power; and after this Association was thus enter'd into, the Parliament broke up.

There had past but a hundred and thirteen Years since the Grant of H. 1. Charter: and tho there were then made as many Charters as there were Shires (directed to the Sheriff of every County to proclaim them, for this is directed to Hugh de Bocland, Sheriff of Herefordshire) and by the King's express Order were to be laid up in the Abbys of the several Countys for a Monument; yet because the thing was beyond the Memory of Man, and that Age not very conversant with Book-learning or Records, it seems not to be known to them; and the Archbishop says, *Inventa est quoque nunc Charta quadam H. 1.* But when the Lords had once seen it, they were so fond of it that they got it away from the Archbishop: and the next Year about Michaelmas, when the King was returning out of France, the Earls and Barons met at St. Edmundsbury, it might be thought for Devotion, but it was to consult about their Libertys; and there the Charter of H. 1. which contain'd their Laws and Libertys, was again produc'd and treated of among them. After which they all went to the High Altar, and there swore in order, beginning at the Greatest, *That if the King shou'd refuse to confirm by his Charter the said Laws and Libertys (being the Rights of the Kingdom) they wou'd make War upon him till he did.* And likewise at last by common Consent they came to this Resolution, *That they wou'd all go together to the King after Christmas, and desire him to confirm the said Libertys. And in the mean time that they wou'd make such Provision of Horses and Arms, that in case the King shou'd start from his late Oath, wherein he promis'd it (which they had too much reason to believe, because of his doubleness) they might then compel him to performance by seizing his Castles.*

Accord-

A Vindication of Magna Charta.

Accordingly after Christmas they came to the King in a gay military Habit; and desir'd the Confirmation of their ancient Libertys, as they were contain'd in writing in the Charter of H. 1. and the Laws of R. Edward. They affirm'd likewise, that by his Oath at Winchester he had promis'd those Laws and Libertys, and that he was already bound to keep them by his own Oath. The King seeing the Constancy and Resolution of the Barons in their Demand, did not think fit to deny them, but desir'd respite and time to consider of it, being a weighty business, till after Easter; and after several Proposals on both sides, the King very unwillingly set a Day, and the Archbishop, Bishop of Ely, and Lord Marshal were his Sureties, that then they should all of them have Satisfaction given them in reason. Upon this the Lords went home. But the King in the mean time, by way of precaution, caus'd the whole Realm to swear Fealty to him alone against all Men, and to renew their Homages. And as a farther Security and Protection, more than out of Devotion, at Candlemas following he took upon him the Cross.

In Easter week the formation'd Lords met at Stamford, who now had drawn together in favour of them almost all the Nobility and principal Gentry of England: So that they amounted to a numerous Army; and the sooner because King John had render'd himself universally hated. In this Retinue were two thousand Knights, besides all others of lower rank, Horse and Foot diversly arm'd. The King was then at Oxford expecting the coming of the Parliament. On the Monday following these associated Barons came to Brackley; which when the King understood, he sent to them the Archbishop, the Lord Marshal Earl of Pembroke, and several other sage Persons, to know what were the Laws and Libertys they requir'd; which they presently deliver'd in a Schedule to those that came from the King, affirming, That if he wou'd not forthwith confirm them under his Seal, they wou'd compel him, by seizing his Castles, Lands and Possessions, till he gave them competent Satisfaction in the Premises. Then the Archbishop with the rest of his Company carrying this Schedule to the King, rehears'd all the Chapters or Heads of it before him *memoriter*. But when the King understood the purport of it, he laugh'd and said with the utmost Indignation and Scorn, *And why do not the Barons, together with these unjust Demands, demand my Kingdom? The things they ask, said he, are idle and superstitious, and not supported by any tittle or pretence of Reason.* And at length in a great Rage he affirm'd with an Oath, That he wou'd never grant them such Libertys, whereby he himself shou'd be made a Servant.

When therefore the Archbishop and Earl of Pembroke cou'd in no wise gain the King's Consent to these Libertys, by his Command they return'd to the Barons, and there reported just what the King had said in order. Whereupon the Barons presently chose them a General, and flew to their Arms, and march'd directly to Northampton to seize that Castle. But having spent fifteen Days in that fruitless Attempt, having no Petards nor other warlike Instruments to carry on a Siege, somewhat abash'd with this Disappointment, they march'd to Bedford, where they were kindly receiv'd; and by Messengers sent to them from the principal Citizens, were invited to London. When they were comethither, they sent Letters to all the Earls, Barons and Knights, that as yet seem'd to adhere to the King, tho it were but feignedly; that as they tender'd their Estates, they shou'd leave a perjur'd King, and come and join them, and effectually engage with them for the Libertys and Peace of the Realm; otherwise they threaten'd to treat them as publick Enemyes. Upon which most of the Lords, who had not as yet sworn to the said Libertys, wholly leaving the King, came to London, and there associated with the Barons.

King John seeing himself thus generally forsaken, so that he had hardly seven Knights remaining with him, and fearing lest the Barons shou'd insult his Camp, which they might easily have done without opposition, he betook himself to fraud and dissembling, pretending Peace, when he had immortal War in his Heart, resolving hereafter to oppress the Barons singly, whom he cou'd not all at once. He therefore sends to them the Earl of Pembroke and other Persons of Credit with this Message, *That for the Renewal of Peace, and for the Advancement and Honour of his Realm, he wou'd willingly grant them the Laws and Libertys which they desir'd, leaving to the Barons to appoint a convenient Time* and

and Place for the Performance. They very gladly set the King a Day, to meet the 15th of June at Runnymede betwixt Staines and Windsor, an antient Place for the meeting of Parliaments.

The King and the Lords accordingly met, and their Partys sitting asunder, and keeping to their own side, treated of the Peace and the Libertys a good while. There were present, as it were of the King's Party, the Archbishop, and about thirty principal Persons more, whom *Matthew Paris* names; but, says he, they that were on the Barons side were past reckoning, seeing the whole Nobility of *England* gather'd together in a Body seem'd not to fall under number. At length, after they had treated in several sorts, the King seeing the Barons were too powerful for him, made no difficulty to grant them the Laws and Libertys under-written, and to confirm them in his Charter in this manner.

Here follows *Magna Charta* in *Mat. Paris*. And because there was not room for the Libertys and free Customs of the Forest in the same Parchment, they were contain'd in another Charter, *de Foresta*. And then follows the Security for them both. Pag. 255.

After this the King sent his Letters Patent to all the Sheriffs in *England* to cause all Persons, of what condition soever, to swear, That they wou'd observe these foresaid Laws and Libertys, and to the utmost of their power distress the King by seizing his Castles, and otherwise straiten him to the Execution and Performance of all things contain'd in the Charter. At last, the Parliament being ended, the Barons return'd to *London* with their Charters.

Thus have I given you a short view of the noble Conduct of the Barons in their manner of obtaining the Confirmation of their Charter from King *John*. The Restitution of *Magna Charta* you may call it, for the Birth of it you see it was not. What I have recited is undoubted History and Record, and clear matter of Fact. And I have confin'd my self only to these three last Years, in which the Barons were in pursuit of this business, and took the quickest Steps towards it; and above all, were put into a right Method by the Advice of *Stephen Langton* the Archbishop, to claim their Estate with the Writings of it in their hand. For above a dozen Years before, in the third of this King's Reign, upon a Summons of his to the Earls and Barons to attend him with Horse and Arms into *Normandy*, they held a Conference together at *Leicester*, and by general Consent they sent him word, That unless he wou'd render them their Rights and Libertys, they wou'd not attend him out of the Kingdom. But that impotent demand of their Libertys by the by, did them no good, but expos'd them to still more and more intolerable Oppressions. They shou'd have gone to him according to their Summons, they shou'd not have sent. Not to mention that his Faith was plighted by the Archbishop *Hubert*, *William* Lord Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter* Chief Justiciar of *England* (whom he sent as his Commissioners to proclaim and keep the Peace immediately after the death of his Brother *Richard*) That the Earl *John* wou'd restore all Daniel p. 129.
Adam their Rights. This was done at an Assembly of the Peers at *Northampton*, before his coming out of *Normandy* to be crown'd. *Sub tali igitur conventionione Comites & Barones Comiti Johanni Fidelitatem contra omnes homines juraverunt.* Upon these Terms, and no otherwise, the Earls and Barons swore Fealty to him: which made King *John* so much rejoice at *Geoffrey Fitz-Peter's* Death, and swear, That then, and not before, he was King and Lord of *England*. For from thenceforward, says *Paris*, he was more at liberty to contravene his Oaths and Covenants, which with this *Geoffrey* he had made fore against his Will; and loose himself from the Bonds of the Peace he had enter'd into. P. 243. Pactus contraire.
 Now these Pacts and Covenants are clearly that before his Coronation, which I have just now recited, and at this Parliament at *St. Albans*, Anno 1213. not a Year before this great Man's Death. Where the King's Peace was publicly declar'd to all his People, and it was strictly commanded in the King's behalf, That the Laws of his Great Grandfather *H. 1.* shou'd be kept by the whole Realm, and all unjust Laws abolish'd. In both these Affairs he transacted for the King, having in this last, together with the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Government of the Kingdom committed to him, the King being then absent in his way to *France*.

Well,

Well, but now the Barons at last have their long lost Rights restor'd and confirm'd, to the universal Joy of the Nation; which is soon overcast. For King John immediately resolves to undo all that he had done, being prompted thereto not only by his own arbitrary tyrannical Disposition, but also by his foreign Mercenarys, whom he had long made his Favourites and Confidants, while he look'd upon his own natural Subjects as Abjects. The *Flanders Ry-ters*, or Cavaliers, who now by *Magna Charta* were expressly and by name order'd to be expel'd the Kingdom as a Naysance to the Realm, these being grown his saucy Familiars, so follow'd him with Derision and Reproaches, for unkinging himself by these Concessions, and making himself a Cypher, and our Sovereign Lord of no Dominions, a Slave to his Subjects, and the like, that they made him stark Bedlam: And being given over to Rage and Revenge, he privately retires to the *Isle of Wight*, where, as *Paris* says, he provides himself of *St. Peter's* two Swords. He sends to the Pope, whom he bribes with a large Sum of Money, besides his former Surrender of the Kingdom, to cancel and annul *Magna Charta*, and to confound it with his Apostolical Authority; and withal to excommunicate the Barons for it: And at the same time he sends the Bishop of *Worcester* Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and several other Persons, to all neighbouring Countrys, to gather together all the Foreign Forces they cou'd, by Promises of Lands and Possessions; and if need were, to make them Grants under the Great Seal, and to bring them all to *Dover* by *Michaelmas*.

Hostiles amicos & amica-biles hostes,
P. 265.

That three Months he spent *incognito* in and about the *Isle of Wight*, coasting and skulking about, and sometimes exercising Piracy out at Sea; so that it was not then known where he was, nor what was become of him: but thus he whil'd away the time, contemplating his Treason, and waiting for the incomprehensible Enemy-Friends he had sent for. I know not whether this Desertion, and not providing for the Government in his Absence, and sending the Great Seal of *England* upon such an Errand out of the Realm, may not with some Men amount to a modern Abdication: But I am sure that this which follows is enough to justify the Expulsion of a whole Race of *Tarquins*. After *Michaelmas* he sail'd to *Dover* to meet his outlandish Scum, with which he invades his own Kingdom. Such an execrable desperate Crew never set foot upon *English* Ground, so fitted for Mischief, and that thirsted after nothing more than human Blood, whom his Agents had drawn together out of *Poitou*, *Gascony*, *Lovain*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and weeded all the neighbouring Continent for them. These made up a vast Army, notwithstanding the Shipwrack of *Hugh de Boves*, who was bringing forty thousand more, besides Women and Children, who all perish'd in a Storm betwixt *Calais* and *Dover*. This Freight of Women and Children, several of which were afterwards driven ashore in their Cradles, were intended to plant the two Countys of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, after the Extirpation of the *English*; for it is said that this *Hugh* had a Charter of Inheritance given him of these two Provinces.

But with these Forces he had, he overrun *England*, and wasted it with Fire and Sword in such a manner, as no *Englishman* can read the History of it without being in pain and torment. There is such a Scene in *Mat. Paris*, p. 276. as was never seen again, unless in the *French* and *Irish* Massacres: it looks like Hell broke loose. For these *Satellites Satane*, the Devil's Life-Guard, as *Mat. Paris* calls them, seem'd to have prepen'd Malice against Mankind; and being led on a *crudeli Rege, imo cruento Tyranno*, by a cruel King, nay it was a bloody Tyrant, no Furys cou'd put innocent People in cold Blood, of all Ages and Conditions, to more exquisite Tortures, nor sport themselves more in making Havock and Desolation than they did. And with this horrid Ravage he overrun *England*, and proceeded as far as *Berwick* in half a Year's time; all the Castles of the Barons falling to him, either surrender'd, or for the most part abandon'd.

In the mean time most of the Barons are at *London*, where we left them, making holyday for the Grant of *Magna Charta*, and pleasing themselves, that after so long Oppression and *Egyptian* Bondage, the Libertys of *England* were restor'd again in their Days. They thought likewise that God had touch'd the King's Heart, and he was become a new Man, and meant the good Faith

Faith he had sworn; and flatter'd themselves that he wou'd from henceforward inviolably observe their Charters. But they were interrupted in this thought by the private Intelligence they had, that he had given Orders to his Foreigners in whom his Soul trusted, to fortify and furnish his Castles with Men and Provisions, and to store them with all manner of Artillery; but to do it so warily, that it might not come to the knowledg of the Barons. This boded no good; for here was *Magna Charta* concerning the Expulsion of Foreigners broken already: and therefore some of the Barons went to the King at *Windsor*, to know more of this matter, and to try by gentle and wholesome Advice to bring him to a better mind. He receiv'd them with a blithe Countenance, and thereby palliated the inward Venom; and swearing by God's Feet, he assur'd them, that he had no ill purpose, and banter'd and laugh'd them out of their Story. Nevertheless before they left him they gather'd such marks of his Aversion to them, and that all was not well, that they went back to *London* lamenting, and saying, *Wo to us and to all England, which wants a King that will speak truth, and is oppress'd by a false underhand Tyrant, that uses his utmost Endeavours to subvert a miserable Kingdom.*

The very Night after this Conference with the Barons, it was, that he stole away from *Windsor* to the *Isle of Wight*, and there laid his hellish Plot against the Nation: which was so deep, that it did not enter into the Hearts of the Barons to suspect or imagine. They had now recover'd the Rights of the Nation, which was nothing but their own, and had been most unjustly detain'd from them; and they never intended nor sought for more. But because the King went away in a bad mind, and because they had certain notice that nothing but their departure from *London* was wanted in order to surprize it; they therefore adjourn'd their Torneament which they had formerly appointed on the Monday after the Feast of *St. Peter and St. Paul* at *Stanford*, to be held the Monday sevensnight after at *Haunslow* near *London*, both for the Safety of the City, and their own. This they certify in their Letter to *William Albinet*, who was gone down to his Castle of *Beauvoir*, and withal desire him by all means to make one at it, and to come up well provided with Horses and Arms, that he might win Honour. For he who perform'd best was to have a Bear, which a certain Lady wou'd send to the Torneament. With such frivolous and idle Actions, says *Mat. Paris*, did they entertain themselves, little knowing what cunning Snares were laid for them.

Still they remain at *London*, and for want of better Employment spend their time yet more vainly, in eating and drinking, and sitting up anights at the expensive Dye, which however does not look like plotting; for if they had been so minded, it had been easy for them in the King's absence, to have taken very great advantages against him. But they meaning no hurt, had reason to expect none; and therefore the Invasion after *Michaelmas* fell suddenly upon them like a Tempest, or *Hugh de Boves's* Storm. And being wholly unprovided to resist such an Inundation as this, they thought the best way to put some stop to it, wou'd be by presently throwing in a good Garison into the Castle of *Rochester*, that the King might not come immediately to besiege *London*. Accordingly they make choice of *William d'Albinet* who was just come from his own Castle, and a noble Band of sevenscore Knights with their Retinue for this Service. When they came thither, they found nothing but bare Walls, neither Provision, nor Arms, nor any thing but what they had brought along with them; insomuch that many of the Noblemen repented their coming down, and wou'd have return'd: but *William d'Albinet* overpersuaded them to stay, and told them it wou'd be dishonourable to desert what they had undertaken. They therefore get together what Provision they cou'd out of the Town in that short space, for within three days the King and his Army were with them, and had block'd them up. There they behav'd themselves like great Men; but the Siege lasting long, they were so straiten'd for Provisions, that they were forc'd at last to eat their Horses. Being thus in distress, the Barons at *London*, tho' with the latest, remember'd their Oath, to relieve them in case they were besieg'd, and march'd out with a pompous Army as far as *Darford*; but there the gentle South-wind met them, and blew in their Faces, and tho' it uses not to be troublesom to any body else, yet

it drove them back, as if it had been drawn Swords, to their known Den at London. This scoffing Reason is all that *Mat. Paris* will give for their shameful Retreat, and deserting their Companions; but no doubt it was some panick Fright from the Reports of the Country, concerning the Numbers and Condition of the King's Army: for he himself elsewhere tells us, That they were such as struck a Terror into every body that beheld them. This piece of Cowardice makes the King insult, and push on the Siege with the greater Bury, which only lost him the more Men: for they defended themselves to a miracle, and lost but one Knight during the whole Siege. But at last their Provision failing them, when they had not one Morsel left, on St. Andrew's Day they all went out and surrender'd themselves to Mercy. The King immediately order'd them, Barons and all, to be hang'd up. But in this, *Savaricus de Malloleone* who was himself a Nobleman, withstood him to the face, and told him that as yet it was but a young War, and no body knew what the Chances of it might be: It might be his hap, or any Nobleman's else, to fall into the hands of the Barons, who wou'd be taught by this Example of his how to use them; and that no body wou'd serve him upon those Terms. With much ado the King yielded to his Advice, tho it was likewise the Opinion of all the wisest about him: and so he sent *William Albinet* and many others to be kept close Prisoners in *Corf Castle*, others to *Nottingham* and other Prisons, but gratify'd his Cruelty in hanging up their Servants.

One day during this Siege the King and *Savaric* were viewing the Castle to discover where it was weakest. The best Marksman that *William Albinet* had, knew him and said, *My Lord, may it please you, shall I now kill the King our bloody Enemy with this Dart, which I have here ready?* No, no, says he, you wicked Glutton; God forbid that we shou'd procure the Death of the Lord's Anointed: Says the other, *If it were your case he wou'd not spare you;* says *William*, *God's Will be done, God shall dispose of that, not he.* Herein, says *Mat. Paris*, he was like *David* sparing *Saul*, when he cou'd have kill'd him. This Passage was not unknown to the King, and yet for all that he wou'd not spare him when he was his Captive, but wou'd have hang'd him if he had been suffer'd to do it.

After the Siege of *Rocheſter Castle*, where the Flower of the Barons was lost, King *John* notwithstanding did not think fit to attempt *London* (where tho the Barons did not judg themselves able to take the Field, yet were desperately resolv'd to live and die together) but he march'd to *St. Albans*, and the 20th of *December* divided his Army into two; one of which he himself led to lay waste with Fire and Sword Northwards, the other he left to do as much for all the neighbouring Countys about *London*, and to be sure to keep that Place block'd up. He with his Army lay the first Night at *Dunstable*; but after a little rest, he was so intent upon his business, that before Day he march'd towards *Northampton*, and carry'd such a *Christmas* into those parts as they never had seen. For besides his plundering and destroying all the Houses, Parks and Possessions of the Barons, his manner was still as he went along to order his Incendiarys to fire the Hedges and Villages, which cou'd not be turn'd into Plunder, *That he might refresh his sight with the Damages of his Enemies;* *Mat. Paris* recals that word, if, says he, they are to be call'd his Enemies, who were only willing to intraduce him into the way of Justice and Humanity. They were indeed his best Friends in it, but they paid very dear for that good Office.

For before this the Spiritual Sword came likewise brandishing out against them, and they were run thro and thro with the Pope's Excommunications. He first issu'd out a general Excommunication against them, which they did not mind, nor think themselves concern'd as being not nam'd in it, nor indeed describ'd. For they were none of the *Disturbers of the Peace* that were there mention'd, who turn'd the Kingdom upside down, and were worse than the *Saracens*, for endeavouring to expel their Cross-bearing King from his Realm (which they had never attempted nor intended) who as he had engag'd himself, so it was to be hop'd he wou'd accordingly go and succour the Holy Land. And therefore the Pope was forc'd to curse them over again by name; and reciting some of the principal of them, he involv'd all their *Partakers and Adherents* in the same Condemnation; and to make sure work, he laid the City of *London* under

under an Interdict. As for their poor Charter, that was very short-liv'd; for it bears date the 15th of June, and was made void and disannul'd by the Pope the *Bartholomew-day* following. The Barons indeed despis'd all these swaggering proceedings of the Pope against them, as knowing that the causeless Curse will never come, and alledging that it was all upon false suggestions, and that he usurp'd an Authority in matters which did not lie before him. *For who made him a Judge, or Divider of Inheritances?* A Power which St. Peter never had, and which his humble Master declin'd when it was offer'd him. But tho this Pontifical Ware was regarded at *London* as it deserv'd, where the Prelates likewise did not think fit to publish it, yet in that superstitious Age it cou'd not fail to influence weak Minds, when all the Subjects of *England* were enjoin'd to be aiding to King *John* against the Barons for the Remission of their Sins. For who that had a Soul to save, wou'd not kill a Baron if he cou'd? It was K. *John's* holy War. And it must needs strangely heighten and animate his insolent Crew, to see themselves thus backt with Divine Authority, and wou'd make them play the Devil a God's Name. Thus the Sword helpt the Sword, and the spiritual one whetted and set an Edg upon the material.

It was the misery of the Barons to have their Country over-run in this manner, and not be in a condition to help it. As for their own losses, they did not mind them. When Messengers came thick with bad Tidings, that their Castles and Possessions were gone and destroy'd, they only look'd upon one another, and said, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away.* When they heard how their Wives and Daughters were abus'd, they vented themselves by inveighing bitterly against the Pope and his most dearly belov'd Son in Christ, *John*. But when they thought of *England, England*, then they lamented indeed, and laid the ruin of it deeply to heart. And resolving to have done with such a barbarous Tyrant, and to chuse a new King; after some debate, they unanimously agreed upon *Lewis* the Dauphin of *France*. Their main Reason was, because the most of K. *John's* Army being Subjects of *France*, upon the first appearance of *Lewis*, they wou'd be apt to join him, and leave K. *John*, whereby of necessity he wou'd be soon brought to reason, and in all probability it wou'd be a very short War. *Lewis* readily accepted their Offer, and came over upon the security of 24 of the principal Barons Sons for Hostages; and being joyfully receiv'd at *London* by the Barons, had Homage and Fealty sworn to him, and he himself swore to restore them their good Laws, and their lost Inheritances. After which he writ to the King of *Scotland* to come and do him Homage, and to all the great Men of *England* to come and do the like, or else immediately depart the Kingdom. Upon which the Earls of *Warren, Arundel, Salisbury*, King *John's* Brother, and the Earl Marshal's Son, with many others, readily obey'd this Summons, and left King *John*, as did his Foreigners, all but the *Poitovins*; some of them returning home with their Spoils, and the rest coming over to the Dauphin.

From the first arrival of *Lewis*, K. *John* never stood his ground; and tho he came with his great Army to *Dover* to hinder his landing, yet he durst not trust that Army to engage, but leaving a strong Garison in *Dover* Castle, he took a run to *Guilford*, and from thence to *Winchester* without stopping: whereby he both gave *Lewis* a free passage to *London* to join the Barons, and also lost most of his new Conquests in less time than he gain'd them. But the King of *France* undervalu'd all his Son's Successes, swearing that he had not gotten one foot of ground in *England* till he was possess'd of *Dover* Castle, which made him undertake a vigorous, tho fruitless Siege of that place: where in a short time the King of *Scotland* came and did him Homage. But while the Dauphin was engag'd in that Siege, there happen'd an accident which alter'd the whole Scene of Affairs. The Viscount of *Melun*, a Nobleman of *France*, who came over with *Lewis*, fell very sick at *London*. And finding himself at the point of death, he sent for some of the Barons of *England*, who were left to take care of the City, to come to speak with him; to whom he said, "I am griev'd for you, at the thoughts of your desolation and destruction, because you are wholly ignorant of the perils that hang over your heads; for *Lewis* has taken an Oath, and sixteen Earls and Barons of *France* with

A Vindication of Magna Charta.

him, That if ever he get *England*, and be crown'd King, he will condemn all the Barons that are now in Arms with him against *K. John*, to perpetual Banishment, as Traitors against their Sovereign Lord, and will extirpate the whole Race of them out of the Land. And lest you shou'd doubt of the truth of this, I that lie here ready to die, do affirm to you upon the peril of my Soul, that I my self was one of those that were engag'd with *Lewis* in this Oath. Wherefore I now counsel you by all means to look carefully to your selves hereafter, and to make the best use of what I have told you, and to keep it under the Seal of Secrecy." When this Nobleman had thus said, forthwith he expir'd. When this dying Secret came to be spread amongst the rest of the Barons, they were sadly cast down, finding themselves surrounded with Difficultys, and perplex'd on every side. For, as a concurrent proof of what Viscount *Melun* had said, *Lewis* instead of restoring them to their Rights according to his Oath, had given all the Lands and Castles of the Barons, as fast as he won them, to his own *Frenchmen*: and tho the Barons grumbl'd at this, yet they cou'd not prevent it. But what they laid most to heart was, that he had branded them as *Traitors*. They were excommunicated every day, and despoil'd of all terrene Honour, and driven to all extremitys of Body and Soul. In this miserable perplexity many of them thought of returning and reconciling themselves to *K. John*, but that the Breach was too wide. They were plainly at their wits end, and were willing to do any thing to be rid of this perjur'd and perfidious Foreigner, who had thus ungratefully enter'd into a desperate Conspiracy against them.

During this tedious Siege of *Dover Castle*, where *Lewis* and many of his Barons were sure to be maintain'd, *K. John*, who had been dodging up and down, took this opportunity of making a terrible Inroad into the Countys of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he made his usual Progress Northward: as if he had taken up a resolution to live and die in his Calling. For one of the last things he did before he sicken'd, was burning to ashes all the stacks of Corn as he went along in all the Mannors of the Abbot of *Croyland*, which were but just inn'd that Harvest. He was first indispos'd at *Swinshed Abby*, but his illness increasing, he cou'd hardly reach *Newark Castle*; and there, by the advice of the Abbot *Croestoun*, he confess'd, and receiv'd the Sacrament. After which he appointed his eldest Son *Henry* his Heir, and order'd the Realm to swear to him, and sent his Letters under his Seal to all the Sheriffs and Castellans of the Kingdom to be attendant on him. Just when he was dying there arriv'd Messengers from some of the Barons, about forty of them, with Letters to be reconcil'd to him; but he was not in a condition to mind such Affairs.

In ten days time after *K. John's* death, that Party which had adher'd to him, with *Guallo* the Pope's Legate, made haste to crown his Son at *Glocester*. And because he was not yet ten years old, and so no ways concern'd in the hated Crueltys of his Father, and might be us'd as an expedient to drive out an already hated and insolent Foreigner, he was presently accepted by the Kingdom; while on the other hand, upon the first knowledg of *K. John's* death, *Lewis* had in his own conceit wholly subdu'd and swallow'd up the Kingdom: but he found the contrary in summoning *Dover Castle* upon this occasion, thinking to have had the Castle for his News; for he met with such a resolute Denial as he took for an Answer, and broke up the Siege. Afterwards he took some few places; but the young King's Party still increasing, and many of the Barons by degrees falling from him, and the Forces he had sent for out of *France* being utterly defeated at Sea, and all sunk or taken, and he and the Barons that were with him being closely besieg'd in the City of *London*, he was forc'd to come to this Composition: "That *Lewis* and all his Foreigners shou'd depart the Kingdom, and that he shou'd never lay claim to it hereafter, but restore what belong'd to the King in *France*, and to have fifteen thousand Marks for his Voyage." And on the other hand, the King, the Legate, and the Great Marshal being Protector, swore, "That they wou'd restore to the Barons, and all others of the Realm, all their Rights and Inheritances, with all those *Libertys* which they had before demanded, for which the War had begun betwixt *K. John* and the Ba-

"rons." This Composition was made by both Partys in an Island in the Thames, near the Town of *Staines*, Septemb. 11. A. D. 1217.

So that within two years and three months time *M. Charta* was granted, and destroy'd, and damn'd by the Pope; and reviv'd and renew'd again by fresh Oaths, and even of the Pope's Legate.

I shall very briefly shew what fate it had in *H. III.* time, for I do not remember any fighting about the Confirmation of it in any succeeding Reign; wherein I shall only recite the matter of Fact, reserving the matter of Right till anon.

In the fifth year of his Reign he was crown'd again at *Westminster*; and three years after, which was the eighteenth of his age, at a Parliament at *London*, he was desir'd by the Archbishop and the other Lords to confirm the Libertys and free Customs, for which the War was first mov'd against his Father. And, as the Archbishop evidently shew'd, the King cou'd not decline the doing of it; because upon the departure of *Lewis* out of *England*, he himself had sworn, and all the Nobility of the Realm with him, that they wou'd observe all the said Libertys, and have all others observe them. Upon which *William Brewer*, who was one of the P. Council, made answer in behalf of the King, saying, *The Libertys you desire ought not in justice to be observ'd, because they were extorted by violence.* Which Speech the Archbishop taking very ill, rebuk'd him, saying: *William, quoth he, If you lov'd the King, you wou'd not be a hindrance to the Peace of the Kingdom.* But the King seeing the Archbishop going to be very angry, said, *We have all of us sworn to these Libertys, and we are all bound to observe what we have sworn.* And forthwith taking advice upon it, sent his Letters to the Sheriffs of every County, to cause twelve Knights or Legal Men to make an Inquisition upon Oath what were the Libertys of *England* in the time of *K. Henry* his Grandfather, and to make him a return of it by a certain day.

This vowing and afterwards making inquiry was ill resented, and was one of the false Shifts which were so peculiar to that Prince. The motion of the Archbishop was so manifestly necessary for the settling the young King in his Throne, that our Historian *Daniel* says, it was *impiously oppugn'd* by *William Brewer*; and indeed the reflections he makes on the whole passage are very remarkable from the Pen of a Courtier. I only observe that *William Brewer* was the fittest Interpreter of an arbitrary Prince's mind; for he was an old arbitrary Instrument, and one of *K. John's* Generals in his barbarous Invasion: and tho he himself had since sworn to *M. Charta*, that made no matter; for such false Changes and Conversions always turn Cat again, as soon as they find Game, and spy a Mouse.

The next year the King being declar'd by the Pope's Bull of full age, and *Lewis* being now King of *France*, and keeping possession of all the King's Dominions beyond the Seas, at a Parliament held at *Westminster*, he desir'd a Fifteenth for the recovery of them. And tho many of the Earls and Barons had thereby lost their Inheritances as well as the King, yet the whole Assembly agreed in this Answer; *That they wou'd freely grant the King what he desir'd, but upon condition, if he wou'd grant them their long desir'd Libertys.* The King out of covetousness of this Aid, has Charters presently written and seal'd, and sent to all the Countys, and an Oath in writing for all men to swear to them; while *Richard* the King's Brother, because they had hitherto been ill kept, cry'd out they were cozening Charters.

Matt. Paris says, he therefore forbears to recite the Tenor of these Charters, because he had done it before in *K. John's* Reign, for the Charters of both Kings were alike. *In nullo inveniuntur dissimiles.*

Two years the Land rested, enjoying their Libertys which were punctually kept, till the King at a Parliament at *Oxford* declar'd himself to be of full age, and took that occasion to have a new Seal, and to cancel the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his minority, and to cause all that wou'd enjoy the benefit of that Charter, to take out particular Charters under his new Seal: for which they paid exorbitant Fines, such as his Chief Justiciar pleas'd.

Upon

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Upon this, and a great Oppression of his Brother Richard soon after, the Earls and Barons were up in Arms, and had drawn together a great Body of Men at *Stanford*; from whence they send him a Message in very big words, That he forthwith make amends to his Brother for the Injury done him, the fault of which they lay upon the Justiciar; and that he shou'd immediately restore the Charters of the Forest which he had cancell'd at *Oxford*, and send them to them seal'd, grievously denouncing, That otherwise they wou'd compel him with their Swords. Whereupon he call'd a Parliament to *Northampton*, and gave them full satisfaction to their Demands.

Six years after, the Barons had an outrageous Violation of *M. Charta* to complain of, and an intolerable Grievance to the Nation: For the King had not only fill'd the Offices of his Court with *Poitovins*, to the great Oppression of his natural Subjects, but also had invited in two thousand *Poitovins* and *Britons*, with which he garison'd his Castles. Upon this Earl Richard, the Marshal of the Kingdom, taking several of the Lords along with him, went boldly to the King, and openly reprov'd him, that because by evil Counsel he had call'd in *Poitovin* Foreigners to the Oppression of his Realm, and natural born Subjects of the Realm, of their Laws likewise and Libertys; wherefore he humbly besought the King that he wou'd speedily reform such Abuses as these, which were the imminent destruction of his Crown and Realm. Moreover he affirm'd, that if the King refus'd to amend this Proceeding, both he and the rest of the Noblemen of the Kingdom wou'd so long continue to withdraw themselves from his Councils, as he consorted with Foreigners. To this, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was prime Minister, made answer, That it was very lawful for our Lord the King to call in what Foreigners he pleas'd for the defence of his Kingdom and Crown, and even such and so many as might be able to compel his proud and rebellious Subjects to their Duty. The Earl Marshal and the Lords went away very much dissatisfy'd with this Answer, and promis'd to one another that in this Cause which concern'd the whole Nation, they wou'd manfully fight it out to the separation of their Souls from their Bodys.

In the mean while the Bishop of *Winchester* and his Accomplices had so far perverted the King's heart to hate and despise the English Nation, that he study'd the extirpation of them all manner of ways, and by a few at a time invited over so many Legions of *Poitovins*, that they almost fill'd all *England*; with Troops of which, wherever the King went, he still was wall'd in and environ'd. Nor was any thing done in the Kingdom but as the Bishop of *Winchester* and this Rout of *Poitovins* order'd it. The King then calls a Parliament to meet on *Midsummer*-day at *Oxford*, but the aforesaid associated Lords wou'd not come at his Summons, partly for fear of the lying in wait of these Foreigners, and partly out of the Indignation which they conceiv'd against the King for calling in Aliens in contempt of them: Upon this it was judicially decreed that they shou'd be summon'd twice and thrice, to try whether they wou'd come or no. Here at this Assembly at *Oxford*, *Roger Bacon*, while he was preaching the Word of God before the King and the Bishops, told him roundly, That he wou'd never enjoy any settl'd Peace, unless he remov'd the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Peter Rivallis* from his Councils. And when others who were present protested the same thing, the King began a little to recollect himself, and incline to Reason, and signify'd to the associated Barons that they shou'd come to a Parliament July 11. at *Westminster*, and there by their advice he wou'd rectify what was fit to be amended. But when the Barons had heard that many Freebooters were call'd in by the King with Horses and Arms, and that they had arriv'd by degrees, and but a few at a time, and cou'd see no footsteps of Peace, but likewise suspected the innate Treachery of the *Poitovins*, they let alone going to the Parliament; but they sent him word by solemn Messengers, That setting aside all delay, he shou'd remove the Bishop of *Winchester* and all the *Poitovins* from his Court: But in case he wou'd not, they all by the Common Council of the Kingdom wou'd expel him and his evil Counsellors out of the Realm, and proceed to the Creation of a new King.

The King was struck with this Message, and the Court were very much concern'd at it, fearing lest the Error of the Son shou'd be worse than his Father's, who was very near being driven out of his Kingdom, and making good the Name which was given him by a kind of Presage of *John the Exile*. But Bishop *Peter* gave the King Advice to make War upon these rebellious Subjects, and to bestow their Castles and Lands upon the *Poitouins*, who might defend the Realm of *England* from his Traitors; bragging that he both cou'd and wou'd give deep and not scoundrel Counsel: for time was when he had govern'd the Emperor's Council in the East, and that his Wisdom was formidable both to the *Saracens* and to other Nations. So the King returning again to the Wrong, first wreak'd his Anger upon *Gilbert Basset*, whom, having seiz'd a Mannor of his, and he coming to claim his Right, he call'd Traitor, and threaten'd if he did not get out of his Court to have him hang'd. And he likewise commanded *Richard Seward* a warlike Knight, that had marry'd this *Gilbert's* Sister or Niece without his Licence, as he said, to be taken up. And indeed being jealous of all the other noble and powerful Men of the Kingdom, he requir'd Hostages of them, such and so many as might satisfy him that they wou'd not rebel.

To the Parliament at *Westminster*, August 1. the Earls and Barons came arm'd, and the Earl Marshal was on his way coming to it; but going to lodg at his Sister's House who was Wife to *Richard* the King's Brother, she advertis'd him of his Danger, and that he wou'd be seiz'd. He being a Man of a noble Breast, cou'd not readily believe Woman's Talk till she made it out; and then Night coming on he rid another way, and never drew bit till he came well weary'd into *Wales*. There were many Earls and Barons at this Parliament, but there was nothing done in it because of the absence of the Earl Marshal, *Gilbert Basset*, and some other Lords.

After this the King by the Advice of the Bishop of *Winchester* gave Sammons to all that held of him by Knights Service, to be ready with their Horses and Arms at *Glocester* a week before Assumption-day. And when the Earl Marshal and many others that were associated with him wou'd not come at that appointed time, the King as if they had been Traitors caus'd their Houses to be set on fire, their Parks and Ponds to be destroy'd, and their Castles to be besieg'd. These that were said to be associated were very noble Persons, and there were many others no mean Men that adher'd to them: All these did King *Henry* cause to be proclaim'd Outlaws and banish'd Men without the Judgment of his Court and of their Peers, and gave their Lands to the *Poitouins*, thereby adding Sorrow to Sorrow, and redoubling their Wounds. He gave Commandment likewise that their Bodys shou'd be seiz'd wherever they cou'd be found within the Realm.

In the mean time Bishop *Peter* does what he can to weaken the Marshal's Party, and corrupted the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks (cheap Lords) to leave the Marshal and the Cause of Justice, and to be reconcil'd to the King and be of his side. For as for *Richard* the King's Brother, he was gone off from the Marshal some time before. When the Marshal had heard all this, he enter'd into a Confederacy with *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*, and other Peers of that Country, who swore none of them wou'd make Peace without the other. Within a week's time after the appointed Rendezvous at *Glocester* there arriv'd at *Dover* many arm'd Men from the Parts beyond the Sea, and *Baldwin de Gysnes* with a Force out of *Flanders*, who came to the King at *Glocester*. This Force, with what he had before, made a numerous Army, with which he advanc'd to *Hereford*.

After this the King by the Advice of Bishop *Peter* sends a Defiance to the Marshal by the Bishop of *St. Davids*, and thereupon marches to make War upon him, and lays siege to one of his Castles. But when he had furiously assaulted it many days in vain, and his Army wanted Provisions, so that there was a necessity of raising the Siege, the King grew asham'd of his Enterprize: Whereupon he sent several Bishops to the Earl Marshal to desire him to save the King's Honour, and, that he might not be thought to have made a Siege to no purpose, to surrender him the Castle upon these Conditions: First, That he wou'd after fifteen days restore to the Earl Marshal the Castle again

again intire, and in the same state it was. And Secondly, That in the mean time he wou'd reform and amend all things that were amiss in the Kingdom, by the Advice of the Bishops, who were his Suretys for the Performance of these things. And to perfect and compleat all this, the King appointed the Marshal and the banish'd Lords to come to a Parliament which he meant to hold at *Westminster* the first Week after *Michaelmas*.

When the fifteen Days were out, from the time of the Marshal's Surrender of his Castle into the King's hands, upon condition that after that Term he shou'd have it restor'd to him again, the Marshal sent to the King to desire him to deliver him back his Castle according to the Covenant, of which he had made the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Stephen Segrave* the Justiciar his Suretys, which likewise they had confirm'd by taking an Oath. But the King answer'd with Indignation, That he was so far from restoring him that Castle, that he wou'd sooner subdue all the rest he had. When therefore the Marshal saw that there was no Faith, nor Oath, nor Peace kept by the Counsellors of the King, he gather'd an Army and besieg'd his own Castle, and with little ado won it. The King was at this time holding his Parliament as he had promis'd his great Men, that by their Advice he might redress those things which were amiss; but the evil Counsel he then follow'd did not suffer it to be done. Tho many that were there present humbly besought him for God's sake, that he wou'd make Peace with his Barons and Nobles. And other Persons in favour with the King, namely, the Fryars, Predicants, and Minorites, whom he us'd to reverence and hearken to, these earnestly exhorted him that he wou'd study to carry himself lovingly as he ought to do towards his natural Subjects, whom without Judgment of their Peers he had driven into Banishment, burn'd their Mannor-Houses, cut down their Woods, destroy'd their Ponds; and being led and misled by the bad Counsel of bad Men, sets aside his Lieges whose native Blood wou'd never suffer them to warp, and prefers other whiffling People before them; and which is worse, calls those Traitors by whom he ought to order the Peace and Counsels of the Realm, and settle all Affairs. To this the Bishop of *Winchester* made answer, That the Peers of *England* are not as they are in *France*; and therefore the King may judg and condemn and banish any of them by his own Justices of his own appointing. The Bishops hearing this, as it were with one Voice, fell a threatning that they wou'd excommunicate the principal of the King's evil Counsellors by name; and they nam'd the Bishop himself as the Ring-leader of them, and his Kinsman *Rivallis*, the Justiciar, and the Treasurer. To whom the Bishop answering, alledg'd, That he was consecrated Bishop at *Rome* by the Pope, and so was exempted from their Power, and appeal'd to the Apostolick See. And so the Bishops only excommunicate in general all those that had or shou'd alienate the King's Heart from his natural Subjects of the Realm, and all that shou'd disturb the Peace of the Realm.

In this Parliament the King had Tidings that the Earl Marshal had taken his Castle in *Wales*, and kill'd several of his Knights and Servants. At which the King was much incens'd, and commanded the Bishops to excommunicate him; but it was the Answer of them all, that it wou'd be an unworthy thing to excommunicate a Man for seizing a Castle that was all his own, and for taking possession of his own Right. But the King still enrag'd, summon'd again all his Knights with Horses and Arms to *Glocester*, the morrow after *All-Saints*: and there he gather'd a numerous Army and enter'd *Wales*, breathing and panting after the Destruction of the Marshal. But he like a provident Warrior had beforehand driven away all the Cattle, and withdrawn all Provisions, so that the King had no Subsistence for his Army in those parts, but was forc'd to march another way, and came to the Castle of *Grosmund*. Where while he spent some days, the Marshal and his Associates sent Scouts to discover the Posture of his Army; and on *Marrinmas*-Night all of them but the Marshal who wou'd not invade the King, with a good Army surpriz'd the King's Camp, where they fled away almost naked: and the Conquerors on the other side wou'd not hurt any of them nor take one Prisoner, excepting two Knights, who indiscreetly making Resistance were kill'd, rather by them-

Indiscrete
rebellantes.

selves than by the others. But they took away all their Carriages and Provisions, Money and Arms, and so retir'd again into their strong holds.

I believe such a modest Victory was never read of; and *Mat. Paris* pleasantly calls them for Witnesses of the Truth of this Rout, who run away and lost all they had in it: The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Chichester*, *Segrave* the Justiciar, *Rivallis* the Treasurer, the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Salisbury*, and many more. The King who had been left even as good as alone amidst the Enemies, when all was over, put some of his *Poitovin* Dragoons into his *Welch* Garisons to prevent Incursions; and so return'd to *Glocester*, where he kept his *Christmas*. But in the mean time, on *St. Katherine's-Day*, the Marshal made a great Slaughter of the *Poitovins* at *Monmouth*: and he and the banish'd Lords watch'd the King's Castles so narrowly, that when any went out of them abroad to prey, they took nothing else of them for their Ransom but their Heads; insomuch that in a short time there lay dead such a multitude of these Foreigners in the High-ways and other Places, as infected the Air.

As for the Discourse which pass'd betwixt the Marshal and Friar *Agnellus*, who was Familiar to the King and his Counsellor, and came into *Wales* to tell the Marshal what the King and his Counsellors said of him, and to make Overtures to him, it is too long to be here inserted, but is exceeding well worth the reading as it stands in *Mat. Paris*, p. 391, 392, 393. wherein the Marshal makes such a solid Defence of his whole Proceedings, and discovers so well grounded a Zeal for the Rights of his Country, as is sufficient to inspire every *English* Breast with the Love of a righteous Cause. Friar *Agnellus* tells him that the King's Counsellors wou'd have him submit to the King's Mercy, and that besides other Reasons it was his Interest so to do; because the King was richer and more powerful than he; and as for foreign Aid, where the Marshal cou'd bring one Stranger the King cou'd bring seven. The Marshal replies, It is true, the King is richer and more powerful than I; but he is not more powerful than God, who is Justice it self, in whom I trust in the Maintenance and Prosecution of mine and the Kingdom's Right: nor do I trust in Foreigners, nor will ever seek their Aid, unless, which God forbid, I shall be compell'd to it by some unexpected and immutable Necessity. And I know full well that the King can bring seven to my one; and truly I believe in the way that he is in, he will soon bring more into the Realm, than he will be able to get out again. And after he had answer'd many other Arguments, as that he might confide in the King and his Counsellors, and had reckon'd up many Instances of the Court's Treachery and Breach of their Oaths about *Magna Charta*, and in several other Cases, he says, *Neither wou'd it be for the King's Honour, that I shou'd consent to his Will, which were not supported by Reason; nay therein I shou'd do Injury both to himself and to that Justice which he ought to maintain and exercise towards his Subjects: And I shou'd give a bad Example to all Men of deserting Justice and the Prosecution of Right, for the sake of an erroneous Will, against all Justice, and to the Injury of the Subject; for hereby it wou'd appear that we had more love for our worldly Possessions, than for Righteousness it self.* But I wrong the Discourse, by singling any Particulars out of it.

The King kept his *Christmas* at *Glocester* with a very thin Court, the late Rout at *Grosmund-Castle* having scatter'd them. And the morrow after, *John* of *Monmouth* a Nobleman, one of the King's Warriors in *Wales*, attempting to surprize the Marshal, was entirely defeated with the Loss of a great number of *Poitovins* and others, himself narrowly escaping; which his Estate did not, for the Marshal immediately burnt and destroy'd it. The same did the other exil'd Lords by all the King's Counsellors in those parts; for they had laid down amongst themselves this laudable general Rule, *That they wou'd hurt no Body, nor do them any Damage, but only the evil Counsellors of the King, by whom they had been driven into Banishment, and us'd in the same kind.* And a Week after *Twelfside* the Marshal and *Leoline* enter'd the King's Lands, and laid them waste as far as *Shrewsbury*, the King and Bishop *Peter* being still at *Glocester*; but not having Strength to oppose them, they retir'd to *Winchester*. But the King's Heart was so harden'd against the Marshal by the evil Counsel that he made use of, that when the Bishops admonish'd him to make peace

Qui pro
Justitiâ
decertabat.

with the Marshal who fought for the Cause of Justice, he made answer, That he never would make peace with him, unless he would acknowledg himself a Traitor with a Halter about his Neck.

When the Bishop of Winchester and the other evil Counsellors of the King saw all their measures broken, and the Poitevins thus cut off by the Marshal, despairing ever to overcome him by Force of Arms, they fell to plotting and laying a Train for his Life, which was by a Letter sent into Ireland to this effect: "Whereas Richard late Marshal of the King of England, for his manifest Treason, was by Judgment of the said King's Court banish'd the Realm, and for ever outed of all the Patrimony and Possessions he had, and yet remains in Rebellion: These are therefore to require you, that if he should chance to come into Ireland, you take care to seize him and bring him to the King dead or alive; and for your Care herein the King grants all the Inheritance of all the late Marshal's Lands and Possessions in Ireland, which are now fallen to his disposal, to be shar'd amongst you. And for this Promise of the King to be made good to you, We all, by whose Counsel the King and Kingdom are govern'd, do make our selves Suretys, provided you fail not in the Premises." This Writing was directed to Maurice Fitz-Gerald the King's Justiciar in Ireland, and several other great Men, and some that were Liegemen to the Marshal, but faithless: And after this Writing of unheard of Treason was fram'd, tho the King knew nothing of the Contents of it, yet they compel'd him to put his Seal, and they to the number of eleven put to their Seals, and so sent it over.

This wrought with the Irish Great Men according to the Will of the evil Counsellors, for out of Covetousness they immediately enter'd into the Conspiracy, and privately sent word back, That if the King's Promise were confirm'd to them under the Great Seal, they would do their utmost to effect the Business. Whereupon the said Counsellors with a treasonable Violence, surreptitiously get the Great Seal from the Bishop of Chichester, who did not consent to this Fraud, and so sent a Charter, wherein every particular Man's share is express'd under the Great Seal. As soon as this damnable Writing arriv'd in Ireland, the Conspirators took an Oath to accomplish the thing; and in order to it rais'd an Army, wherewith they invaded his Lands, and took some of his Castles, that by these Injurys they might provoke him, and draw him into Ireland.

While this Irish Plot went on, at Candlemas the King held a Parliament at Westminster, where he grievously accus'd several of the Bishops, and chiefly Alexander of Chester, for holding Correspondence with the Marshal, and for endeavouring to depose him from the Throne of the Kingdom. The said Bishop, to clear himself and the rest of the Bishops, immediately excommunicated all those who had any such wicked Thoughts against the King; and all those who slander'd the Bishops in that sort, who were wholly sollicitous for the King's Honour and Safety. Afterward in this Parliament, Edmund Elect of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops, came to the King, condoling the Desolation both of him and the Kingdom; and as it were with one Heart, and Mind, and Mouth, said: Our Lord the King, we tell you in the Name of God, as your Liegemen, that the Counsel which you now have and use, is neither sound nor secure, but cruel and perilous both to you and the Realm of England; We mean the Counsel of Peter Bishop of Winchester, Peter Rivallis, and their Accomplices: First, because they hate and despise the English Nation, calling them Traitors, and causing them all to be so term'd, thereby turning away your Heart from the Love of your Nation, and our Hearts and the Hearts of the Nation from you; as appears by the Marshal, than whom there is not a better Man in your Land, whom, by dispersing their Lyes on both sides, they have perverted and alienated from you. And by the same Counsel as theirs is, your Father John first lost the Hearts of his Country, and afterwards Normandy, and other Lands; exhausted his Treasure, and almost lost England, and never afterwards had Peace. By the same Counsel several Disasters have happen'd to your self; which they there enumerate. They likewise tell him, by the Faith in which they were bound to him,

him, that his Counsel was not for Peace, but for Breach of Peace, and Disturbance of the Land; that his Counsellors might grow rich by the Troubles of the Nation and the Distress of others, which in Peace they could not compass. Amongst the *Items* of their present Grievances, which it would be too long here to recite, this is one, That these Counsellors confound and pervert the *Law of the Land*, which has bin sworn and corroborated by Excommunication; so that it is very much to be fear'd that they stand excommunicated, and you for intercommuning with them. And they conclude, These things we faithfully tell you, and before God we desire, advise and admonish you, that you remove this Counsel from you; and as the Custom is in other Realms, that you manage your Kingdom by your own faithful sworn Subjects, that are of your own Kingdom. For we assure you, that unless you speedily redress and reform these Grievances, we will proceed to Excommunication, both against you and all other Gainayers, staying no longer than for the Consecration of the Archbishop Elect. And when they had thus said, the King humbly demanded a short Truce, saying, That he could not so suddenly remove his Council, till he had audited an Account of his Treasure committed to them. And so the Parliament broke up, with a Confidence that Peace and an Agreement would be had in a short time.

The Ninth of April there came to Parliament at *Westminster* the King with the Earls and Barons, and the Archbishop lately consecrated with his Suffragans, that they might make some wholesome Provision for the Realm, which was still in Disorder. The Archbishop taking to him the Bishops and the other Prelates, went to the King, and laid before him the bad State and imminent Danger of the Kingdom, and rehears'd all the Grievances which they had mention'd in the last Parliament; and told him plainly, that unless he would speedily rectify his Error, and make peaceable Agreement with his loyal Subjects, he and all the Prelates there would forthwith excommunicate both the King himself, and all that should contradict this Peace and Agreement. But the pious King hearing the Advice of his Prelates, lowly answer'd, That he would be govern'd by their Counsels in all things; so that in few days after seeing his Error, and repenting of it, he dismiss'd Peter of Winchester and Rivallis; and expelling all the *Poitovins* from his Court and Castles, he sent them into their own Country, charging them never to see his Face more. And afterwards being very desirous of Peace, sent Edmund the Archbishop with the Bishops of Chester and Rochester into Wales, to Leoline and the Marshal, to treat of Peace.

With Leoline they might treat, but the Earl Marshal was gone into Ireland, as it had been before projected by the evil Counsellors, to take care of his Castles and Possessions, which he heard were seiz'd and spoil'd: where as soon as he arriv'd, he was waited upon by Geoffrey Marsh his Liegeman, a perfidious old Man, who was one of those to whom the Letter was directed, and was a Sharer in the Lands which were granted by Charter. But having been an old Servant to his Father, and pretending an extraordinary Honour and Affection for the Marshal, he thereby had that Power with him, as to lead him into all the Snares and Traps which were laid for him, and which at last cost him his Life, tho he sold it very dear. The Story is too long for this place, but he fell a noble Sacrifice for the English Libertys, tho neither the first nor the last in that kind.

After Easter the King being willing to meet his Archbishop and Bishops, whom he had sent into Wales, was going to Gloucester, and lay at his Mannor of Woodstock, where Messengers came to him out of Ireland with an account of the Death of the Earl Marshal. Whereupon the King breaking forth into weeping and lamentation, to the admiration of all that were present, made sad moan for the Death of so brave a Knight, constantly affirming that he had not left his Peer in the Kingdom. And immediately calling for the Priests of his Chappel, caus'd an Obsequy to be solemnly sung for his Soul, and on the morrow after Mass bestow'd large Alms upon the Poor. Blessed therefore is such a King, who knows how to love those that offend him, and merit with Prayers and Tears for his faithful Subjects, whom upon false Suggestions he had some time hated. When he came to Gloucester, Edmund

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and the other Bishops met him, and told him that *Leoline* insisted upon it, as a Preliminary of the Peace, That the banish'd Barons shou'd be restor'd. Upon this he summons them to a Parliament at *Gloucester*, to which they come under the safe Conduct of the Bishops, and were restor'd to all their Rights. Afterwards *Edmund* caus'd a Copy of the Letter, concerning the Treachery prepar'd for the Earl Marshal, to be read in full Parliament, at which the King and the whole Assembly wept. And the King confess'd in truth, that being compell'd by the Bishop of *Winchester* and his other Counsellors, he had commanded his Seal to be put to some Letters that were presented to him; but he affirm'd with an Oath, That he never heard the Contents of them. To whom the Archbishop said, King, search your Conscience; for all those that procur'd these Letters to be sent, or were privy to them, are as guilty of the Marshal's Death, as if they had kill'd him with their own hands. Then the King taking Advice, summon'd his Ministers to answer for his Treasure, and the ill use of his Seal when he knew nothing of it: Upon which some took Sanctuary, others absconded, and some fled to *Rome*. *Rivalls* and *Segrave* were afterwards try'd in the King's Bench, where the King himself sitting with the Judges, charg'd them with the Particulars of their evil Counsel, and call'd them wicked Traitors; and they were deeply fin'd. And yet the next Year these two were receiv'd into Grace and Favour again, after he had remov'd many of his new Counsellors and Officers, to the Admiration of his People, and had demanded the Great Seal from the Bishop of *Chester* his Chancellor with a great deal of instance, who had unblameably administer'd his Office, and was a singular Pillar of Truth in the Court. But the Chancellor refus'd it, saying, That having receiv'd the Seal by the Common Council of the Realm, he cou'd not resign it to any one without the like Common Assent.

The Miserys of the Kingdom still go on, and no other can be expected from such a Property of a Prince, who sets his Seal to destroy his best Subjects blindfold, and says his wicked Counsellors compell'd him to it; and after he himself has impeach'd them, and publicly blacken'd them with his own Mouth, and threaten'd to have their Eyes pull'd out, takes them again into his Bosom. And therefore in all the succeeding Parliaments we meet with nothing but their repeated Complaints of the Violations of *Magna Charta*, and their ineffectual endeavours to redress them; feign'd Humiliations and Sorrow on the King's side, with Promises of Amendment, but no Performance; asking for Mony, and then being upbraided with what he had had already, and that at several times he had wasted 800000*l.* since he began to be a Dilapidator and Consumer of the Kingdom: They give him Mony once for all, and he gives them a Charter never to injure them any more in that kind, by requiring any more Aids: and such like Transactions as these, till we come to *Ann. Dom. 1244.* when again he wants Mony. And then upon these following Considerations, That because the Charter of Libertys, which the King had long since granted, and for the Observation whereof *Edmund* the Archbishop had sworn and most faithfully past his Word on the King's behalf, had not hitherto been kept: And because the Aids which had been granted to the King, had turn'd to no Profit of the King or Kingdom: And because of other Grievances which the King promises to redress, the Parliament came to this Resolution, That there shou'd be a Prorogation of three Weeks, and that if in the mean time the King shou'd freely chuse himself such Counsellors, and order the Rights of the Kingdom as shou'd be to their Consent, they wou'd then give him an Answer about the Aid. In these three Weeks the Lords drew up a Provision by the King's Consent, to this effect: Concerning the Libertys at another time bought, granted and confirm'd, that for the time to come they be observ'd. For the greater Security whereof, let a new Charter be made, which shall make special mention of these things. Let those be solemnly excommunicated by all the Prelates, who wittingly oppose or hinder the Observation of these Libertys: and let all those have Reparation made them, who have suffer'd in their Libertys since the last Grant. And because neither by virtue of an Oath then taken, nor for fear of the holy Man *Edmund's* Excommunication, what was then promis'd has hitherto been kept, to avoid the like Peril for the future, lest the latter end be worse than the beginning; Let four Nobles and powerful Men of the discreetest in

the Realm, be chosen by Assent of Parliament to be of the King's Council, and to be sworn, that they will order the Affairs of the King and Kingdom faithfully, and do Justice to all without respect of Persons. These shall follow our Lord the King, and if not all, two at least shall be present to hear all Complaints that come, and to give speedy Relief to those that suffer wrong; they shall supervise the King's Treasure, that the Mony given for Publick Uses be so apply'd. And they shall be Conservators of the Libertys. And because the Chancellor and Justiciar are to be frequently with the King, they being chosen in Parliament may be two of the Conservators. And as they are chosen by the common Assent, so they shall not be remov'd without the same, &c.

And when (says *Mat. Paris*) the great Men in that Recess of three Weeks Pag. 641 had diligently treated of these matters; which were so exceedingly profitable for the Commonwealth; the Enemy of Mankind, the Disturber of Peace, and the Raifer of Division, the Devil, thro the Pope's Avarice, unhappily put a stop to the whole Business. For in this nick of time comes a Legate to raise Mony, with new and unheard of Powers; and this put all into Confusion, and made work for a long time after.

Four Years after this, *A. D.* 1248. a Parliament meets the fennight after Candlemas at London, that they might treat diligently and effectually with our Lord the King of the Affairs of the Realm, which is very much disorder'd and impoverish'd, and enormously maim'd in our Days. The Parliament understanding that the King intended to ask an Aid of Mony, told him that he ought to be asham'd to demand such a thing, especially seeing that in the last Exaction of that kind, to which the Nobles of *England* consented with much Difficulty, he gave them a Charter that he wou'd never burden nor injure them with the like again. He was likewise grievously reprehended, and no wonder, for calling in Aliens, and foolishly squandering the Wealth of the Kingdom upon them; marrying them to his Wards without their Consent, and several other his spendthrift and tyrannous Practices. And one and all they grievously reproach'd him, for not having (as the magnificent Kings his Predecessors had) a Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer, by the Common Council of the Realm, and as is fit and expedient; but such as follow his Will, let it be what it will, so long as it is for their own Gain: and who do not seek the good of the Commonwealth, but their own particular Profit, by gathering Mony, and getting the Wards and Revenues to themselves in the first place. Pag. 743

When our Lord the King heard this, being confounded within himself, he blush'd, knowing that all these things were very true. He therefore promis'd most faithfully that he wou'd readily redress all these things; hoping by this Humility, tho it were feign'd, to incline all their Hearts to grant him an Aid. To whom the whole Parliament, which had been often answer'd with such Promises, upon Advice made Answer, *That it will soon be seen whether the King will reform these things or no, and will manifestly appear in a short time. We will wait a while with patience; and as the King shall carry and behave himself toward us, so he shall have us obedient to him in all things.* Therefore all was adjourn'd and respited to a fortnight after *Midsummer*. But in the mean time our Lord the King, whether it proceeded from his own Spirit, or that of his Courtiers, who were unwilling to lose any thing of their Power, was hardened and more exasperated, and never minded to make the least Reformation of those Abuses according to his Promise.

When the Day appointed came, the Parliament came again to London, with a full belief and trust in the King's firm Promise, that leaving his former Errors, by the Grace of God bestow'd upon him, he wou'd incline to more wholesom Advice. As soon as they were assembl'd, there came this unhand- Illepidum
responsum. som Answer from the King: *All you the principal Men of England, you had a mind to bring the Lord your King to the bent of your uncivil Will and Pleasure, and to impose a very servile Condition upon him; that what every one of you may do at pleasure, shou'd impudently be denied to him; for it is lawful for every body to use whose and what Counsel he will. And so it is lawful for every Master of a Family to prefer any one of his House to this or that Office, or put him by it, or turn him out, which you rashly presume to deny even to your Lord the King. And this Presumption is still the greater, seeing Servants ought by no means to judg their Master,* nor

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nor tie him to their Conditions, nor Vassals to do the like by their Prince; but all Inferiours whatsoever are to be order'd and direct'd by the Will and Pleasure of the Lord and Master: For the Servant is not above his Lord, as neither the Disciple above his Master; and truly he shou'd not be your King, but may pass for your Servant, if he shou'd thus be brought to your Will. Wherefore neither will he remove, nor Chancellor, nor Justiciar, nor Treasurer, as you have propounded to order the matter; neither will he put any other in their room. After the same fashion, says Mat. Paris, there was a cavilling Answer to the other wholesom Articles which were sufficiently for the King's Interest. But he asks of you an Aid of Mony to recover his Rights in the parts beyond the Seas, wherein you your selves are alike concern'd. When therefore the Parliament had heard this, they understood clearer than the Light that all this came from his present Counsellors, whose Reign wou'd be at an end, and be blown away with a puff, if the Baronage of all England might be heard. But seeing themselves craftily answer'd and oppos'd, they all made answer as if it had been precisely with one breath, That they wou'd by no means uselessly impoverish themselves, that Aliens might be proud at their Cost, and to strengthen the Enemy's of the King and Kingdom: Of which they give Instances in what lately happen'd in Poitou and Gascony; where the King upon an Expedition of his own Head, and against their Advice, lost Honour, Treasure, Lands, and wholly miscarry'd. And so the Parliament broke up in the utmost Indignation, every one being disappointed in the great Hopes which they long had from this Parliament: and they carry'd home nothing but, as they us'd to do, contemptuous Usage, with lost Labour and Expences.

Pag. 834.

The Grievances still increase, till we come to a new Confirmation of *Magna Charta*, A. D. 1253. which was upon this occasion. The Pope for Ends of his own sollicit'd the King to undertake an Expedition to the Holy Land, and for his Encouragement granted him the Tenth's of the Revenues of England for three Years. Upon this in a very publick and solemn manner he took upon him the Cross; but some said that he only wore that Badg upon his Shoulders as a good Argument to get Mony. And he swore, That after Midsummer he wou'd begin his Journey for the following three Years, unless he were hinder'd by Death, Sicknes, or some other reasonable Impediment. This Oath he took both after the fashion of a Priest with his Hand upon his Breast, and after the manner of a Layman, laying his Right Hand upon the Book and kissing it; and yet says the Historian, the standers-by were never the surer.

Pag. 849.

But tho the King afterwards produc'd the Pope's Mandate, wherein by the Power given him of God, he granted the King this Tenth, yet the Bishops oppos'd it as an unsufferable Usurpation; which put the King into the most frantick and impotent Rage that ever was describ'd: and tho afterwards he closeted them, yet he cou'd not prevail. At last about Easter a Parliament was call'd. After fifteen Days debate, the Consent of the whole Parliament settl'd in these Resolves, That they wou'd not hinder the King's pious Intention of going to the Holy Land; nor at the same time shou'd the Church and Kingdom suffer damage. They therefore grant the King the Tenth's of all Church-Revenues for three Years, and three Marks escuage upon every Knight's Fee for that Year. And the King on his part promis'd, that in good Faith, and without any Quirks or cavilling Pretences, he wou'd faithfully observe *Magna Charta*, and every Article of it. Tho it was no more than his Father King John had sworn to keep many Years ago, and in like manner the present King at his Coronation, and many a time after, whereby he chous'd the Nation of an infinite deal of Mony.

Accordingly May the 3d, in the great Hall at Westminster, in the Presence and with the Consent of the King and the whole Parliament, the Archbishop and the Bishops in their Pontificals with lighted Candles, past the Sentence of Excommunication against all that shou'd violate the Libertys of the Church, and the Libertys or free Customs of the Realm of England; and those especially which are contain'd in the Charter of the common Libertys of the Realm of England, and of the Forest. And the Charter of King John was accordingly rehears'd and confirm'd. The form of the Excommunication is somewhat large, as being strongly drawn up, and the Anathema's well laid on; it is in

Bacon

Bacon p. 131. And all the while the Sentence was reading, the King laid his Hand spread upon his Breast, chusing to assist with that Ceremony, and not with holding a Wax-Candle, to shew, as he said, *That his Heart went along with it*; and when it was ended, he said these words; *So help me God, I will faithfully keep all these things inviolate, as I am a Man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crown'd and anointed.*

Daniel and *Bacon* are wonderfully taken with the manner of this Confirmation of the Charters, and say that there was never such a solemn Sanction of Laws, *since the Law was deliver'd at Mount Sinai.* But the Renown'd *Robert Grosbeard*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, divining and foreboding in his Heart that the King wou'd fly off from his Covenants, immediately, as soon as he got down into his Bishoprick, caus'd all the Breakers of the Charters, and especially all the Priests that were so, to be solemnly excommunicated in every Parish Church throout his Diocess, which are so many as can hardly be number'd; and the Sentence was such as was enough to make the Ears of those that heard it to tingle, and to quail their Hearts not a little. Pag. 867.

The Parliament being thus ended, the King presently uses the worst Counsel that cou'd be, and resolves to overthrow all that had been thus establish'd: for it was told him, that he shou'd not be King, at least *Lord in England*, if the said Charters were kept; and his Father *John* had Experience of it, and chose rather to die than thus to be tramp'd under foot by his Subjects. And these Whisperers of Satan added moreover, "Take no care tho you incur Ibid.
" this Sentence of Excommunication; for a hundred, or for a brace of hundred Pounds the Pope will absolve you, who out of the Plenitude of his
" Power, what he pleases can either loose or bind: For the greater cannot
" command a greater than he. You will have your Tenth to a Farthing,
" which will amount to very many thousand Marks: and what lessening will
" it be of that inestimable Sum, to give the Pope a small Driblet, who can
" absolve you tho he himself had confirm'd the Sentence, seeing it belongs to
" him to annul, who can enact; nay for a small Gratuity will enlarge the
" Term of Years for the Grant of the Tenth, and will throw you in a Year
" or two?" Which accordingly afterwards came to pass, as the following Narration shall declare. Here is a lost King and a lost Nation: Why shou'd we read any farther?

Two Years after, having spent most of that time in the Wars in *Gascony*, for to the Holy Land he never went, he calls a Parliament at *London* upon *Hoke Day*, which was the fullest Assembly that ever was there seen. In short, the King wants Mony, was in Debt, and wou'd have the Aid from the Barons to be continu'd in proportion to the Tenths, that so, compleating their Tax, he might be bound to give them his Thanks in full. This wou'd have amounted to such a Sum as wou'd have empoverish'd the Realm, and made it defenceless, and expos'd it to Foreigners. Upon Consultation therefore, because that Proposal was impossible, they came to this Concession, "That they Pag. 904.
" wou'd charge and burden themselves much, for to have *Magna Charta* to be
" honestly kept, from that time forth hereafter, without pettifogging Quirks,
" which he had so often promis'd, and sworn and bound himself to it, under
" the strictest Ties that cou'd be laid upon his Soul. They demanded more-
" over to chuse them a Justiciar, Chancellor, and Treasurer, by the Common
" Council of the Realm, as was the Custom from antient Times, and was
" just; who likewise shou'd not be remov'd but for manifest Faults, and by
" the Common Council and Deliberation of the Realm call'd together in Par-
" liament. For now there were so many Kings in *England*, that the antient
" Heptarchy seem'd to be reviv'd." You might have seen Grief in the People's Countenances. For neither the Prelates nor the Nobles knew how to hold fast their *Proteus*, I mean their King, altho he shou'd have granted them all this. Because in every thing he transgresses the Bounds of Truth; and where there is no Truth, no Certainty can be had. It was told them likewise by the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, who were most inward with the King, that he wou'd by no means grant them their Desire about the Justiciar, Chancellor, and Treasurer. Moreover, the Prelates were bloodily griev'd about their Tenth, which they promis'd conditionally, and now were forc'd to
to

to pay absolutely, the Church being us'd like a Servant-Maid. The Nobles were wounded with the Exaction which hung over their Heads, and were bewildered.

At last they all agreed to send a Message to the King in the name of the whole Parliament, that the business shou'd be defer'd till *Michaelmas*. "That in the mean time they might have trial of the King's Fidelity and Benignity, that he proving thus perhaps towards them and their Patience in the keeping the Charter so many times promis'd, and so many times bought out, might turn again and deservedly incline their Hearts towards him; and they, as far as their Power wou'd extend, wou'd obediently give him a Supply." Which when the King did not like, and by giving no Answer did not agree to it, the Parliament after many fruitless Debates, day after day from morning to night, thus broke up; and the Nobles of *England* now made ignoble, went home (then the Parliament did not live at Court in those days) in the greatest Desolation and Despair.

In the same Year arriv'd *Alienor* the King of *Spain's* Sister, whom Prince *Edward* had marry'd, with such a Retinue of *Spaniards* as look'd like an Invasion, who with great Pomp, and all sorts of publick Rejoicings, were receiv'd at *London*; tho with the Scorn and Laughter of the common People at their Pride. But grave Persons and Men of Circumspection pondering the Circumstances of things, fetch'd deep Sighs from the bottom of their Hearts, to see all Strangers so much in request, and the Subjects of the Realm reputed as vile, which they took for a token of their irreparable Ruin. At the same time there was the worst News that cou'd be of a Legat *à latere* coming over arm'd with Legantine Power, who was ready prepar'd in all things to second the King in the Destruction of the People of *England*, and to loose all Gain-sayers and Opposers of the Royal Will, which is a tyrannical one, and to hamper them all in the Bonds of an *Anathema*. Moreover, it terrify'd both the Prelates and Nobles, and sunk them into a bottomless Pit of Desperation, to see that the King by such unspeakable Craftiness had brought in so many Foreigners, dropping in one after another; and by degrees had drawn into Confederacy with him many, and almost all the principal Men in *England*, as the Earls of *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Lincoln* and *Devonshire*, and very many other Noblemen; and had so empoverish'd the natural born Subjects, to enrich his Foreign Kindred and Relations, that in case the Body of the Realm shou'd have thoughts of standing for their Right, and the King were against them, they wou'd have no power to restrain the King and his Foreigners, or be able to contradict them. As for Earl *Richard*, who is reckon'd our greatest Nobleman, he stood neutral. In like manner there were others not daring to mutter or speak within their Teeth. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who ought to be like a Shield against the Assaults of the Enemy, was engag'd in secular Affairs beyond Sea, taking little care of his Flock in *England*. The magnanimous Patriots and hearty Lovers of the Realm, namely the Archbishop of *York*, *Robert Grossthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Warin de Munchensil*, and many others, were dead and gone. In the mean time the *Poitouin* Kindred of the King with the Provincials, and now the *Spaniards* and the *Romans*, are daily enrich'd with the Revenues as fast as they arise, and are promoted to Honours while the *English* are repuls'd.

In this lamentable state was the Nation again, within two Years after the so much magnify'd Confirmation of their Charter, which was indeed perform'd with the greatest Solemnity possible; for Heaven and Earth were call'd to witness it. The Year following, tho *England* still lay under Oppression, yet the *Welsh* were resolv'd to bear the Tyranny no longer, but stood up for their Country and the maintenance of their Laws, and baffl'd several Armys first of the Prince and afterwards of the King. They were ten thousand Horse, and many more Foot; who entering into a mutual Association, swore upon the Gospels, that they wou'd manfully and faithfully fight to the death for the Liberties of their Country and their antient Laws, and declar'd they had rather die with Honour than spin out a wretched Life in Disgrace. At which manly Action of theirs, says the Historian, the *English* ought deservedly to blush, who lay down their Neck to every one that sets his Foot upon it, and truckle under Strangers,

gers, as if they were a sorry diminutive timorous little People, and a raff of Scoundrels.

It is very hard that the English Nation must at the same time suffer by the Welsh in their Excursions upon our Borders, and withal be continually persecuted by this Historian, and upbraided with the Welsh Valour. But so it is, that he cannot mention any English Grievance, but he twits us with the Welsh. Baldwin of Rivers, by the Procurement of our Lady the Queen, marries a certain Foreigner, a Savoyard, of the Queen's Kindred: Now to this Baldwin belongs the County of Devon; and so day by day the noble Possessions of the English are devolv'd upon Foreigners, which the faint-hearted English either will not know, or dissemble their Knowledge, whose Cowardice and supine Simplicity is reprov'd by the Welsh Stomachs. Pag. 944.

In the next Passage we have an account of the King's coming to St. Albans in the beginning of March, and staying there a Week; where all the while this Historian was continually with him at his Table, in his Palace, and Bed-chamber; at which time he very diligently and friendly directed this Writer's Pen: Pag. 945. So that it is not to be expected we shall hear any more of the Welsh. And yet the same Summer, when they baff'd the King's Expedition against them, he rejoices that their martial Business prosper'd in their hands. For he says, that their Cause seem'd to be a just Cause even to their Enemies. And that which hearten'd them most was this, that they were resolutely fighting for their antient Laws and Libertys; like the Trojans from whom they were descended, and with an original Constancy. *Wo to the wretched English that are trampled upon by every Foreigner, and suffer their antient Libertys of the Realm to be puff'd out and extinguish'd, and are not asham'd of this, when they are taught better by the Example of the Welsh. O England! thou art justly reputed the Bondswoman of other Countrys, and beneath them all: What thy Natives earn hardly, Aliens snatch away and carry off!* Pag. 952.

It is impossible for an honest Man ever to hate his Country; but if it will suffer it self to be oppress'd, it justly becomes at once both the Pity and Scorn of every understanding Man, and of them chiefly that love it best. But as we cannot hate our Country, so for the same reason we cannot but hate such a Generation of Men, as for their own little ends are willing to enslave it to all Posterity; wherein they are worse than Esau, for he only sold his own Birth-right for a Mels of Pottage, but not other Folk's too.

In the Year 1258. a Parliament was call'd to London the Day after Hoke Tuesday, for great and weighty Affairs; for the King had engag'd and entangl'd himself in great and amazing Debts to the Pope about the Kingdom of Apulia, and he was likewise sick of his Welsh War. But when the King was very urgent for an Aid of Mony, the Parliament resolutely and unanimously answer'd him, *That they neither wou'd nor cou'd bear such Extorctions any longer.* Hereupon he betakes himself to his shifts to draw in the rich Abbys to be bound for him for Sums of Mony; but tho it was well manag'd, he fail'd in it. And that Parliament was prolong'd and spent in Altercations between the King and the great Men, till the Week after Ascension-Day: For the Complaints against the King were so multiply'd daily, and the Grievances were so many, by the breach of Magna Charta, and the Insolence of the Foreigners, that *Mat. Paris* says it wou'd require special Treatises to reckon up the King's Miscarriages. And the King being reprov'd for them, and convinc'd of the Justness of the Reproof, bethought and humbl'd himself, tho it were late first, and said, *That he had been too often bewitch'd by wicked Counsel:* but he promis'd, which he likewise confirm'd by an Oath taken upon the Altar and Shrine of St. Edward, *That he wou'd plainly and punctually correct his former Errors, and graciously comply with his natural born Subjects.* But his former frequent breach of Oath render'd him incredible, and neither fit to be believ'd nor trusted. And because the great Men knew not as yet how to hold fast their *Prerogues*, which was a hard and difficult matter to do, the Parliament was put off to Barnaby-Day, to be held without fail at Oxford. In the mean time the chief Men of England, namely the Earls of Gloucester, Leicester and Hereford, the Earl Marshal, and other eminent Men, out of a provident Precaution for themselves, associated: and because they were vehemently afraid of the

P. 970.

Treachery of the Foreigners, and much suspected the little Plots of the King, they came arm'd with a good Retinue to Oxford.

There the great Men in the very beginning of the Parliament confirm'd their former Purpose, and immutable Resolution to have the Charter of the Libertys of England faithfully kept and observ'd, which the King had often granted and sworn, and had caus'd all the Bishops of England to excommunicate in a horrible manner all the Breakers of it, and he himself was one of the Excommunicators. They demanded likewise to have a Justiciar that shou'd do equal Justice, and some other publick things which were for the common profit of the King and Realm, and tended to the Peace and Honour of them both. And they frequently and urgently ask'd and advis'd the King to follow their Counsels, and the necessary Provisions they had drawn up; swearing with pledging their Faiths, and giving one another their hands, *That they wou'd not cease to pursue what they had propounded, for the loss either of Money or Lands, or for the Life or Death of Themselves or Theirs.* Which when the King understood, he solemnly swore, *That he wou'd comply with their Counsels, and agree to them:* And Prince Edward took the same Oath. But John Earl of Warren was refractory, and refus'd it, and the King's half Brothers, William of Valence, and others. Then the Sea-ports were order'd to be strictly guarded, and the Gates of London to be close kept a nights, for fear the Foreigners shou'd surprize it. And when they had spent some days in deliberating what was to be done in so weighty an Affair, as repairing the State of a broken shatter'd Kingdom was, they confirm'd their purpose with renewing their Covenants and Oaths, *That neither for Death, nor Life, nor Freehold, for Hatred or Affection, or any other way, they wou'd be bias'd or slacken'd from purging the Realm, of which they and their Progenitors before them were the native Offspring, and clearing it of an Alien-born Brood, nor from the procuring and obtaining good and commendable Laws:* And if any man, whoever he be, shou'd be refractory, and oppose this, they wou'd compel him to join with them whether he wou'd or no. And tho the King and Prince Edward had both sworn before, yet Prince Edward, as he cou'd, refus'd this Oath, and so did John Earl of Warren. But Henry Son to Richard King of the Romans, was doubtful and unresolv'd; saying, *That he cou'd not take such an Oath, unless it were with his Father's leave and advice.* To whom the Barons publicly made answer, *That if his Father himself wou'd not agree to it, he shou'd not hold one Furrow of Land in England.* The King's half Brothers were very positive, and swore bloodily that they wou'd never part with any of the Castles, Revenues and Wards which their Brother had freely given them as long as they breath'd. But while they were asserting this, and multiplying Oaths not fit to be rehears'd, the Earl of Leicester made answer to William de Valence, who was more swoln and haughty than the rest: *Know for certain, that either you shall give up the Castles which you have from the King, or you shall lose your Head.* And the other Earls and Barons firmly attested the same. The Poitovins therefore were in a great fright, not knowing what to do: For if they shou'd retire to some Castle, wanting provisions, they wou'd soon be starv'd out: *For the Body of the common People of the Realm, without the Nobles, wou'd besiege them, and utterly raze their Castles.* Whereupon at dinner-time they stole away, as if it had been to go to Dinner, and took their flight to Winchester. When the great Men were advertis'd that the Poitovins had thus taken their flight towards the Sea-side, fearing lest they might be gone to bring in foreign Aid (I suppose they had not forgot how R. John serv'd his Barons) they thought all delays dangerous in such a matter, and therefore immediately muster'd all their Force to look after them.

Universitas
enim Regni
popularis, et
non nobiles,
Ec.

P. 973.

The Barons on the 15th of July dismiss'd the Poitovins, and commended them to the Seas in their passage to France, where they met with sorry welcome, but at last were sent home with a safe Conduct. But the Barons took care to send them from hence as bare as they came; for Richard Gray, Governor of Dover, by their order, seiz'd all their Money, and it was appointed to be laid out for the publick Uses of the Realm. On the 20th of the same Month came Commissioners of the Parliament to London, and conven'd all the Citizens, otherwise call'd Barons, of the whole City; and in the Hall which

is

is call'd *Gildehall*, they ask'd them if they wou'd faithfully obey the Statutes of the Parliament, and immutably adhere to them, manfully resisting all Opposers, and effectually aiding the Parliament? Which when they had all of them freely granted, they gave the Commissioners a Charter of this their Grant, seal'd with the common Seal of the City. But they did not as yet make publick Proclamation of these Statutes, because they were in confusion about the Earl of *Glocester's* being poison'd, and his Brother (as were several others) which, as appear'd afterwards, was the *Poitovins* farewell.

And then in this solicitous and weighty Affair, and in this most happy Renovation and right ordering of the whole Realm, *Fulk* Bishop of *London* Pag. 974. was more lukewarm and remiss than became him, or was expedient; whereby he so much the more smutt'd and blacken'd his Fame, by how much he had formerly been more generous than others. And so the Barons having repos'd their Hopes in his Breast, he provok'd many of them to Anger by his falling off, when by this means they believ'd they shou'd set the King right with his People. But that which frighted them beyond all things was, the King's Mutability and unsearchable Doubleness, which they perceiv'd by a terrible Word he let fall. Being one day upon the *Thames* in his Barge, a sudden Storm of Thunder and Lightning arose, which he dreaded above all things; and therefore immediately order'd to be set ashore, which happen'd to be at *Durham-house*, where the Earl of *Leicester* then lay: Which when the Earl understood, he runs joyfully to meet him, and reverently saluted him according to his Duty; and chearing him, said, *You have no occasion to be concern'd at the Tempest, for now it is over.* To whom the King reply'd in the greatest earnest, and with a stern Countenance, *I am indeed afraid of Thunder and Lightning above measure; but, with a horrid Oath, I dread thee more than all the Thunder and Lightning in the World.* To which the Earl gave a mild and gentle Answer, and only let him know he had a wrong Opinion of him. But all Men did suspect this amazing Expression proceeded from hence, that the Earl had been a main Man in establishing the Provisions at *Oxford*.

This boded ill to those Provisions, and accordingly in a short time the King sent privately to the Pope, to be absolv'd from his Oath whereby he was bound to keep them: which he easily obtain'd, not only for himself, but for all that had taken it, whereby all those that he cou'd any way corrupt, were free to be of his Party.

The next Year the King kept his *Christmas* at the Tower with the Queen; and being by the Instigation and wicked Counsel of some about him render'd wholly averse to the Covenant which he had made with his Parliament, he contriv'd how to publish his Aversion and Indignation against it. In order to which he kept his Residence in the Tower; and having broke open the Locks to come at the Treasure, which was deposited there * ab antiquo (which I suppose was some antient Heirloom or publick Stock of the Kingdom, kept there as a Reserve against some great Emergency, for it is plain he had not the Keys of it) he brought it out to spend. After this he hires Workmen to repair and fortify the Tower, and orders the City of *London* to be put in a posture of Defence, and all the Inhabitants of it from twelve Years old and upwards swear Fidelity to him; and the Common Cryer made Proclamation, That whoever was willing to serve the King, shou'd come away cheerily, and enter into his Pay. And then he took his time to publish the Pope's Bull of Absolution from the Oath, which was done at the *Paul's-Cross* Sermon.

Upon notice of these things, there was a great Confluence of the Barons from all parts, with a great Strength of arm'd Men, who came and lay in the Suburbs; for they were not suffer'd to come within the City. But from thence the Barons sent Messengers to the King, and humbly besought him, *That he wou'd inviolably keep the common Oath which all of them had taken; and if any thing displeas'd him, that he wou'd shew it to them, that they might amend it.* But he by no means consenting to what they offer'd, answer'd harshly and threateningly, *That because they had fail'd in their*

* *Vid. Artic. 24. in depositione R. 2. Thesaurum, coronas, reliquias, & alia jocalia, videlicet bona regni, quæ ab antiquo dimissa fuerant in Archivis Regni, pro honore Regis & conservatione Regni sui in omnem eventum, abstulit, &c. rotulos Recordorum, statum & gubernationem Regni sui tangentium deleri & abradi fecit, &c. there went, Habent enim ex antiquo statuto, &c. Decem. Scrip. 2752.*

Agreement, he wou'd comply with them no more, but that from henceforth every one shou'd prepare for his own Defence. At length by the Mediation of some Persons the Business was brought to this Issue, That the King shou'd chuse one Person, and the Barons another; which two shou'd chuse a third, who having heard the Complaints on both sides, shou'd establish a lasting Peace and Agreement betwixt them. But this Treaty was allow'd to be put off till the Return of Prince Edward, who was then beyond Sea.

The Prince hearing this, made haste home, that the Peace might not be delay'd by his absence; who when he came, and found what vain Counsels the King had taken, was very angry, and absented himself from his Father's Presence, adhering to the Barons in this behalf, as he had sworn: And they enter'd into a Confederacy with one another, That they wou'd seize the King's evil Counsellors, and their Abettors, and to the utmost of their Power remove them from the King. Which when the King understood, he betook himself with his Counsellors into the Tower, his Son and the great Men abiding still without.

The next Christmas we find him still in the Tower, with the Queen and his Counsellors, that were neither profitable to him, nor faithful. Which Counsellors fearing to be assaulted, got a Guard, and kept close in the Tower. At length, by the Queen's means, with much ado, some of the great Men were reconcil'd, and made Friends with them. When this was done, the King ventur'd himself out of the Tower, leaving the Command of it to John Mansel (his principal Counsellor, and the richest Clergy-man in the World) and went down to Dover, where he enter'd the Castle, which was neither offer'd him nor deny'd him. And there the King found how he had been impos'd upon, when he saw a Castle so carefully guarded by a Guard of the Barons, lie open to him. When he went away, he committed the Charge of that Castle to E. de Waleram. He went likewise to Rochester Castle, and several others, and found Ingress and Regress at his Pleasure. It is plain they only kept them for the King.

At that time the King thinking himself secure, resolv'd openly to depart from his Oath, of which the Pope had given him a Release. He went therefore round about to several Citys and Castles, resolving to take them and the whole Kingdom into his Hands, being encourag'd and animated thereto, because the King of France, together with his Great Men, had lately promis'd to assist him with a great Force. Coming therefore to Winchester, he turn'd his Justiciar and Chancellor, that were lately instituted by the Parliament, out of their Offices, and created *beneficito* new ones. Which when the Barons heard, they hasten'd with a great Power towards Winchester; of which John Mansel having timely notice, went privately down to the King, and sufficiently inform'd him of his Danger, and fetcht him hastily back again to the Tower of London.

There the King kept his next Christmas with the Queen and his Counsellors: At which time it was greatly labour'd, both by the Bishops of England and the Prelates of France, to make Peace betwixt the King and Barons; and it came to this issue: That the King and the Peers shou'd submit themselves to the Determination of the King of France, both as to the Provisions of Oxford, and the Spoils and Damages which had been done on both sides.

Accordingly the King of France calls a Parliament at Amiens, and there solemnly gives Sentence for the King of England against the Barons; Whereby the Statutes of Oxford, Provisions, Ordinances and Obligations, were wholly annul'd, with this Exception: That by that Sentence he did in no wise intend to derogate at all from the ancient Charter of John King of England, which he granted to his Parliament, or whole Realm. Which very Exception compell'd the Earl of Leicester, and all that had their Senses exercis'd, to continue in their Resolution of holding firmly the Statutes of Oxford; for they were founded upon that Charter.

Presently after this they all came home that had been present at the French Parliament; the King of England, the Queen, Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Hereford, and John Mansel, who ceas'd not plotting and devising all the Milchief they cou'd against the Barons. From that time

things grew worse and worse; for many Great Men left the Earl of Leicester and his righteous Cause, and went off perjur'd. Henry Son to the King of the Romans, having receiv'd the Honour of Tichiel, which was given him by the Prince, came to the Earl, and said, My Lord Earl, I cannot any longer be engag'd against my Father King of Germany, my Uncle King of England, and my other Relations; and therefore with your good Leave and Licence, I mean to depart; but I will never bear Arms against you. To whom the Earl cheerfully reply'd, Lord Henry, I am not at all troubled about your Arms, but for the Inconstancy which I see in you: Therefore pray go with your Arms, and, if you please, come back with your Arms; for I fear them not. At that time Roger de Clifford, Roger de Lihern, John de Vallibus, Hamon le Esfrange, and many others, being blinded with Gifts, went off from their Fidelity, which they had sworn to the Barons for the common Good.

In commune.

If M. Paris had been alive, he wou'd have told us a piece of his mind concerning this false step of the Barons, in putting their Coat to Arbitration, and submitting the English Laws to the Determination of an incompetent Foreigner. But we lost this noble Pen Ann. Dom. 1259. that is, about four Years ago, presently after the Establishment of the Provisions at Oxford: So that what has since follow'd, is taken out of the Continuator of his History, who out of Modesty has forbore to set his Name, as being unworthy, as he says, to *unloose the Latchet of that venerable Man's Shoe*. But we are told that it was William Rishanger, who succeeded Mat. Paris in the same Employment, and prosecuted the History to the end of H. 3. I know not by what misfortune we have lost his Provisions of Oxford, which p. 975. he says are written in his *Addamenta*: for certain it was by no neglect or omission of his, because he dy'd with them upon his Heart. For the last Passage but one that he wrote, was the Death of Fulk Basset Bishop of London (whom we saw above he tax'd formerly upon the same account) who, says he, was a noble Person, and of great Generosity; and if he had not a little before stagger'd in their common Provision, he had been the Anchor and Shield of the whole Realm, and both their Stay and Defence. It seems his faulting in that main Affair was what Matthew could never forgive him alive nor dead. And indeed this could not but come unexpectedly from such a Man, who had been always firm and honest to that degree, as to tell the King, when he arbitrarily threaten'd him for some incomppliance of his to turn him out of his Bishoprick: Sir, says he, *when you take away my Advice, I shall put on a Headpiece*.

And therefore the Annals of Burton are a very valuable piece of Antiquity, because they have supply'd that defect, and have given us both a Latin and French Copy of those Provisions. It wou'd be too large, as well as beside my purpose, to set them down. In short, whereas by Magna Charta in King John's time there were twenty five Barons (whereof the Lord Mayor of London was one) appointed to be Conservators of the Contents of that Charter, with full Power to distress the King, in case Grievances, upon notice given, were not redress'd within forty days: on the other hand, in this Provision of Oxford, which seems to be the easier, as much as Prevention of Grievances is better than the Cure of them, there were twenty four of the greatest Men in England ordain'd, twelve by the King himself, and twelve by the Parliament, to be a standing Council, without whose Advice nothing was to be done. These were to have Parliaments three times a Year, where the Barons might come, but the Commons were excus'd from coming to save Charges. No wise Man will say that this was the English Constitution; but these were necessary Alterations by way of Remedy, till they shou'd be able to bring the Government into the right Channel again: For the Provisions of Oxford were only provisional, like the *Interim* in Germany before the Reformation; and to continue no longer than as so many Scaffolds, till the Ruins of the Realm were repair'd. Accordingly the utmost Provision that I find was but for twelve Years, as we have it in the Oath of the Governours of the King's Castles, in these words.

Ceo est le serment de les gardens des Chastels firent. Ke al les Chastels le Roi leaument e on bone ses garderunt al ois le Roi et ses boyes. E ke eus les rendrunt al Roi u a ses boyes et a nul autre, et par son conseil et en nul autre manere;
Ann. Burton, p. 413.
Ceo

Ceo est a saver par prodes homes de la terre estuz a son Cunsail; u par la greimire partie. E ceste furme par esoris dura deske a duze ans. E de illoke en avant per cest establement et cest serment ne seint constreint ke franchement ne las pussent rendre al Rei u a ses heirs. So that the Barons of England were certainly in the right, when they said, that the Provisions of Oxford were founded upon the Magna Charta which the French King and Parliament allow'd; for every greater contains in it the less, and the Power of the twenty five Conservators of Magna Charta is visibly greater than that of the twenty four Counsellors at Oxford, as much as the Power of Coercion and Punishing is above that of Directing.

Pag. 997.

The French King and Parliament were so far Partys, that (as we saw before) they had promis'd the King a powerful Assistance; which gave him Encouragement so openly to break his Oath, and undo what he had done: Which certainly the Barons did not then know, or else they wou'd have been very far from submitting to their Determination; especially when they cou'd get nothing by it. For if it had proceeded in favour of them, they only had been where they were before, a foreign Confirmation adding no Authority to English Laws; and that Determination that was made, only serv'd to puzzle the Cause, and to bring a War upon them, which it must be intended this unwise Expedient was to prevent.

Pag. 992.

The first Aggressor in this War was Roger Mortimer, who invaded and ravag'd the Lands of Simon Monfort; but he was soon even with him: The Prince likewise took several Castles; and Robert Ferrars Earl of Derby, who was of neither side, took that opportunity to seize and plunder the City of Worcester, and do a deal of Mischief, for which he was afterwards sent Prisoner to the Tower. The Barons Army easily retook what was taken, and march'd towards London, where John Mansel Lieutenant of the Tower, fearing he shou'd be severely handled by the Barons, for he was the most special Counsellor the King and Queen had, run away by stealth. The King likewise fearing lest the Barons Army shou'd besiege him in the Tower, by the Mediation of some that were afraid as well as he, yielded to an Agreement with the Barons, tho it afterwards prov'd to be but short-liv'd, and promis'd to keep the Provisions of Oxford: But the Queen, instigated with a feminine Malice, oppos'd it all she cou'd. The Form of this Peace betwixt the King, the Earl and Barons, was upon these Conditions: 1. That Henry Son of the

Pag. 993.

King of the Romans (who was then the King's Prisoner) shou'd be releas'd. 2. That all the King's Castles throughout England shou'd be deliver'd up to the Custody of the Barons. 3. That the Provisions of Oxford be inviolably kept. 4. That all Foreigners by a set time shou'd evacuate the Kingdom, excepting those whose stay here shou'd be allow'd by common Consent, as trusty to the Realm (perhaps not a quarter of the number which we have in one Naturalization Act.) That for the time to come the Natives of England, who are faithful and profitable to the Realm, may have the ordering of all Affairs under the King.

Pag. 998.

These things being thus covenanted, in a little while after, Facts, Promises, Oaths notwithstanding, several Knights on the King's part stor'd Windsor Castle with a great quantity of Provisions and Arms, and they and the Prince began a new War. This War lasted with great variety of strange Successes on both sides for several Years, till the Earl of Leicester was overthrown and slain in the Battel of Evesham. Upon which the Historian says; "And thus ended his Labours that great Man Earl Simon, who spent, not only his, but himself in behalf of the oppress'd, in asserting a just Cause, and maintaining the Rights of the Realm. He undertook this Cause, in which he fought to the Death, by the advice, and at the instance of the blessed Robert Grossthead Bishop of Lincoln, who constantly affirm'd, that all that dy'd for it were crown'd with Martyrdom."

Pag. 999.

After this deciding Battel the Prince follow'd his Blow, by advising his Father to call a Parliament forthwith, before his Victory cool'd; which accordingly met at Winchester, September 8. whereas the Fight was August 5. before. In this Parliament they did what they wou'd with the Earl's broken and dispers'd Party: The chief of them were imprison'd to be punish'd at the King's Will; the City of London disfranchis'd for their Rebellion; all that took part

with Earl Simon disinherited, whose Lands the King presently bestow'd upon those that had stuck faithfully to him, as a Reward of their Merit. Octobon the Legate also call'd a Council at Northampton, and there excommunicated all the Bishops and Clergy that had aided and favour'd Earl Simon against the King; namely, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Worcester, and Chichester: Of whom the Bishop of Worcester poorly died (*vilitur*) in few days after this Sentence; but the other three went to Rome to make their Peace with the Pope. In short, he excommunicated all others whatsoever that had been against the King. Pag. 1001.

The disinherited Barons thought never the worse of their Cause for this Overthrow, but still continu'd in Arms for three years after. And tho they were forc'd to fly from place to place, and live as they cou'd, yet they seem to be the Conquerors. For their Answer to the Legate's Message to them in the Isle of Ely shews them to be Men of great Wisdom, Integrity and Constancy; and their Demands likewise are like themselves. For they require the Legate to restore the Council of the whole Realm, which he had irreverently ejected out of the Realm, the Bishops of Winchester, London and Chichester, Men of great Counsel and Prudence, for want of whom the Nation sunk. They require him to admonish the King to remove Aliens from his Council, by whom the Land is held in Captivity: That their Lands may be restor'd them without Redemption at seven years purchase, which was lately allow'd them at Coventry: That the Provisions of Oxford be kept: That Hostages be deliver'd them into the Isle of Ely, and they to hold that place peaceably for five years, while they shall see how the King performs his Promises. And after this they reckon up several Grievances, as the Collation of Benefices upon Strangers, which are for the Livelihood and Maintenance of Natives only, &c. All which they admonish the Legate to see amended. Pag. 1004.

"Thus they treat, says Daniel, not like Men whom their Fortunes had laid upon the Ground, but as if they had been still standing; so much wrought either the opinion of their Cause, or the hope of their Party. But this Stubborness so exasperates the King, as the next Year following he prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them up; and Prince Edward with Bridges made on Boats enters the same, to whom some of them yielded themselves, and the rest were dispers'd by Flight." Dan. p. 183.

He needed not to have been at such a loss for a Reason of these Mens resolute Behaviour, much less to have miscall'd it, if he had heeded the fourth Article of their Answer to the Legate, which he has translated to loss. To the fourth they say, That their first Oath was for the Profit of the Realm, and the whole Church; and all the Prelates of the Kingdom have past the Sentence of Excommunication against all that contravene it: and being still of the same mind, they are ready prepar'd to die for the said Oath. Wherefore they require the Legate to recal his Sentence of Excommunication, otherwise they appeal to the Apostolick See, and even to a General Council, or if need were to the Sovereign Judge of all. Pag. 1003.

Now they that had this sense of their Duty, and of the publick Good, tho they were lost Men in the eye of the World, cou'd not chuse but stand upon their Terms; neither cou'd they abate one jot of a righteous Cause, which was all they had left to support them. And that was enough; for he that is in the right, is always superiour to him that is in the wrong.

The Parliament at Winchester seems to have sat in hot Blood, but that King's succeeding Parliaments were far from suffering him to be absolute and arbitrary, tho there was never a Rebel amongst them. For the Parliament at Bury gave nothing but very smart Denials to his and the Legate's scarvy Petitions, *Petitiones pessimas*, as they call'd them, which were contain'd in eight Articles. The first was, That the Prelates and Rectors of Churches shou'd grant him the Tenth for three Years to come, and for the Year last past so much as they gave the Barons for guarding the Sea against Strangers. Answ. To this they gave answer, That the War began by unjust Covetise, and is not yet over (the Isle of Ely being not then reduc'd) and it were necessary to let alone such very bad Petitions as these, and to treat of the Peace of the Realm, and to convert his Parliament to the Profit of Church and Kingdom, not to the Extortion of Pence, especially when the Land is so far destroy'd by the War, that it will be a long time, if ever, before it recover. The seventh is in the Pope's behalf, for the speedy preaching up of a Crusado throuout all England. Answ. To this they made answer, That the People of the Pag. 1002.

Land

Land is in a great part destroy'd by the War; and if they shou'd now engage in a Crusado, few or none wou'd be left for the Defence of their Country: whereby it is manifest, that the Legate wou'd have the natural Progeny of the Land into Banishment, that Strangers might the more easily conquer the Land. Art. 8. Also it was said, That the Prelates were bound to agree to all these Petitions nolens volens, because of their late Oath at Coventry, where they swore they wou'd aid our Lord the King, all manner of ways they cou'd possibly. Answ. To this they made answer, That when they took that Oath, they did not understand by it any other Aid but ghostly and wholesom Advice. A very trim Answer. And all the rest are much after the same fashion. And to conclude this whole Reign, at his last Parliament at Marleburgh, Magna Charta was confirm'd in all its Points.

Thus have I brought down the History of Magna Charta to the end of Henry the Third, wherein you have a short, but punctual Account of that Affair, and the true face of things. For I have told the Story with the same Air the Writer himself does, and have been so faithful in the Relation as to keep close to his very Phrase; whereby in several places it is the worse English, tho the better History. As for the Writer himself, he was the most able and sufficient, and the most competent that cou'd be, writing upon the Spot, and having all the Advantages which, added to his own Diligence, cou'd give him true Information. For he was Historiographer Royal to King Henry the Third, and invited by him to the Familiarity of Dining; and being in frequent Conference with him, was directed by him to record several Matters, and to set them down in indelible Characters, which I believe his will prove. And as to his Integrity no Man can suspect him, unless it be for being partial on the Court side, as being in their pay: But his Writings shew that he was above that mean Consideration; and tho he gives the King a Cast of his Office where he can, and relates things to his advantage, yet he has likewise done right to the Barons, and was a faster Friend to Truth than to either of them. And accordingly in King Edward the First's Claim to a Superiority over the Kingdom of Scotland, this very Writing is brought as authentick History concerning what pass'd at York, 35 H. 3. and is cited by the name of the Chronicle of St. Albans. In one thing he excels, which is owing to the Largeness and Freedom of his Converse with Persons of the first Quality, that he not only records barely what was done, but what every body said upon all occasions, which (as Baronius says it is) makes it a golden Book. For Mens Speeches give us great light into the meaning of their Actions, which is the very inside of History.

In this History of Magna Charta, the History of the Barons Wars was necessarily involv'd, so that in writing one I must write both; for, as you see, they were wholly undertaken for recovering and maintaining the Rights of the Kingdom contain'd in that Charter, and were in affirmance of it. Whereby they that have been told the Barons Wars were a Rebellion, may know better; and every honest Man will find their Cause to be so just, that if he had liv'd in those Days he must have join'd in it; for so we did lately in the Fellow to it, at our present Revolution. It is well indeed for us that our Ancestors liv'd before us, and with the Expence of their Blood recover'd the English Rights for us, and sav'd them out of the Fire; otherwise we had been seal'd up in Bondage, and shou'd have had neither any English Rights to defend, nor their noble Example to justify such a Defence, but shou'd have been in as profound an Ignorance that ever there were any such Rights, as the Barons themselves were of H. I's Charter. For in all the Steps the Barons took we follow'd them. Did they take Arms for the Security of their Libertys? so did we. Did they withdraw their Allegiance from an arbitrary and perjur'd King? so did we. Did they set another over his head, and proceed to the Creation of a new King? so did we. And if we had miscarry'd in our Affair, we had not been call'd Rebels, but treated as such; and the Bishop of London and all our Worthys had made but a blue business of it, without putting on the Prince of Orange's Livery. And therefore it is great Ingratitude in those that receive any Benefit or Protection by this happy Revolution, to blemish the Cause of the Barons, for it is the same they live by; and as for those that had a hand in it,

to call the Barons Cause a Rebellion, is utterly unaccountable, and like Men that are not of their own side.

Leaving therefore the proper Work of reproaching and reviling both these as damnable Rebellions to the People at *St. Germans*, and the harder work of proving them so, I shall undertake the delightful Task of doing Service to this present rightful Government, and at the same time of doing right to the Memory of our antient Deliverers, to whom we owe all that distinguishes the Kingdom of *England* from that of *Ceylon*. It had been wholly needless to have written one word upon this Subject, if this Affair had ever been set in a true light, as it lies in Antiquity; or if our modern Historians had not given a false turn to so much of the matter of fact as they have related, and ruin'd the Text by the Comment. Mr. *Daniel* has done this very remarkably; for after he has given us enough of this History to justify the Barons Proceedings, and they had gain'd the Establishment of *Magna Charta*, he begins his Remarks upon it in these words: "And in this manner (tho it were to be wish'd it had not been in this manner) were recover'd the Rights of the Kingdom." Dan. p. 144:

Now tho if it had not been done in this manner, it had not been done at all; and tho he allows it to be the Recovery of their own, *the Rights of the Kingdom*, which one wou'd think a very just and necessary work; yet this shrug of a With leaves an Impression upon his Reader, as if the way wherein they recover'd them were unwarrantable. On the other side, King *John* wou'd not allow them to be the Rights of the Kingdom at no hand, but vain, superstitious, unreasonable Demands; the Barons might as well ask him his Kingdom; and he swore he wou'd never grant them such Libertys, as shou'd make himself to be a Slave. So that I have two things to shew: 1st. That they were verily and indeed the Kingdom's Rights; and 2^{ly}. That they were very fairly recover'd; and that the Barons were in the right both as to Matter and Substance, and no way reprovable for Manner and Form. M. Par. p. 254:

The Charter of *H. 1.* was what the Barons went by, and so must we; where towards the latter end we find these words: *Lagam Regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus, quibus Pater meus eam emendavit, consilio Baronum suorum.* I restore you the Law of King *Edward*, with those Amendments my Father made to it by the Advice of his Parliament. Here was no new Grant, he barely made Restitution, and gave them back their own. And so we find it in his Father's time. *Ces sont les Lois & les Custumes que le Reis Wil. grentat a tut le puple de Engleterre apres le Conquest de la terre. Ice les mesmes que le Reis Edward sun cousin tint devant lui.* He grants them the self-same Laws and Customs, which his Cousin *Edward* held before him. Or, as *Ordericus Vitalis* a Norman has it, p. 507. *Angli concessit sub Legibus perseverare patriis:* He granted to the English that they might persevere in the Laws of their Fathers. So that in effect he granted Englishmen to be Englishmen, to enjoy the Laws they were born to, and in which they were bred; their Fathers Laws, and their Mother Tongue. A Country-man wou'd call this a Pig of their own Sow. And yet this Grant by way of Charter, and under Seal, whereby he gave them their own, and quitted all Claim to it himself, was look'd upon as the utmost Confirmation and Corroboration, and the last degree of Settlement amongst the Normans. And therefore tho King *William* was too strong for his own Charter, and shamefully broke it, yet they covenanted with his Son *H. 1.* before they chose him King, that as soon as he was crown'd he shou'd give them another, which accordingly he did. In the same manner they dealt with King *Stephen*. And this made them covenant after the same manner with King *John* before they admitted him to the Crown; and so much insisted afterwards upon having his Charter, and having their Libertys secur'd and fortify'd with his Seal, *Sigillo suo munitas*, as they term'd it. For in those Days, what was not under Seal, was not thought good in Law: and not long before in *H. 2d's* time, the Bishop of *Lincoln* in a Trial before the King, was for setting aside all the Saxon Kings Charters granted to the Abby of *St. Albans*, for want of a Seal; till the King seeing a Charter of *H. 1.* which confirm'd them all, Why In vici Abb. here, says he, is my Grandfather's Seal; this Seal is the Seal of all the Original Charters; as much as if it were affix'd to every one of them. "Which wise Decision of a young King was thought like Solomon's Judgment in finding out the

the true Mother. For the *St. Albans* men had no way of answering their Adversarys Objection, That all Privileges that wanted Seals are void, because they could not absolutely say there were no Seals in the Saxon times, there being a Charter of *Edward the Confessor*, granted to *Westminster Abbey* with a Seal to it. But they might easily have bethought themselves that he was more than half a *Norman*.

Now these being the undoubted Rights of the Kingdom, their antient Laws, and Libertys, and Birthright, we have the less reason to be solicitous in what manner they shall at any time recover them: let them look to that, who violently or fraudulently keep them from them. For it would be a ridiculous thing in our Law, for a Man to have an Estate in Land, and he could not come at it. The Law will give him a Way. If the Law gives the King Royal Mines, it gives him a Power to dig in any Man's Land where they are, that he may come at his own. And so if a Nation have Rights, all that is necessary for the keeping and enjoying them, is by Law included in those Rights themselves, as pursuant to them.

But because this is a great Point, and I wou'd willingly leave it a clear one, I shall shew that the Barons proceeded legally in their whole Affair, and according to the known Principles of the *English Government*; and that all the Pope's infallible Bribe Arguments against them, which have been since plentifully transcrib'd, are nothing worth.

I might indeed content my self with the short blunt Argument of Mr. *Selden*, who was known to have the Learning of twenty Men, and Honesty in proportion. 1. That the Custom and Usage of *England* is the Law of *England*, as the Usage of *Parliament* is the Law of *Parliament*. Now the Ancestors of *King John's* Barons recover'd their Rights in the same way. This was done in

* M. Paris in vit. Frederici Abb. p. 48. Videntes igitur Angli rem agi pro capitibus, plures convocando exercitum numerosum ac forissimum conflaverunt.

† Cœpit igitur Rex vehementer sibi rimere, ne totum Regnum, quod tanti sanguinis effusione adquisierat, turpiter amitteret, etiam trucidatus.

ges violans memoratas, suos Normannos, in suorum hominum Anglorum naturalium quibus ipsum sponte sublimaverunt provocationem, locupletavit.

William the First's time, in the fourth Year of his Reign, when they * rais'd a great Army; and it was time, seeing that all they had lay at stake under a cruel and insolent Prince. Whereupon † *King William* being in a bodily fear of basely losing the whole Kingdom, which he had gain'd with the Effusion of so much Blood, and of being cut off himself, call'd a Parliament to

Barkhamsted, where he swore over again to observe inviolably the good, antient, approv'd Laws of the Realm, and especially the Laws of *King Edward*. How inviolably he afterwards kept that Oath,

and how he || enrich'd his Normans with the Spoils of his own natural

Men the English, who of their own accord prefer'd him to the Crown,

I had rather the Reader himself shou'd find out, by his own perusal of that instructive piece of History. 2. The *English Government* is upon Covenant and Contract. Now it is needless

in Leagues and Covenants to say what shall be done in case the

Articles are broken. If Satisfaction be deny'd, the injur'd Party must get it as he can. Taking of Castles, Ships, and Towns, are not provided for and made lawful by any special Article; but those things are always imply'd, and always done.

Yet seeing Pope *Innocent III.* in his Bull for dissannulling *Magna Charta* for ever, and in his Excommunication of the Barons, has afforded us his Reasons for so doing, we can do no less than consider them. The weight of his Charge

against them is this: That instead of endeavouring to gain what they wanted by

fair means, they broke their Oath of Fidelity: That they who were Vassals presum'd

to raise Arms against their Lord, and Knights against their King, which they ought

never to have done, put case he had unjustly oppress'd them; and that they made themselves both Judges and Executors in their own Cause: That they reduc'd him to those

straits, that whatsoever they durst ask, he durst not deny; whereby he was compell'd by Force, and that Fear which is incident to the stoutest Man, to make a dishonourable and dirty Agreement with them, which was likewise unlawful and unjust,

to the great derogation and diminution of his own Right and Honour. Now because,

says the Pope, it is spoken to me by the Lord in the Prophet, I have set thee up over

Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up and destroy, to build and to plant, he proceeds to demand well the Charter as the Obligations and Cautions in behalf of it; forbid-

M. Paris, p. 266.

King the King under the penalty of an Anathema to keep it, or the Barons to require it to be kept.

The Barons might well say that the Pope went upon false Suggestions; for he is out in every thing. For 1st. There was no winning of King John by seeking to him: He wou'd not have granted them their Libertys, if they had kiss'd his Toe. The Barons had really born with him longer than they ought: for having stipulated to have their Rights restor'd to them before they admitted him to the Crown, it was too long to stay above fifteen Years for them, and to suffer so much Mischief to be done in the mean time thro their Neglect. In the third Year of his Reign they met indeed at *Leicester*, and us'd a sort of negative means to come at their Rights; for they sent him word, *That unless he wou'd restore them their Rights, they wou'd not attend him into France.* But upon this, as *Hoveden* says, the King using ill Counsel, requir'd their Castles; and beginning with *William Albini*, demands his Castle of *Beavoir*. *William* delivers his Son in Pledg, but kept his Castle. And so upon several occasions they were forc'd to deliver up for Hostages their Sons, Nephews, and nearest of kin. And thus he tyranniz'd over them, till the Archbishop put them into a right Method: And when at last they had agreed to demand their Rights, and had demanded them, they staid for an Answer from *Christmas* to *Easter*; for so long he demur'd upon what he was bound to have done above fifteen Years before, and then gave them a flat Denial. So that all the World, saving his Holiness, must say, that the Barons were not rash upon him.

Nor 2^{ly}. *That the Barons had no regard to their Oath of Fidelity.* For their Juramento Oath of Fidelity was upon this Condition, *That Earl John shou'd restore all fidelitatis Men their Rights*; and upon the Faith which his Commissioners solemnly made omnino contempto. to them that thus it shou'd be, they swore Fidelity to him at *Northampton*. So that King John had no Right at all to this early Oath of Fidelity, because Pag. 196. he himself wou'd not keep Covenant, nor fulfil the Terms and Conditions upon which it was made. The * Bargain was, *Earl John shou'd*

restore all Men their Rights; upon this they were sworn: But Earl John did not nor wou'd not restore all Men their Rights; and therefore it was Earl John himself that releas'd them from their Oath, and gave it them again. For I never heard of a Covenant on one side. The morrow after his Coronation he receiv'd their Homages and Fealtys over again, but that was the Counterpart of his Coronation-Oath. And that again he bitterly broke; tho when he was adjur'd not to presume to receive the Crown, unless he meant to fulfil his Oath, he then promis'd, *That by the help of God he wou'd keep all that he had sworn bona fide.* How he kept that part which concern'd the Church, no way concerns this Discourse, because he was at this time the Pope's white Boy, having before given him his Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and had then sent him Money to confound the Barons and Charter. But the other two thirds of that Oath which concern'd the People, I will here set down, that every body who has read his Reign, may see how truly and faithfully he kept it. *Et quod perversis Legibus destructis, bonas substitueret; & rectam Justitiam in Regno Anglia exerceret. That he wou'd destroy the bad Laws, and establish good ones in their room, and administer right Justice in the Realm of England.* His not keeping the Oath to destroy perverse Laws, and substitute good, was the present Controversy and Quarrel which his Barons had with him. For the whole meaning of the Charter was to abolish all the ill deprav'd Laws and Customs that had been introduc'd, and to restore the good, antient and approv'd Laws of the Kingdom instead of them. But the Pope, amongst other Proposals he made, wou'd fain have prevented and baffl'd the Charter by this Expedient; *That King John shou'd be bound to revoke all Abuses introduc'd in his time.* This was a lame business indeed, when the oppress'd Barons wanted to be reliev'd from the tyrannous Usages introduc'd in former Reigns, and from a Succession of Evils. King John by his Coronation-Oath was bound to destroy and abolish all the bad Laws that were before him, and so are our Kings to this day, and not to make a former tyrannous Reign a Pattern. The Barons might indeed have had all King John's later Grievances redress'd, and yet have perish'd under the weight of such as were in his Brother *Richard's* Reign.

* Et fecerunt illis fidem, quod Comes Johannes Jura sua redderet universis; sub tali igitur Conventionione Comites & Barones Comiti memorato fidelitatem contra omnes homines juraverunt.

Dan. p. 125.

After *Daniel* has reckon'd up several intolerable Exactions and Grievances in that Reign, he has these words. "And with these Vexations (saith *Howden*) all *England*, from Sea to Sea, was reduc'd to extreme Poverty; and yet it ended not here: Another Torment is added to the confusion of the Subjects by the Justices of the Forests, who not only execute those hideous Laws introduc'd by the *Norman*, but impose others of more tyrannical severity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserve to be utterly forgotten; having afterwards by the hard Labour of our Noble Ancestors, and the goodness of more Regular Princes, been asswag'd, and now out of use." This deceitful Remedy of the Pope's therefore wou'd have undone the Barons, for such a partial reformation of Abuses wou'd have establish'd all the rest; according to that known Maxim, *Exceptio firmat regulam in casibus non exceptis.*

To return to King *John's* Oath; neither did he keep that Branch of it which relates to the Administration of true upright Justice: unless you will allow the destroying of a brave Baron *William Brause*, and the famishing his Wife and two Sons in *Windsor* Castle, for a rash word of hers; and the putting the Archdeacon of *Normwich* into a sheet of Lead, and several such Barbaritys, to be choice and eminent Instances of it. So that when the Pope charges the Barons with the breach of their Oath of Fidelity to King *John*, it is unknown to me that they ow'd him any; which King *John* himself seem'd to mistrust, when after the Barons demand of their Libertys, he us'd that fruitless precaution of causing his whole Kingdom to swear Fidelity to him, and renew their Homages. For what signify'd this swearing to him never so often, while he himself was breaking the Original Contract, and rendring all their Fidelitys meer Nullitys, by destroying the Foundation of them, and the only Consideration upon which they were made? It is, as *Laud* says, "A Covenant is a Knot; and to untie a Knot, you need not loose both Ends of it, but in untying one End you unty both." And such is the mutual Bond of Ligeance betwixt King and People, it is conditional and reciprocal: And therefore it was impossible for King *John's* Subjects to be bound while he was loose. That the Fidelity of Kings and Subjects to each other is mutual, conditional, reciprocal, and dependent, I shall prove by the Authority of two Kings, who very well knew how that matter stood. It is in a solemn Covenant of theirs, which because it is short, I will here transcribe. *Ego Ludovicus Rex Francorum, & ego Rex Anglorum volumus ad omnium notitiam pervenire, nos, Deo inspirante, promississe, & juramento confirmasse, quod simul ibimus in Jerusalem, & iterum Hierosolymam, suscipiamus signaculum sancte crucis: & amodo volentes esse amici ad invicem, ita quod uterque nostrum alteri conservabit vitam, & membra & honorem terrenum, contra omnes homines. Et si quacunque persona alteri nostrum malum facere presumpserit, Ego Henricus jurabo Ludovicum Regem Francorum dominum meum contra omnes homines: & ego Ludovicus jurabo Regem Anglorum Henricum contra omnes homines, sicut fidelem meum, salva fide, quam debemus hominibus nostris, quamdiu nobis fidelitatem servabunt. Acta autem sunt hac apud Montanecum septimo Kalendas Octobris.* They both of them enter a saving for the Fidelity they owe to their Subjects, so long as their Subjects shall keep their Fidelity to them. Here we have that express'd which was ever implied: for whether the *Quamdiu, eousque, quousque, usquequo*, be in or out, it matters not. At King *Stephen's* first Parliament at *Oxford* he made them a Charter, which he promis'd before his Coronation, whereby he freed both Clergy and Laity from all their Grievances wherewith they had been oppress'd, and confirm'd it by his Oath in full Parliament: where likewise, says *Daniel*, the Bishops swore Fealty unto him, but with this Condition, so long as he observ'd the Tenor of this Charter. Now it seems this Clause of abundant cautelousness was not in the Oath of the Earls and Barons, neither needed it: for if King *Stephen* broke with his People, of course their Fealty ceas'd. This we have again express'd in words at length, in the solemn Charter of the same King, whereupon by consent of Parliament he adopted and made *Henry II.* his Heir, and gave him and his Heirs the Realm of *England*. *Comites etiam & Barones mei Ligium Homagium Duci fecerunt salva mea fidelitate, quamdiu vivo & regnum regnabo: simili itego quod si ego a predictis recederem, omnino*

A. D. 1177. M. P. p. 133. Forma pacti inter Anglorum & Gallo- rum reges initi.

P. 69.

Brompton, Col. 1038.

A Vindication of Magna Charta.

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a servitio meo cessarent quousq; errata corrigerem. Their Duty to him ceas'd till he mended his Fault, and return'd again to keep his Covenant; *Quousq; Errata corrigit, & ad prædictam pactionem observandam redeat.* Paulo infra. There is no need of these words at length at the end of every Charter or Petition of Right, in case it be broken, which we find in the close of *Henr. III's Charter, Anno Regni 42. Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare, ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* All the men in our Realm may lawfully rise up against us, and annoy us with might and main, as if they were under no obligation to us: because in the *Polish Coronation-Oath*, which likewise is in words at length, we have a plain Hint why they had better be omitted and suppress'd. *Quod si sacramentum meum violavero (quod absit) Incolæ hujus Regni nullam nobis obedientiam præstare tenebuntur.* And in case I break my Oath (which God forbid) the Inhabitants of this Realm shall not be bound to yield me any Obedience. Now this God forbid, and the harsh supposition of breaking an Oath at the very making of it is better omitted, when it is for every body's ease rather to suppose that it will be faithfully kept; especially seeing that in case it be unhappily broken, the very natural Force and Virtue of a Contract does of it self supply that Omission. Neither is it practis'd in Articles of Agreement and Covenants under Hand and Seal betwixt man and man, to make a special provision, that upon breach of Covenants they shall sue one another either at Common-Law, or in Chancery: because this implys that one of them shall prove a Knave and dishonest; but when that comes to pass, I am sure *Westminster-Hall* cannot hold them.

Col. 1039.

In Archiv.
London.

In like manner the Barons, after they had born with King *John's* breach of Covenant very much too long, swore at last at the High Altar at *St. Edmondsbury, M. Paris,* That if he refus'd them their Libertys, they wou'd make War upon him so long as to withdraw themselves from their Fidelity to him, till such time as he confirm'd their Laws and Libertys by his Charter. And afterwards at the demand of them, they say that which is a very good reason for their Resolve, That he had promis'd them those *Antient Laws and Libertys*, and was already bound to the observation of them by his own proper Oath. So that the Pope was quite out, when he says the Barons set at nought, and broke their Oath of Fidelity to King *John*, for they only help'd him to keep his.

p. 253.

The next thing objected against the Barons is this: That they who were *Vassals* presum'd to raise Arms against their Lord, and Knights against their King; which they ought not to have done, altho he had unjustly oppress'd them. And that they made themselves both Judges and Executors in their own Cause. All which is very easily answer'd. For 1st. It was always lawful for Vassals to make War upon their Lords, if they had just Cause. So our Kings did perpetually upon the Kings of *France*, to whom they were Vassals all the while they held their Territorys in that Kingdom. And by the Law of *England* an inferior Vassal might fight his Lord in a weighty Cause, even in Duel. The Pope seems here willing to depress the Barons with low Titles, that he may the better set off the presumption of their Proceedings; but before I have ended, I shall shew what Vassals the Barons were. I shou'd be loth to say, that the Kings of *England* were not all along as good Men as their Lords of *France*, or that the Barons of *England* were not good enough to assert their Rights against any body; but this I do say, that it was always lawful for Vassals to right themselves even while they were Vassals, and without throwing up their Homage and Fealty: For that was never done till they declar'd themselves irreconcilable Enemies, and were upon terms of Defiance. Thus the Kings of *England* always made War in defence of their Rights, without throwing up their Homage and Fealty, till that last bitter enrag'd War of *Henr. II.* wherein he had that ill success as broke his Heart, and forc'd him to a dishonourable Peace, the conclusion of which he out-liv'd but three days. Amongst other things, he did homage to the King of *France*, because in the beginning of this War he had render'd up his Homage to him. *M. Paris* takes notice of it as an extraordinary thing, and I do not remember it done before. *Quia in principio hujus guerre homagium reddiderat Regi Francie,* p. 151. The same was practis'd by *H. 3.* toward that great Man *Richard the Marshal*; he sent him a

Defiance

Knyghton,
col. 2549.

Defiance by the Bishop of St. Davids into Wales. Upon which the Marshal tells Friar Agnellus the King's Counsellor in that long Conference before mention'd, *Unde homo suus non fui, sed ab ipsius Homagio per ipsum absolutus*. This was reciprocal from the Lord to the Vassal, or from the Vassal to the Lord, as he found cause. And therefore King John's Vassals, who are here represented as if they were food for Tyranny, and bound by their places to be unjustly oppress'd, for so the Pope allows the case; I say, these Vassals, if they had been so minded, instead of being contented with a Charter at *Running-Mead*, might soon have been quite off of King John, by resigning their Homage to him. This King Edward the Second's Vassals did in manner and form by the Mouth of William Trussel a Judg, in these words. *Ego Willielmus Trussel vice omnium de terra Anglie, & totius Parliamenti procurator, tibi Edwarde reddo Homagium prius tibi factum; & extunc diffido te, & privo omni potestate regia & dignitate, nequaquam tibi de cetero tanquam Regi pariturus*. I William Trussel, in the name of all men of the Land of England, and of the whole Parliament Procurator, resign to thee Edward the Homage formerly made to thee; and henceforward I defy thee, and prive thee of all Royal Power and Dignity, and shall never hereafter be tendant on thee as King. This was the standing Law long before the time of King John's Barons; for the Par-

† Knyghton col. 2683. *Habent enim ex Antiquo statuto, & de facto non longe retroactis temporibus experienter quod dolendum est habito, si Rex ex maligno consilio quocumq; vel inepta contumacia aut contemptu, seu proterva voluntate singulari se alienaverit a populo suo, nec voluerit per Jura regni, & Statuta, & laudabiles Ordinationes gubernari & regulari, extunc licitum est eis ipsum regem de regali folio abrogare, &c.*

liament in the 10th of Rich. II. send the King a solemn Message, that † by an antient Statute they had power to depose a King that wou'd not behave himself as he ought, nor be rul'd by the Laws of the Realm: And they instance in this deposing of Edw. II. but withal as a late and modern thing, in respect of the Antiquity of that Statute. Such an irrefragable Testimony and Declaration of a Parliament so long since, concerning what was ordain'd in the eldest Ages long before, plainly shews the *English Constitution*, and is a full Confutation of the late King James's Memorial at *Reswick*. And this Power seems to be well known to King John's Barons, who, when there is occasion, talk familiarly of *Creating a new King*, and afterwards were forc'd to do it, tho now they only sought their Charter, and did not attempt to take from him his *Kingdom*, which the Pope indeed says, but it was not true.

So far have I clear'd them from presumption as Vassals, now as Knights. It is true, their Tenure was to assist the King against the Enemies of the Realm; but how if he turn'd so himself? Unjust Oppression, which is the Pope's own Supposition, is no friendly part. Must they then aid him against the Realm, and be the Instruments of his unjust Oppression upon themselves? Their Duty and Service was to the Realm in chief, to him it was subaltern: And therefore knowing their Duty better than the Pope did, they all left King John but seven, before he wou'd consent to the Parliament at *Running-Mead*. For it is plain the Pope wou'd have had them Passive-Obedience Knights, and a contradiction to their very Order, whereby for certain they had forfeited their Spurs.

Yea, but the Barons were Judges and Executors in their own Cause. And who can help it, if they were made so in the first Institution, and from the very Foundation of this Government? As soon as the Saxons had chosen from among themselves one King, this the *Mirror* says expressly was the Jurisdiction of the King's Companions. For tho the King had no Peer, yet if he wrong'd any of his People, it was not fit that he that was Party shou'd be likewise Judg, nor for the same reason any of his Commissioners: and therefore these Companions were by their place to right the Subjects in Parliament. *Mirror*, p. 9. *Et tout soit que le Roye ne devoit aver nul Peere en la terre, pur ceo nequidant que le Roy de son tort, & il pecha vers ascun d son people, ne nul de ses Commisaires, poit e. Judge & Partee, couvient per droit que le Roy ust Compaignions pur oyer & terminer aux Parliaments trestouts les breves & plaints de torts de le Roy, de la Roigne, & de leur Infans, & de eux especialment de que torts len ne poit aver autrement common droit*. The same is more largely set down by the Lord Chief Justice *Bracton*; and therefore I will transcribe it in his own words. *Rex autem habet superiorem, Deum s. Item Legem, per quam factus est Rex: Item Curiam suam, videlicet Comites, Barones, quia Comites dicuntur quasi Socii*

Lib. 2. cap. 16.
f. 34.

Socii Regis; & qui habet Socium habet Magistrum: & ideo si Rex fuerit sine frang, i. sine Lege, debent ei frenum ponere, nisi ipsimet fuerint cum Rege sine frano; & tunc clamabunt subditi, & dicent, Domine Jesu Chriske, in chamo & frano maxillas eorum constringe: ad quos Dominus, Vocabo super eos gentem robustam & longinquam & ignotam, cujus linguam ignorabunt, qua destruet eos, & evellat radices eorum de terra, & a talibus judicabuntur, quia subditos noluerunt justè judicare; & in fine, ligatis manibus & pedibus eorum, mittet eos in caminum ignis & tenebras exteriores, ubi erit fletus & stridor dentium. He says, the King has these above him, God; also the Law, which makes him a King; also his Parliament, namely, the Earls and Barons, who ought to bridle a lawless King, &c. In this large Passage you plainly see that what the Barons did was so far from being the absurd and presumptuous Usurpation of making themselves Judges and Executors in their own Cause, that it was their bounden Duty. It was not only lawful for them to restrain and bridle a lawless King, but it was incumbent upon them under the greatest Penalties, and neither lawful nor safe for them to let it alone. So that here the Barons were hard beset; the Pope delivers them up to Satan for what they did; and they had expos'd themselves to the Vengeance of God, and going to Hell, if they had not done it. But they chose to do their Duty to God and their distress'd Country, and to venture the causeless Curse from Rome.

I might multiply Quotations out of *Fleta* and others to the same purpose, but what I have set down is sufficient; and therefore I shall rather take this occasion to admire the Wisdom of the *English* Constitution, which seems to be built for perpetuity. For how can a Government fail which has such lasting Principles within it, and a several respective Remedy lodg'd in the very Bowels of it? The King has a known Power of causing all his Subjects to keep the Law; that is an effectual remedy against Lawlessness and Anarchy: and the Parliament has a Power, if need be, to hold the King to the Observation of the Laws; and that is a Preservative against Tyranny.

This is the *Palladium* of our Government, which cannot be stoln as theirs was from *Troy*; for the Keepers of it are too many to be kill'd, because every *English* Man has an Interest in it: for which reason neither can it be bought and sold, so as to make a Title; and a Man of a moderate Understanding may easily undertake that it shall never be preach'd away from us. And hereby *England* is render'd the noblest Commonwealth and Kingdom in the World. I name Commonwealth first, because King *James I.* in one of his Speeches to the Parliament, says, *he is the Great Servant of the Commonwealth.* From hence I infer, that this was a Commonwealth before he was the Great Servant of it. Great and little is not the Dispute; for it is for the Honour and Interest of so glorious a State, to have a Prince as great as they can make him: As to compare great things with small, it is for the Honour of the City to have a magnificent Lord-Mayor. And King *James* told us no News in naming his Office; for this is the Country, as *Fortescue's* whole Book shews us, *where the King is appointed for the Realm, and not the Realm for the King.* And I can shew a hundred places in Antiquity where the Body of this Nation is call'd a Republick; as for instance, where *Bracton* says, *Laws are made communi reipublica sponse:* tho I confess, in relation to a King it oftner goes by the prouder Name of Realm. But this Constitution of State and Regal Government, which is the Constitution of *England*, cannot be so well understood by any other one Book, as by my Lord Chancellor *Fortescue's*, which was a Book writ for the Nonce, and to instruct the Prince into what sort of Government he was like to succeed. As directly opposite to this Government, he has painted the *French* Government, made up of *Men at Arms and Edicts.* The Prince in the conclusion of it, does not doubt but this Discourse of the Chancellor's will be profitable to the Kings of *England* which hereafter shall be: and I am satisfy'd that no wise King, after he has read that little Book, wou'd change Governments with the *Grand Seigneur.* P. 79.

And as the Prince has recommended the usefulness of this Discourse to all future Kings, so I heartily recommend it to the careful Perusal of all *English* Men, who having seen a Succession of bad Reigns, think there is somewhat in the Mill, and that the *English* Form of Government is amiss; whereas the Fault

P. 129.

Fault lies only in the Male-Administration: or if there shou'd happen to be any Flaw or Defect in any of the Occasional Laws, it may easily, and ought to be rectify'd every Parliament that sits down, as the Book says.

P. 78.

Moliti sunt
hoc jugum
politicum
abjicere.

Qui sic politi-
cum regimen
abjicere fata-
gerunt.

I never heard of any that dislik'd the *English* Government but some of the Prince's Progenitors Kings of *England*, who thinking themselves shackled and manacled by the *English* Laws, endeavour'd to throw off this State-Yoke, that they might rule or rather rage over their Subjects in *Regal* wise only, not considering that to govern the People by the Laws of the State, is not a Yoke but Liberty; and the greatest Security not only to the Subject, but to the King himself, and in great measure rids him of Care. But the same Author, p. 88. tells us the Success of his Attempt: these Progenitors of the Prince, who thus endeavour'd with might and main to be rid of this *State-Government*, not only cou'd not compass that larger Power which they grasp'd at, but risk'd both themselves and their Kingdom. As we our selves have likewise seen in the late King *James*. Or on the other side, perhaps it is dislik'd by some who have seen no other effects of it, but what have proceeded from the *Scotch* King-Craft, which is worse than no Government at all, and have imputed those Corruptions and Disorders to the *English* Frame of Government; or at least think that it has no Remedy provided against them: and so have fallen into the waking Dreams of *Oceana's*, and I know not what, for want of understanding the True of the *English* Government. But I can assure these Persons, that upon farther search they will find it quite otherwise, and that the *English* Frame of Government cannot be mended; and the old Landmarks better plac'd, than we cou'd have laid them with our own hands; and withal that all new Projects come a thousand Years too late. For *England* has been so long form'd to its own Laws, and its Laws to it, that we are all of a piece: and both in point of Gratitude to our Ancestors who have spent their Lives to transmit them to us, and out of Love to Posterity to convey them a thing more valuable than their Lives, we cannot think much at any time to venture our own. I am clearly of Sir *Robert Philips's* mind in the Parliament *quarto Caroli*: "Nothing so endangers us with his Majesty, as that Opinion that we are antimonarchically affected; whereas such is and ever has been our Loyalty, if we were to chuse a Government, we shou'd chuse this Monarchy of *England* above all Governments in the World." Which we lately have actually done, when no body cou'd claim it, for they cou'd only claim under a forfeited Title: and at a time when too much Occasion had been given to the whole Nation to be out of conceit with Kings.

As for the remaining part of the Pope's Trash, it is not worth answering. That the Barons reduc'd King John to those Straits, that what they dar'd to ask he dar'd not to deny. For they ask'd him nothing but their own, which he ought not to have deny'd them, nor have put them to the trouble of coming so hardly by it. Nor was the granting of *Magna Charta* a foul and dishonourable Composition, but just and honourable, and therefore honourable because it was just. As for the Compulsion there was in it, a Man that must be made to be honest, cannot complain of that himself, nor any body for him. In this whole Affair the Pope's Apostolical Authority went farther than his Arguments.

Lateran. sub
Innocent 3.

It is the lasting Honour of *Magna Charta* and the Barons, that they were run down by a Pope and a General Council, which were the first that establish'd Transubstantiation, and the deposing of Kings for Heresy, either their own, or even that of their Subjects, if they suffer'd them in their Dominions: in which case the Pope was to absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, to set up a Crusado against them, and to dispose of their Kingdoms to Catholick Free-booters. This was a powerful transforming metamorphosing Council; but they that cou'd turn a bit of Bread into a God, might more easily turn better Christians than themselves into *Saracens*. I take the Decrees of that General Council to be a standing Declaration of War, yea a Holy War, against all Protestant Princes and States to the end of the World; whereby all Papists are the publick and declar'd Enemys of that part of Mankind, whom they have been pleas'd to call Hereticks: for it is the establish'd Doctrine of their Church.

Having

Having disprov'd *Laud's* first Charge against *Magna Charta*, That it had an obscure Birth, as if it had been base born, illegitimate, or upstart; I proceed to the second, That it was foster'd by an ill Nurse. In answer to which it would be sufficient to say, that it was foster'd by a Succession of Kings, and above thirty Parliaments; and if that be an ill Nurse, let all the World find a better. But I shall be somewhat more particular, and shew what great Care was taken of it in after-Ages. In *Edward the First's* Time, after it had been confirm'd three times, order'd to be twice a Year read in Churches, was seal'd with the Bishops and Barons Seals as well as the King's own, and sworn to by the Barons and others, * that they would for ever afford their Counsel and faithful Aid to-

* *Knyghton Col. 2523. Et ad ejus observationem consilium suum & auxilium fidele prestabunt in perpetuum.*

wards the having it kept; I say, after all this, which was good nursing on the Parliament's part, it had like to have been overlaid by the Pope: for when the King thought his whole Business in *Scotland* was settled, he enter'd into an Intrigue with Pope *Clement V.* very much to the prejudice of *Magna Charta*; but Mr. *Daniel* shall have the Honour of telling the Story. "This Pope was Native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more re-

Dan. p. 200.
A. Reg. 33.

gardful of the King's Desire, and the King more confident of his Favour; "which to entertain and increase, he sends him a whole Furniture of all "Vessels for his Chamber of clean Gold: Which great Gift so wrought with "the Pope, as he let loose his Lion, untied the King from the Covenant "made with his Subjects concerning their Charters confirm'd to them by his "three last Acts of Parliament, and absolv'd him from his Oath: an Act of "little Piety in the Pope, and of as little Conscience in the King, who (as "if he should now have no more need of his Subjects) discover'd with what "Sincerity he granted what he did.

"But suddenly hereupon there fell out an Occasion that brought him back "to his right Orb again, made him see his Error, and reform it; finding "the Love of his People lawfully order'd, to be that which gave him all his "Power and Means he had, and to know how their Substances were inter-mutual. The News of a new King made and crown'd in *Scotland*, was "that which wrought the effect hereof. For upon this he went to *Scotland*, "and not long after wintering at *Carlisle*, held his last Parliament there: "wherein (says *Daniel*) the State was mindful of the Pope's late Action, "and got many Ordinances to pass for Reformation of the Abuses of his "Ministers, and his own former Exactions." In the next Reign it was confirm'd in the third Year of *Edward II.* and afterwards greatly violated; but every body knows what came of that.

Pag. 202.

In King *Edward III's* Time it receiv'd many noble Confirmations; and amongst the rest, in the forty second Year of his Reign, it is provided, that all Statutes made against *Magna Charta* are void. In the fourth Year of *Richard II.* it was appointed by the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor to be read at the opening of the Parliament, as if it were the Foundation and Standard of our Laws; and in short it was confirm'd over and over again in the succeeding Reigns: So that as it was always Common Law, it is now become a great part of the Statute Law; the Statute call'd the great Charter of the Liberties of England, and the laudable Statute of *Magna Charta*. With this Honour and Renown it descended all along down to us, till it fell into the very Dregs of Tyranny, and then they pick Quarrels with it for its Birth and Breeding.

Now to strip it out of *Laud's* disguising Cant of an obscure Birth and ill Nursing, the plain Notion of *Magna Charta* is this: It is a Summary of the native and inherent Rights of English Men, which the Norman Kings by granting afterwards by Charter, bound themselves not to break in upon and invade: So that it was only a Norman-fashion'd Security, that these Rights should not be violated. But we do not hold these Rights by Charter, no, not by the old dear-bought Parchment and Wax; for they are the Birthright of English Men, which no Kings could ever give or take away: They are, as they are call'd 25 *Edward III.* The Franchises of the Land, and every English Man by being born in the Land is born to them. And these original Rights being a better Inheritance to every English Man than his private Patrimony, how

The Articles in Latin and English,

great soever, and being transmitted down to Posterity by the hard Labour, Sweat, and Blood of our Ancestors, they are the Childrens Bread. And it is not meet for us to take the Childrens Bread, and to cast it away.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT has been judg'd proper to annex to this Discourse of Mr. Johnson's, by way of Appendix for the Satisfaction of the Curious,

H. The Capitula or Articles on which the Magna Charta of King John was fram'd, the Original of which in Latin, with King John's Seal to it, was found in the Study of Dr. Warner Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards came into the hands of the present Bishop of Salisbury. It appears that this is the Instrument mention'd by Mat. Paris, p. 254. Archiepiscopus Schedulam illam, &c. "The Archbishop with others brought that Schedule to the King, and recited before him all the Capitula, &c." which tho the King then rejected, he shortly after agreed to, as may be gather'd from the next Page of that Historian.

2. A Copy in French, or old Norman, of the Magna Charta of King John compleat, which agrees with the Latin one printed in Mat. Paris; is being copy'd, many in old times to make three Copys of Publick Acts and Charters, viz. in Latin, French, and English. This which is printed here was kept in the Records of France, and thence publish'd by Luke Dachery in his Spicilegium.

Both the Capitula and the Charter at large are likewise here translated for the benefit of common Readers.

They who are curious to have a more particular account of these Copys, may consult the Appendix to a Pamphlet publish'd about the Year 1689. (and since reprinted in the first Volume of State Tracts in King William's Reign) intitl'd, Reflections upon the Opinions of some modern Divines, &c.

Capitula super quibus facta est. The Articles upon which the Great

Magna Charta Regis Johannis, Charter of K John was fram'd:

ex MS. Arch. Cantuar. Fol. 14. Taken out of a Manuscript of

Que etiam authenticæ cum Si- the ABp. of Cant. Fol. 14.

gillo extant in manibus Epif. The Original whereof, with the

Salisburiensis. Great Seal annex'd, is extant

in the hands of Dr. Gilb. Bur-

net, now Bishop of Salisbury.

ISTA sunt Capitula quæ Barones petunt, & Dominus Rex concedit, signata Sigillo Johannis Regis.

Post decessum Antecessorum hæredes plene ætatis habebunt hereditatem suam per antiquum relevium exprimendum in Charta.

Hæredes qui intra ætatem sunt & fuerunt in custodia, cum ad ætatem pervenerint, habebunt hereditatem suam sine relevio & fine.

THESE are the Particulars which the Barons demand, and the King grants, sign'd with King John's Seal.

Heirs of full Age shall have their Inheritance after the decease of their Ancestors, paying the antient Relief to be express'd in the Charter.

Heirs within Age, and that have been in Ward, shall have their Inheritance, when they come at Age, without paying Relief or making Fine.

† Custos

†

The

‘ Custos terræ hæredis capiet rationabiles exitus, consuetudines & servitia sine destructione & vastatione hominum & rerum suarum. Et si Custos terræ fecerit destructionem & vastationem, amittat custodiam, & custos sustentabit domos, parcos, vivaria, stagna, molendina, & cætera ad terram illam pertinentia de exitibus terræ ejusdem. Et ut hæredes ita maritentur ne disparagentur, & per concilium propinquorum de consanguinitate sua.

‘ Ne vidua det aliquid pro dote sua, vel Maritagio Mariti sui, sed maneat in domo sua per XC. dies post mortem ipsius: & infra terminum illum assignetur ei Dos, & maritagium statim habeat & hæreditatem suam. Rex vel Ballivus non faciet terram aliquam pro debito dum catalla debitoris sufficient, nec plegii debitoris distringantur dum capitalis debitor sufficit ad solutionem. Si vero capitalis debitor defecerit in solutione, si plegii voluerint habere debitoris donec debitum illud persolvatur plene, nisi capitalis debitor monstrare poterit se esse inde quietum erga plegios.

‘ Rex non concedit alicui Baroni quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus suis, nisi ad caput suum redimendum, & ad faciendum primogenitum filium suum Militem, & ad primogenitam filiam suam maritandam, & hoc faciet per rationabile auxilium.

‘ Ne aliquis majus servitium faciat de feodo militis quam inde debetur: ut communia placita non sequantur curiam Domini Regis; sed assignentur in aliquo certo loco, & ut recognitiones capiantur in ejusdem comitatibus in hunc modum. Ut Rex mittat duos Justitios per quatuor vices in anno, qui cum quatuor militibus ejusdem comitatus electis per comitatum capiant assisas de nova disseisina, morte antecessoris, & ultima presentatione: nec aliquis ad hoc sit summonitus nisi juratores & duæ partes.

‘ Ut liber homo amercietur pro parvo debito secundum modum delicti, & pro magno debito secundum magnitudinem delicti, salvo contentamento suo. Villanus etiam amercietur, salvo vadinagio suo, & mercator

The Guardian of an Heir's Land shall take the reasonable Issues, Customs and Services, without destruction or waste of his Men or Goods. And if such Guardian make destruction and waste, he shall lose the Wardship, and the Guardian shall keep in repair the Houses, Parks, Ponds, Pools, Mills, and other Appurtenances to the Estate, out of the Profits of the Land: And shall take care that the Heirs be marry'd without disparagement, and by the Advice of their near Kindred.

That a Widow shall give nothing for her Dower or Marriage after the death of her Husband, but shall be suffer'd to dwell in her Husband's House ninety days after his death; within which time her Dower shall be assign'd her, and she shall immediately have her Marriage and her Inheritance. The King nor his Bailiff shall not seize any Land for debt, if the Debtor's Goods be sufficient; nor shall the Debtor's Suretys be distrain'd upon, when the Debtor himself is able to pay the Debt. But if the Debtor fail of payment, the Suretys, if they will, may have the Debtor's Lands till the Debt be fully satisfy'd, unless the principal Debtor can shew that he is quit against his Suretys.

The King shall not allow any Baron to take Aid of his free Tenants, but for the Redemption of his Person, for the making his eldest Son a Knight, and towards the Marriage of his eldest Daughter once; and hereunto he shall have but a reasonable Aid.

That none shall do more Service for a Knight's Fee, than is due for the same. That Common Pleas shall not follow the King's Court, but shall be holden in some certain Place: And that Recognitions be taken in their proper Countys, and after this manner, viz. That the King shall send two Justices four times a Year, who together with four Knights of the same Shire, chosen by the Shire, shall take Assizes of Novel Disseisin, Mortdancer, and Darrein presentment: nor shall any be summon'd hereunto, but the Jurors and the two Partys.

That a Freeman shall be amerc'd for a small Fault after the manner of the Fault, and for a great Fault according to the greatness of the Fault, saving his Contentment. A Villain also shall be amerc'd saving his Wainage, and

for eodem modo, salva mercandisa,
per Sacramentum proborum homi-
num de vino, ut clericus amercietur
de laico secundo suo secundum mo-
dum aliorum predictorum & non
secundum beneficium Ecclesiasticum.

Ne aliqua villa amercietur pro
pontibus faciendis ad riparias, nisi
ubi de jure antiquitus esse sole-
bant.

Ne mensura vini, bladi, & lat-
titudines pannorum, & rerum aliarum
emendetur, & ita de ponderibus.

Ut assisa de nova dissassina & de
morte antecessoris abbrevientur, &
similiter de aliis assis.

Ut nullus Vicecomes intronizet
se de placitis ad Coronam pertinen-
tibus sine coronatoribus, & ut Comi-
tatus & Hundreda sint ad antiquas
firmas absque ullo incremento, ex-
ceptis dominicis Maneris Regis.

Si aliquis tenens de rege moriatur,
licet Vicecomiti vel alio Ballivo
Regis facere & inbreviare catallum
ipsius per vium legalem hominum,
ita tamen quod nihil inde amoveatur
donec plenus sciatur si debet aliquid
liquidum debitum Domini Regis, &
tunc debitum Domini Regis persol-
vatur. Residuum vero relinquatur
executoribus, ad faciendum testa-
mentum defuncti. Et si nihil Regi
debetur, omnia catalla cedent de-
functo.

Si aliquis liber homo interatus de-
cellerit, bona sua per manum proxi-
morum parentum suorum & amico-
rum, & per viam Ecclesie distri-
buantur.

Ne vidue distringantur ad re ma-
ritandum dum voluerint sine marito
vivere, ita tamen quod securitatem
faciant quod non maritabunt se sine
assensu Regis, si de Rege teneant, vel
dominorum suorum de quibus te-
neant.

Ne Comtabularius vel alius balli-
vus capiat blada vel alia catalla, nisi
statim inde reddat, nisi respectum
habere possit de voluntate vendito-
ris.

Ne Comtabularius possit distrin-
gere aliquem militem ad dandum de-
narios pro custodia castri si voluerit
facere custodiam suam in propria
persona, vel per alium probum ho-
minem, si ipse eam facere non possit
per rationabilem causam. Et si Rex
eam duxerit in exercitum, sit quietus
de custodia secundum quantitatem
temporis.

in like manner a Merchant saving his
Merchandise, by the Oath of good
Men of the Vicinage. That a Clerk
shall be amerc'd according to his Lay-
fee in manner aforesaid, and not ac-
cording to his Ecclesiastical Benefice.

That no Town be amerc'd for not
making Bridges nor Banks, but where
they have been of old Time, and of
Right ought to be.

That the Measure of Wine, of Corn,
and the Breadth of Cloth, and the like,
be rectify'd, and so of Weights.

That Assises of Novel Disseisin and
Mortuance, be abbreviated, and so
of other Assises.

That no Sheriff shall intermeddle
with Pleas of the Crown without the
Coroners; and that Countys and Hun-
dreds shall be at the ancient Farms
without any Increase, except the
King's own Demesne Mannors.

If any Tenant of the King die, the
Sheriff, or other the King's Bayliff,
may seize and enroll his Goods and
Chattels, by the view of lawful Men;
but yet so as that nothing thereof be
taken away, till it be fully known
whether he owe any clear Debt to the
King: and then the King's Debt shall
be paid, and the Residue shall remain
to the Executors to perform the Testa-
ment of the Dead. And if nothing
be owing to the King, all the Goods
shall go to the use of the Dead.

If any Freeman die interate, his
Goods shall be distributed by his near-
est Kindred and Friends, and by the
view of the Church.

Widows shall not be distrain'd to
marry, if they are minded to live un-
marry'd, provided they find Sureties
that they will not marry without the
King's Assent, if they hold of the King,
or without the Consent of their Lords
of whom they hold.

No Constable or other Bayliff shall
take any Man's Corn or other Chattels,
but he shall forthwith pay for the
same, unless he may have respit by
Consent of the Seller.

That no Constable shall distrain any
Knight to give Money for the keeping
of his Castle, if he himself will do it
in his own proper Person, or by another
sufficient Man, if he may not do it
himself for a reasonable Cause. And
if the King lead him in his Army, he
shall be discharged of Castleward for
the Time.

Ne

†

No

Ne vir vel Ballivus Regis, vel aliquis alius, capiat equos vel carrectas alicujus liberi hominis pro carragio faciendo nisi ex voluntate ipsius.

Ne Rex vel Ballivus suus capiat alienum boscum ad castra vel ad alia agenda nisi per voluntatem ipsius cuius boscus fuerit.

Ne Rex teneat terram eorum qui fuerint convicti de felonia, nisi per unum annum & unum diem; sed tunc reddatur Domino feodi.

Ut omnes videlli de cetero penitus deponantur in Hamilia & Medcege & per totam Angliam.

Ne breve quod vocatur *Precipe de cetero* fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento unde liber homo amittat Curiam suam.

Si quis fuerit dissaisitus vel prolongatus per Regem sine iudicio de terris, libertatibus, & iure suo, statim ei restituatur; & si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde disponatur per iudicium XXV. Baronum, & ut illi qui fuerint dissaisiti per promotorem vel fratrem Regis, certum habeant sine dilatione per iudicium parium suorum in curia Regis. Et si Rex debeat habere terminum aliorum Crucignatorum, tunc Archiepiscopus & Episcopi facient inde iudicium ad certam diem appellatione remota.

Ne aliquid detur pro brevi inquisitionis de vita vel membris, sed libere concedatur sine pretio, & non negetur.

Si aliquis tenet de Rege per feodifirmam, per soccagium, vel burgagiam: & de alio per servitium militis, Dominus Rex non habebit custodiam militum de feodo alterius occasione Burgagii, vel Soccagii, vel feodifirmæ; nec debet habere custodiam Burgagii, Soccagii vel feodifirmæ: & quod liber homo non amittat militiam suam occasione parvarum fergantiarum, sicuti de illis qui tenent aliquod tenementum, reddendo inde custellos, vel sagittas vel huiusmodi.

Ne aliquis Ballivus possit ponere aliquem ad legem simplici loquela sua, ne testibus fidelibus.

Ne corpus liberi hominis capiatur nec imprisonetur, nec dissaisietur, nec

No Sheriff or Bayliff of the King, nor any other Person, shall take the Horses or Carts of any Freeman to make Carriage without his leave.

The King, nor his Bayliff, shall not take any Man's Wood for Castles or other occasions, but by Licence of him whose the Wood is.

That the King do not hold the Lands of them that be convicted of Felony longer than a Year and a Day; after which they shall be deliver'd to the Lord of the Fee.

That all Wears from henceforth be utterly put down in *Tuames* and *Medway*, and throout all *England*.

That the Writ call'd *Precipe* be not from henceforth granted to any Person of any Freehold, whereby a Freeman may lose his Court.

If any be dissais'd or delay'd by the King, without Judgment, of Lands, Libertys, or other his Right, he shall forthwith have Restitution; and if any Dispute arise upon it, it shall be determin'd by the Judgment of the Five and twenty Barons. And such as have been dissais'd by the King's Father, or his Brother, shall have Right immediately by the Judgment of their Peers in the King's Court. And if the King must have the Term of others that had taken upon them the Cross for the Holy Land, the Archbishop and Bishops shall give Judgment therein, at a certain Day to be prefix'd, without Appeal.

That nothing be given for a Writ of Inquisition of Life or Member, but that it be freely granted without Price, and be not deny'd.

If any hold of the King by Fee-farm, by Soccage or Burgage, and of any other by Knights-Service, the King shall not have the Custody of the Heir, nor of his Lands that are holden of the Fee of another, by reason of such Burgage, Soccage, or Fee-farm; nor ought the King to have the Custody of such Burgage, Soccage, or Fee-farm: and no Freeman shall lose his degree of Knighthood by reason of petty Serjeantys, as when a Man holds Lands, rendring therefore a Knife, an Arrow, or the like.

No Bayliff shall put any Man to his Law upon his own bare Saying, without faithful Witnesses.

That the Body of a Freeman be not taken, or imprison'd, nor that he be dis-

‘ nec utlagetur, nec exuletur, nec aliquo modo destruat.

‘ Nec Rex eat, vel mittat super eum, vi nisi per iudicium parium suorum vel plegem terræ.

‘ Ne jus vendatur, vel differatur, vel vetitum sit.

‘ Quod Mercatores habeant saluum ire & venire ad emendum vel vendendum sine omnibus malis, per antiquas & rectas consuetudines.

‘ Ne scutagium vel auxilium ponatur in Regno, nisi per commune concilium Regni, nisi ad corpus Regis redimendum & primogenitum filium suum militem faciendum & filiam suam primogenitam semel maritandam, & ad hoc fiat rationabile auxilium. Simili modo fiat de scutagiis & auxiliis, de civitatibus quæ inde habent libertates, & ut Civitas London. plene habeat antiquas libertates & liberas consuetudines suas tam per aquas quam per terras.

‘ Ut liceat unicuique exire de regno, & redire, salva fide Domini Regis, nisi tempore Werræ per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem regni.

‘ Si quis mutuo aliquid acceperit a Judæis plus vel minus, & moriatur antequam debitum illud solvatur, debitum non usurabit quamdiu hæres infra ætatem, de quocumque teneat. Et si debitum illud inciderit in manum Regis, Rex non capiet nisi cattallum quod continetur in Charta.

‘ Si quis moriatur & debitum debeat Judæis, uxor ejus habeat dotem suam: & si liberi remanserint, provideant iis necessaria secundum tementum, & de residuo solvatur debitum, salvo servitio Dominorum. Simili modo fiat de aliis debitis, & ut custos terræ reddat hæredi cum ad plenam ætatem pervenerit, terram suam restauratam secundum quod rationabiliter poterit sustinere de exitibus terræ ejusdem de Carucis & Mainagiis.

‘ Si quis tenuerit de aliqua escaeta sicut de honore Wallingfor & Nottingham, Bonon & Lancaster, & de aliis escaetis quæ sunt in manu Regis, & sunt Baroniz, & obierit, hæres ejus non dabit aliud relevium vel faciet aliud servitium quam faceret

dilleiz’d, nor out-law’d, nor exil’d, nor any way destroy’d.

Nor that the King pails upon him, or imprison him by force, but only by the Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

That Right be not sold, nor delay’d, nor deny’d.

That Merchants have liberty to go and come safely to buy and sell, without any manner of evil Tolls, by the old and lawful Customs.

That no Escuage or Aid be laid upon the Kingdom, but by the Common-Council of the Kingdom; unless it be to redeem the King’s Person, or to make his eldest Son a Knight, or to marry his eldest Daughter once; and for these a reasonable Aid shall be given. That it be in like manner with respect to Tallages and Aids from the City of London, and other Citys that have Privileges therein: And that the City of London may fully enjoy her antient Libertys and free Customs, as well by Water as by Land.

That it shall be lawful for any Man to go out of the Kingdom, and to return, saving his Allegiance to the King, unless it be in time of War for a short time, for the common Profit of the Realm.

If any borrow Mony of a Jew, be it more or less, and die before the Debt be paid, no Interest shall be paid for the same so long as the Heir is under Age of whomsoever he hold. And if the Debt become due to the King, the King shall take no more than what is contain’d in the Charter.

If any Man die and owe Mony to the Jews, his Wife shall have her Dower; and if he left Children, Necessarys shall be provided them according to the quantity of the Freehold, and the Residue shall go to pay off the Debt, saving the Services due to the Lords. The like shall be observ’d in case of other Debts; and when the Heir comes of Age, his Guardian shall restore him his Land as well stockt as he cou’d reasonably afford out of the Profits of the Land, coming in by the Plough and the Cart.

If any Man hold of any Escheat, as of the Honour of Wallingford and Nottingham, Bonon and Lancaster, or of other Escheats, which are in the King’s Hand and are Baronys, and die, his Heir shall pay no other Relief, nor perform any other Service than he

Thou’d

faceret Baroni, & ut Rex eodem modo eam teneat, quo Baro eam tenuit.

Ut fines qui facti sunt, pro dotibus, matrimoniis, hereditatibus & amercementis, iniuste & contra legem terre, omnino condonentur, vel fiat inde per iudicium XXV. Baronum, vel per iudicium majoris partis eorundem una cum Archiepiscopo & aliis quos secum vocare voluerit, ita quod si aliquis vel aliqui de XXV. fuerint in simili querela, amoveantur, & alii loco illorum per residuos de XXV. substituantur.

Quod obfides & Chartæ reddantur, quæ liberata fuerunt Regi in securitatem.

Ut illi qui fuerint extra forestam non veniant coram Justitiario de foresta per communes summonitiones, nisi sint in placito vel plegii fuerint; & ut prave consuetudines de forestis & de forestariis, & Warrentis, & Viccomitibus, & vivariis emendentur per XII. milites de quolibet comitatu qui debent eligi per probos homines ejusdem comitatus.

Ut Rex amoveat penitus de Wallia parentes & totam sequelam Gerard de Arles quod de cetero Baldwin non habebat, scilicet Engelardum, Andream, Petrum, & Gigonem de Cances, Gigonem de Cygon, Mattheum de Martino & fratres ejus, & Gelfrid nepotem ejus, & Philippum de Marke.

Et ut Rex amoveat alienigenos milites, Stipendiarios, Ballivarios & Rotariis, & Servientes qui venerunt cum rebus & armis ad nocumendum regi.

Ut Rex faciat Justiciarios, Constabularios & Viccomites & Ballivos de talibus qui sciant legem terre & eam velint bene observare.

Ut Barones qui fundaverunt Abbatis unde habent Chartas Regum vel antiquam sententiam habeant custodiam earum cum vacaverint.

Si Rex Walenses dissiderit vel elongaverit de terris, vel libertatibus, vel de rebus aliis in Anglia vel in Wallia, eis statim sine placito reddantur: & si fuerint dissideri vel elongati de tenementis suis Anglicis per patrem vel fratrem Regis sine judi-

shou'd have paid and perform'd to the Baron; and that the King shall hold such Escheats as the Barons held them.

That Fines made for Dowers, Marriages, Inheritances and Amercements, wrongfully and contrary to the Law of the Land, be freely remitted, or order'd by the Judgment of the Five and twenty Barons, or of the major part of them, together with the Archbishop and such as he shall call to him; provided that if one or more of the Five and twenty have themselves any like Complaint, that then he or they shall be remov'd, and others put in their rooms by the residue of the Five and twenty.

That the Hostages and Deeds be restor'd, which were deliver'd to the King for his Security.

That they that live out of the Forest be not oblig'd to come before the Justice of the Forest by common Summons, unless they be Partys or Pledges: And that the evil Customs of the Forests and Foresters, Warrens and Sheriffs, and Ponds, be redress'd by twelve Knights of each County, who shall be chosen by the good Men of the County.

That the King remove wholly from the Bayliffwick the Kindred and whole Dependance of Gerard de Arles, that hereafter they have no Bayliffwick, to wit, Engelard, Andr' Peter, and Gigo de Cances, Gigo de Cygon, Matthew de Martino and his Brethren, and Gelfrid his Nephew, and Philip de Mark.

And that the King put away the Foreign Soldiers, Stipendiarys, Slingers, and Troopers and their Servants, who came with Horses and Arms to the Nulance of the Realm.

That the King make Justiciarys, Constables, Sheriffs and Bayliffs, of Men that know the Law of the Land, and will cause it to be well observ'd.

That Barons who have founded Abbys, for which they have Charters of Kings, or antient Tenures, shall have the Custody of them when they are vacant.

If the King have dissider'd the Welshmen, or essoin'd them from Lands or Libertys, or of other things in England or in Wales, let them presently be restor'd to them without Plea: and if they have been dissider'd or essoin'd from their English Tenements by the King's Father

judicio parium suorum. Rex eis sine
dilatione justitiam exhibebit eo mo-
do quo exhibet Anglicis justitiam
de tenementis suis Angl. secundum
legem Angl. & de tenementis Wall.
secundum legem Wall. & de tene-
mentis Marchie secundum legem
Marchie. Idem facient Wallenses
Regi & suis.

Ut Rex reddat filium Lewelini &
præterea omnes obsides de Wallia,
& Chartas quæ ei liberatæ fuerunt
in securitatem pacis.

Ut Rex faciat Regi Scotiæ de ob-
sidibus reddendis & de libertatibus
suis & jure suo secundum formam
quam fecit Bar. Angl. nisi aliter
esse debeat per Chartas quas Rex
habet per judicium Archiepiscopi &
aliorum quos secum vocare volue-
rit.

Et omnes forestæ quæ sunt afo-
restatæ per regem tempore suo de-
afforestent, & ita fiat de ripariis
quæ per ipsum Regem sunt in de-
fensio.

Omnes autem istas consuetudines
& libertates quas Rex concessit regno
tenendas quantum ad se pertinet,
erga suos omnes de regno tam Cle-
rici quam Laici observabunt quan-
tum ad se pertinent erga suos.

Hæc est forma securitatis ad ob-
servandam pacem & libertates inter
Regem & Regnum. Barones eligent
XXV. Barones de regno quos volue-
rint, qui debent pro totis viribus
suis observare, tenere, & facere ob-
servari pacem, & libertates quas
Dominus Rex eis concessit, & Charta
sua confirmavit. Ita, viz. Quod si
Rex, vel Justitiarum, vel Ballivi Re-
gis vel aliquis de ministris suis in ali-
quo erga aliquem deliquerit, vel al-
quem articulorum pacis, aut securi-
tatis transgressus fuerit, & delictum
ostensum fuerit IV. Baronibus de
prædictis XXV. Baronum: illi IV.
Barones accedent ad Dominum Re-
gem vel ad Justitiarum suum, si Rex
fuerit extra regnum, proponentes
ei excessum, & petent ut excessum
illum sine dilatione faciat emendari.
Et si Rex vel Justitarius illud non
emendaverit, si Rex fuerit extra
regnum, infra rationabile tempus
deter-

Father or his Brother, without judg-
ment of their Peers, the King shall
without delay do them Justice, as he
does Justice to *Englishmen* of their
English Tenements according to the
Law of *England*, and of *Welsh* Tene-
ments according to the Law of *Wales*,
and of Tenements in the *Marches*
according to the Law of the *Marches*.
In like manner the *Welshmen* shall do to
the King and his Subjects.

That the King restore *Lewelin's* Son,
and all the *Welsh* Hostages, and the
Deeds that were deliver'd to him for
security of the Peace.

That the King do Right to the King
of *Scotland*, concerning restoring of
Hostages, and his Libertys and Right,
according to the Form of the Agree-
ment with his Barons of *England*, un-
less it ought to be otherwise by virtue
of some Deeds which the King has, by
the Judgment of the Archbishop and
others, whom he shall think fit to call
to him.

That all Forests that have been af-
forested by the King in his own time,
be disafforested; and so of Banks,
which by the King himself have been
put in defence.

All these Customs and Libertys
which the King has granted to the
Kingdom, to hold and keep for his
own part towards his Men, all Clerks
and Laymen of the Kingdom shall ob-
serve and keep for their parts towards
their Men.

This is the form of the Security for
keeping Peace and the Libertys be-
twixt the King and the Kingdom. The
Barons shall chose Five and twenty Ba-
rons of the Realm, whom they will
themselves, upon whom it shall be in-
cumbent, that with all their Might
they observe and keep, and cause to be
observ'd and kept, the Peace and Li-
bertys which the King has granted to
them, and confirm'd by his Charter;
to wit, That if the King, or his
Justices, or Bayliffs, or any of his
Ministers, offend any Person con-
trary to any of the said Articles, or
transgress any Article of this Peace
and Security, and that such Offence
be made known to four of the said
Five and twenty Barons; those four
Barons shall go to the King, or to
his Justiciary, if the King be out of
the Realm, declaring to him that
such an Abuse is committed, and
shall desire him to cause it speedily
to

determinandum in Charta, prædicti
IV. referent causam illam ad resi-
duos de illis XXV. Baronibus, & illi
XXV. tum communia * totius ter-
ræ distringent & gravabunt Regem
modis omnibus quibus poterint: sci-
licet per captionem castrorum, ter-
rarum possessionem & aliis modis
quibus poterint, donec fuerit emen-
datum secundum arbitrium eorum,
salva Persona Domini Regis & Regi-
næ, & liberorum suorum. Et cum
fuerit emendatum, intendant Domi-
no Regi sicut prius. Et quicunque
voluerit de terra, jurabit ad prædic-
ta exequenda, paritum mandatis
prædictorum XXV. Baronum, &
gravaturum Regem, pro posse suo
cum ipsis. Et Rex publice & libere
dabit licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui
jurare voluerit, & nulli unquam ju-
rare prohibebit. Omnes autem illos
de terra qui sponte sua, & per se ju-
rare voluerint XXV. Baronibus de
distringendo & gravando Regem cum
iis cunctis Rex faciet jurare eisdem de
mandato suo sicut prædictum est.

Item † si aliquis de prædictis XXV.
Baronum decesserit, vel a terra re-
cesserit, vel aliquo alio modo impe-
ditus fuerit quominus ista prædicta
possit exequi, qui residui fuerint de
XXV. eligent alium loco ipsius pro
arbitrio suo, qui simili modo erit ju-
ratus quo & ceteri. In omnibus
autem quæ istis XXV. Baronibus
committantur exequenda, si forte
ipsi XXV. præsentis fuerint & inter
se super re aliqua discordaverint, vel
aliqui ex eis vocati voluerint vel ne-
queant interesse, ratum habebitur &
firmum quod major pars ex eis pro-
viderit vel præceperit, ac si omnes
XXV. in hoc consensissent. Et præ-
dicti XXV. jurabunt quod omnia an-
tedicta fideliter observabunt, & pro
toto posse suo facient observari ||.
Præterea Rex faciet eos securos per
Chartas Archiepiscopi & Episcopo-
rum & magni Pandulphi, quod nihil
impetrabit a Domino Papa per quod
aliqua istarum conventionum revo-
cetur, vel minuat. Et si aliquid
tale impetraverit, reputetur irritum
& inane, & nunquam eo utatur.
Sine dato *.

Diploma

to be redress'd. And if the King, or
(if he be out of the Realm) his Jus-
ticiary do not redress it, those four
Barons shall within a reasonable
time, to be limited in the Charter,
refer the Matter to the residue of the
Five and twenty Barons. And those
Five and twenty, with the Commu-
nalty of all the Land, shall distress
the King all the ways they can, to
wit, by seizing his Castles, his Lands
and Possessions, and by what other
means they can, till it be redrest ac-
cording to their good liking, saving
the Person of our Lord the King, and
of the Queen and of their Children.
And when it is redrest, they shall be
subject to the King as before. And
whoever will may swear to put these
things in execution, viz. To obey the
Commands of the said Five and twenty
Barons, and to distress the King to the
utmost of his power with them. And
the King shall give publick and free
Liberty for any Man to swear that will,
and shall never prohibit any to swear.
And all those of the Nation, who will
voluntarily of their own accord swear
to the Five and twenty Barons to dis-
tress the King with them, the King
himself shall issue his Precept, com-
manding them to swear as aforesaid.

Item, If any of the said Five and
twenty Barons die, or go out of the
Realm, or be any other way hinder'd
from performing these things, the re-
sidue of the Five and twenty shall
chuse another, whom they think best,
in his place, who shall be sworn as the
rest are. And in all Matters refer'd to
those Five and twenty Barons, if they
happen to be all present, and differ a-
mongst themselves; or if any of them
being thereto appointed, will not or
cannot come, what the major part of
them shall agree upon and enjoin shall
be valid, as if all the Five and twenty
had agreed in it. And the said Five
and twenty shall swear, that they will
faithfully observe and keep the Arti-
cles aforesaid, and with all their Might
cause them to be observ'd. Moreover
the King shall give them the Securitys
of the Archbishop and Bishops, and
Master Pandulphus, that he will not
obtain any thing from the Pope, where-
by any of these Articles of Agreement
may be revok'd or diminish'd. And
if any such thing be obtain'd, that it
be reputed void and of none effect,
nor shall ever be made use of.

D & d

* Communia
C. M. Ep. Sar.

† Sic & M.
Ch. Ep. Sar.

|| D. Mat. Par.

* Hic & Ch.
M. Ep. Sar.
The sine dato.

Erut. D. d.
Herova.

*Diploma Regium: sive Ordina-
tiones Johannis Regis An-
glie, queis statuit quid No-
biles, quid Pleben observare
debeant, ad pacem & tran-
quillitatem Regni stabilendam.*

Anno Chr.
1215.

* Lincoln.

† otrid.

VIII. **J**OHAN par la grace de
Deu Roi Dengleterre, as
Arceveskes, as Eveskes, as
Abbez, as Contes, as Barons, as Ju-
stices, as Forestiers, as Viscontes, as
Prevoz, as Ministres, & a toz ses
Bailliz, & ses feels, saluz. Sachiez
que nos par la grace de Deu & pur
le sauvement de nostre asme, & de
toz nos ancestres, & de nos eirs,
& de lenor de Deu, & le sauvement
de seinte Iglise, & lamendement de
nostre Regne, par le conseil de noz
enorez peres Larceveske Estievene de
Cantorbire Primat de tote Engle-
terre & Cardinal de Rome, & Lar-
ceveske Henri de Diveline, & Le-
veske Willaume de Londres, Leveske
Pierres de Winecestre, Leveske Jocelin
de Ba, Leveske Hue de Nichole*,
Leveske Gautier de Wirecestre, Le-
veske Will. de Cestre, & Leveske
Bencie de Rovecestre, & Maistre Pan-
dol Sodiacre nostre Seignor Lapo-
stoire, & nostre ami frere Anner
Maistre de la Chevalerie del Temple
de Engleterre, & de nos Barons Wil.
le Marescal Conte de Pembroke,
Will. Conte de Salisbires, Will. Conte
de Warene, Will. Conte de Aron-
del, Alain de Galwche, Conestable
d'Escote, Warin le fiz Gerod, Peres
le fiz Herebert, Hubert de Bore Se-
neschau de Peitou, Hugu de Nuevile,
Matheu le fiz Herebert, Thomas
Basset, Alain Basset, Philippe Dau-
beigni, Robert de Ropelee, Johan
Marescal, & Johan le fiz Hue, & de
nos autres feels.

Premierement que nos avons ot-
tie a Deu & le confermoms par ceste
nostre presente Chartre, por noz, &
por nos eirs a toz iorz, que les Ygli-
ses de Engleterre, seront franchises &
aient lor dreitures franchises & ente-
rines & plenieres, & volon que cili
seit garde la que chose apert, par co
que nos otrames par nostre pure vb-
, lunte

The Great Charter of King John;
A true Copy from the Original
French.

JOHAN by the Grace of God King
of England, to the Archbishops,
Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Jus-
tices, Foresters, Sheriffs, Prevoists, Mini-
sters, and all his Bailiffs and his Lieges,
Greeting. Know ye that we by the
Grace of God, and for the saving of our
Soul, and the Souls of all our An-
cestors, and of our Heirs, and for
the Honour of God, and the safety
of Holy Church, and for the amend-
ment of our Government, by the Ad-
vice of our honour'd Fathers, Stephen
Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of
all England, and Cardinal of Rome;
Henry Archbishop of Dublin, William
Bishop of London, Peter Bishop of Win-
chester, Jocelin Bishop of Bath, Hugh
Bishop of Lincoln, Walter Bishop of
Worcester, William Bishop of Chester,
Benedict Bishop of Rochester, and Ma-
ster Pandulph Sub-Deacon of our Lord
the Apostle, and of our Friend and
Brother Anner Master of the Order
of Knights Templars in England; and
by the Advice of our Barons, William
Earl Marshal Earl of Pembroke, William
Earl of Salisbury, William Earl of War-
ren, William Earl of Arundel, Alan of
Galloway Constable of Scotland, Warin
Fitz-Gerard, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert
de Burgh Steward of Poitou, Hugh
Nevill, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas
Basset, Alan Basset, Philip d'Aubene, Ro-
bert de Ropelee, John Marshal, and John
Fitz-Hugh, and by the Advice of other
our Lieges;

Have in the first place granted to
God, and confirm'd by this our present
Charter, for us and for our Heirs for
ever, That the Churches of England
shall be free, and shall enjoy their
Rights and Franchises entirely and
fully: And this our purpose is, that it
be observ'd, as may appear by our ha-
ving granted, of our mere and free
Will,

lunte & de gre les franchises des Elections que len tienent par plus grant & par plus necessaire as Yglises de Engleterre, devant que la descorde fust commencie entre nos & nos Barons, & la confirmames par nostre Chartre & parchacames que ele fu confirmee par nostre Seigneur Lapostoire Innocent le tiers, laquelle nos garderons & volons que nostre eir la gardent toz jorz en bone fei.

Nos avon encore otrie a toz lez francs homes de nostre Regne pur nos, & pur nos eirs a toz iorz totes les franchises qui de soz sunt escrites, quil les aient & les tiegnent il & lor eir de nos & de nos eirs, se acuns de nos Contes, vo de nos Barons, vo des autres qui tienent de nos en chief par servise de Chevalier mora, & quant il sera mors & ses eirs sera de plein aage & devra relief, ait son heritage par l'ancien relief, co est a savier li eir, ou li eir del Conte, de Baronie Contal entiere par C. livres li eirs ou li eir del baron de la barone par C. livres: li eirs ou li eir de Chevalier de fie de Chevalier entier par C. fol an plus, & qui meins devra meins doinst solon lanciene costume del fie.

Si le eirs d'aucun di tels sera dedens aage, & sera en garde; quand il sera parvenu a aage ait son heritage sans relief & sans fin.

Les gardeors de la terre de tel eir qui sera dedens aage ne pregne de la terre de leir fors Reignables, eissues & Reignables costumes, & Reignables services, & ce senz destruiement, & senz vast des homes & des choses.

Et se nos avons livre la garde de la terre daucun itel a Visconte ou a aucune altre qui nos dei respondre des eissues de la terre, & cil de la garde fera destruiement o gast, nos prendrons de celuy amende, & la terre sera livre a deus leals prodes homes de cel fei qui respoignent des eissues a nos, o celui que noz commanderons.

Et se nos avons done o vendu a aucun la garde de la terre de aucun itel, & cil enfra destruiement o vast par de cele garde, & seit livre a deus leials sage prodes homes & dicele que

i nous

Will, that Elections shon'd be free (which is reputed to be a very great and very necessary Privilege of the Churches of England) before the difference arose betwixt us and our Barons, and by our having confirm'd the same by our Charter, and by our having procur'd it moreover to be confirm'd by our Lord the Apostle Innocent the Third. Which Privilege we will maintain: And our Will is, that the same be faithfully maintain'd by our Heirs for ever.

We have also granted to all the Freemen of our Kingdom, for us and our Heirs for ever, all the Libertys hereafter mention'd, to have and to hold to them and their Heirs of us and our Heirs. If any of our Earls, our Barons, or others that hold of us in chief by Knight-Service, die; and at the time of his Death his Heir be of full age, and Relief be due, he shall have his Inheritance by the antient Relief; to wit, the Heir or Heirs of an Earl, for an entire Earldom, C. Pounds; the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for an entire Barony, C. Marks; the Heir or Heirs of a Knight, for a whole Knight's Fee, C. Shillings at most: and where less is due, less shall be paid, according to the antient Customs of the several Tenures.

If the Heirs of any such be within Age and in Ward, they shall have their Inheritance when they come of Age without Relief, and without Fine.

The Guardians of the Land of such Heirs being within Age, shall take nothing out of the Land of the Heirs, but only the reasonable Profits, reasonable Customs, and reasonable Services, and that without making destruction or wast of Men or Goods.

And if we shall have committed the custody of the Land of any such Heir to a Sheriff, or any other who is to account to us for the Profits of the Land, and that such Committee make destruction or wast, we will take of him amends, and the Land shall be committed to two lawful and good Men of that Fee, who shall account for the Profits to us, or to such as we shall appoint.

And if we shall give or sell to any Person the Custody of the Lands of any such Heir, and such Donee or Vendee make destruction or wast, he shall lose the Custody, and it shall be committed

D d d 2

mitted

¶ nous respoignent, si come nos avons devant dit.

¶ Et si le gardior tant dis com il aura la garde de tele terre, s'ostin- ges les meisons, les viviers, les pars, les estants, les molins, & les autres choses qui appartient a cele terre de eissues, & de celle meimes terre: & rendra al eir quant sera parvenus en plain aage sa terre tote estore de charues, de granges, solon quoque li tens de la gaignerie requera, & les eissues de la terre porront mesura- blement soffrir reissablement.

¶ Li eir scient marie sans despa- ragement eissi ne purquant que ainz que li mariages seit fet, seit mostre al prochains del lignage de cel eir.

¶ La Vewe empres la mort de son mari namtenant & sans grevance ait son mariage & son heritage, ne riens ne doinst pour son mariage, ne pour son doaire, ne pour son he- ritage que elle & ses maris tindrent, alior de la mort del mari, & seit en la maison de son mari puis quil sera mort xl. jorz dedens les quels jorz li seit les doairez livreiz.

¶ Nule Vewe ne seite destreite de sei marier tant dis come ele voldra vivre sanz mari essi ne purquant que ele face seurte que ele ne se marira sanz nostre otrei, se ele tinent de nos o senz lotrei de son Seignor de qui elle tient, se ele tient d'autrui.

¶ Ne nos ne nostre Bailli ne seiseron terre ne rente del dettor pour aucune dette tandis com sis chattels sofficient a paier la dette, ne si plege ne seront destroit tant dis come le chevetaigne dettor soffira a la dette paier. Et se le chevetaigne detor na de quei paier sa dette, respoigne li plege de la dette. Et sil volent aient les terres, & les rentes del detter jusqu'il aient restor- ement de la dette quil ont devant paiee pour lui; se le chevetaigne de- tor ne monstre quil en est quitte vers cels pleges.

* Id est Iuifs.

¶ Se aucuns a emprunte as Jues * plus o meins, & muert devant quil lor ait paie lor avoir, ne croise mie la dette tant dis com li eirs sera de- dens aage, & se cele dette vient en nos mains nos nen prendron que le chastel † que nos troveron en la charte.

† Id est, le ca- pital, le prin- cipal.

mitted to two Lawful, Sage, and good Men; who shall account to us for the same, as aforesaid.

¶ And the Guardian, whilst he has Custody of the Heir's Land, shall main- tain the Houses, Ponds, Parks, Pools, Mills, and other appurtenances to the Land, out of the Profits of the Land it self; and shall restore to the Heir, when he shall be of full Age, his Land well stockt, with Ploughs, Barns, and the like, as it was when he receiv'd it, and as the Profits will reasonably af- ford.

¶ Heirs shall be marry'd without dis- paragement; inso much that before the Marriage be contracted, the Persons that are next of Kin to the Heir, shall be made acquainted with it.

¶ A Widow after the Death of her Husband, shall presently and without oppression, have her Marriage and her Inheritance; nor shall give any thing for her Marriage, nor for her Dower, nor for her Inheritance, which she and her Husband were seiz'd of the day of her Husband's Death: and she shall re- main in her Husband's House forty days after his Death; within which time her Dower shall be assign'd her.

¶ No Widow shall be compell'd to marry if she be desirous to live single, provided she give Security not to mar- ry without our leave, if she hold of us, or without the Lord's leave of whom she holds, if she hold of any other.

¶ We nor our Bayliffs will not seize the Lands or Rents of a Debtor for any Debt so long as his Goods are suf- ficient to pay the Debt: Nor shall the Pledges be distrain'd upon whilst the principal Debtor is able to pay the Debt. But if the principal Debtor have not wherewith to pay the Debt, the Pledges shall answer for it: And if they will, they shall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor till they have re- ceiv'd the Debt which they paid for him, if the principal Debtor cannot shew that he is quit against his Pledges.

¶ If any persons have borrow'd Mony of Jews, more or less, and die be- fore they have paid the Debt, the Debt shall not grow whilst the Heir is under Age; and if such Debt be- come due to us, we will take no more than the Goods express in Deed.

¶ Et

And

Et se aucun muret, & deit dette
as Jues, sa feme ait son doaire, & ne
palet nient de la dette, & se li en-
fant qui remaindront del mort sont
dedenz aage, porveu lor seit lor
estoveir raisnablement solonc le te-
nement qui fu del mort, & del re-
manant seit paiee la dette, sauf le
service des Seignors, & en tel ma-
niere seit fait de dettes que l'on deit
a altres que a Jues.

Len ne mettra nul escuage †, ne
aie ‖ en nostre Regne, fors par com-
mun conseil de nostre Regne, fors a
nostre reindre * & a nostre ainz-
ne fiz faire Chevalier, & a nostre
ainznee fille marier une feiz; & a
cestes choses ne face len aie se rais-
nable non.

En cele mainere seit fait daies de
la cite de Londres, & estre co la
cite de Londres ait totes ses an-
cienes costumes, & ses Franchises,
& par mer & par aigue.

Nos volons estre co, & otrions
que totes les altres citez & li borc,
& les viles, & li port aient en to-
tes lor franchises, & lor franchises
costumes.

Et aient le commun conseil del
Regne, de laie a asseoir autrement
que as treis cas qui sont devant dit,
e lescuage a seer ferons somondre
les Archeveskes, les Eveskes, les Ab-
bez, les Comtes, les greignors Ba-
rons: chacun par sei par nos lettres,
& estre co ferons somondre en com-
mun par nos Viscontes, & par nos
Bailliz toz ceus qui de nos tiennent
en chief a certain jor, co est al terme
de xl. jorz al mains & a certain lieu,
& nomerons la cause en totes let-
tres de ceste somonse. Et quant la
somonse sera issi faite voist li affaires
ayant, au jor assigne solonc le conseil
di cels qui seront present ja seit eo
que ne soient pas venu tuit cil qui
furent somons.

Nos notrions a nul des ore en
evant quil pregne aie de ses frans
homes fors a son cors raimbre † & a
son ainzne fiz faire Chevalier, & a sa
fille ainznee marier une feiz & a co
ne seit fait aie se raisnable non.

Nuls ne seit destreinze a faire gre-
nor servise de lieu de Chevalier o
daltre

And if any die, and owe a Debt to
the Jews, his Wife shall have her
Dower, and shall be charg'd with no
part of the Debt; and if the Chil-
dren of the deceas'd Person be within
Age, their reasonable Estovers shall
be provided them, according to the
value of the Estate which their An-
cestor had; and the Debt shall be paid
out of the Residue, saving the Services
due to the Lord. In like manner shall
it be done in cases of Debts owing to
other persons that are not Jews.

We will impose no Escuage nor † f. tailles
Aids within our Realm, but by the ‖ aide.
Common Council of our Realm, ex-
cept for our Ransom, and for the

making our eldest Son a Knight, and
for marrying our eldest Daughter
once: And for these purposes there
shall but a reasonable Aid be requir'd.

* Id est, ad
nostrum cor-
pus redimen-
dum si in bello
capti fueri-
mus, ut infra.

In like manner shall it be done with-
in the City of London: And moreover
the City of London shall have all her
antient Customs and Libertys by Land
and Water.

We Will moreover and Grant,
that all other Citys, and Boroughs,
and Towns, and Ports, have in all
respects their Libertys and free Cus-
toms.

And as for coming to the Common-
Council of the Kingdom, and for as-
sessing Aids (except in the three cases
aforesaid) and as for the assessing of
Escuage, we will cause to be summon'd
the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots,
Earls, and the greater Barons, each
in particular by our Letters; and
moreover we will cause to be sum-
mon'd in general, by our Sheriffs and
Bayliffs, all that hold of us in Chief;
at a certain day, to wit, forty days
after at least, and at a certain place;
and in our said Letters we will ex-
press the cause of the Summons. And
when Summons shall be so made, Bu-
siness shall go on at the day assign'd,
by the advice of such as are present,
tho all that are summon'd do not ap-
pear.

We will not allow for the future,
that any take Aid of his free men,
but only to ransom his Person, to † Vid. supra.
make his eldest Son a Knight, and to
marry his eldest Daughter once; and
for these purposes there shall but a
reasonable Aid be given.

None shall be distrain'd to do greater
Service for a Knight's Fee, or for any
other

‘ daltre franc tenement, que tant
‘ come il tient & deit.

‘ Li commun plait ne suient mie
‘ nostre cort, mais soient tenu en al-
‘ cun certain lieu.

‘ Les reconuissances de novele des-
‘ faisine de mort d'ancestre, & de dar-
‘ rain presentment ne soient prises
‘ fors en lor Contez & ceste maniere:
‘ Nos o nostre Chevetains Justiciers
‘ se nos fumes fors del Regne envie-
‘ rons deus justices par chascun Con-
‘ te par IV. feiz en lan qui o quatre des
‘ Chevilers de chascun Conte esleuz
‘ par le Conte pregnant el Conte, &
‘ el jor del Conte, & en certain lieu les
‘ devant dites assises, & se les devant
‘ dites assises ne puent estre prises el
‘ jor del Conte, tant Chevaliers &
‘ franchement tenanz remaignent de
‘ cels qui furent present al Conte en
‘ icel jor par qui puissent jugement
‘ estre fait s'ofisaument, selon co qui li
‘ affaire sera plus grant o plus petit.

‘ Frans hom ne set amerciez pour
‘ petit forfait fors selon la maniere del
‘ forfait & pour le grant forfait soit
‘ amerciez selonc la grandescence del for-
‘ fait sauf son contenement, & li mar-
‘ cheant ensemt sauve la marchandise.
‘ Li Vilain ensemt soit amerciez saals
‘ son gaagnage sil chiet en nostre mer-
‘ ci, & nule des devant dites merciz
‘ ne sera mise fors par le serement de
‘ prodomes & des leus des visnez.

‘ Li Conte & li Baron ne soient
‘ amerciez fors par lor pers & selonc
‘ la maniere del forfait.

‘ Nus clers ne soit amerciez de son
‘ lai tenement, fors selonc la maniere
‘ des autres qui devant sunt dit, & nun
‘ pas selonc la quantite de la rente de
‘ Siglife*.

* f. des Iglise,
ou de Liglife.

‘ Ne ville ne home ne soit destreiz a
‘ faire pontz a rivières, fors cil qui
‘ ancienement & par drect les devent
‘ faire.

‘ Nuls Visquents ne Constables ne
‘ nostre Coroneor ne nostre altre Ba-
‘ illi ne tiegnent les plaiz de nostre
‘ Corone.

‘ Chascune Comtez, Hundres, Wa-
‘ pulzac, & Treingues, soient as an-
‘ ciens fermes sens nul croisement,
‘ fors nos demeins maniers.

‘ Se aucuns qui tient lai fie de nos
‘ muert & nostre Visquents, o autres
‘ nostre Bailliz, monstre nos lettres
‘ overtes

other Frank-Tenement than what is
due by his Tenure.

Common Pleas shall not follow our
Court, but shall be held in a certain
place.

Recognizances of Novel Disseisin,
Mortd'ancestre, and Darrein Presentment,
shall be taken no where but in their
proper Countys, and in this manner:
We, or our Chief Justice (if our selves
be out of the Realm) will send two
Justices through every County four
times a Year; who with four Knights
of every County, to be chosen by the
County, shall take the said Assizes in
the County, at a day when the Coun-
ty-Court is held,* and in a certain
place: and if the said Assizes cannot
be taken upon that day, so many
Knights and free Tenants of them
that were present in the County-
Court that day, shall stay, as may give
a good Judgment, according as the
Concern may be greater or less.

A Freeman shall not be amerc'd
for a little Offence, but according
to the manner of his Offence; and
for a great Offence he shall be amerc'd
according to the greatness of his Of-
fence, saving his Contenement; and
so a Merchant saving his Merchan-
dize; and a Villain in like manner
shall be amerc'd saving his Wainage,
if he fall into our Mercy: and none
of the said Amercements shall be af-
feered, but by Oath of good and law-
ful Men of the Vicinage.

An Earl and a Baron shall not be
amerc'd but by their Peers, and ac-
cording to the manner of their Of-
fence.

No Clerk shall be amerc'd but ac-
cording to his Lay-fee, and in like
manner as others afore said, and not
according to the quantity of his
Church-Living.

No Ville nor any man shall be di-
strain'd to make Bridges over Rivers,
but where they antiently have, and of
Right ought to make them.

No Sheriffs, Constables, Coroners,
nor other our Bayliffs shall hold the
Pleas of our Crown.

All Countys, Hundres, Wapen-
takes and Tithings shall be at the an-
tient Farms without being rais'd, ex-
cept our own demesne Mannors.

If any that holds of us a Lay-fee
die, and our Sheriffs, or other our
Bailliffs show our Letters Patents of
Sum-

overtes de nostre seigneurie de la dette
que li mort nos deveit, leme a
nostre Visconte & a nostre Bailli
atachier & enbrever les chatels del
mort, qui seront trove el lai sic a la
vaillance dicelle dette, que li morz
nos deveit par veue de leaus homes,
eissi ne par quant que riens ne seit
oste jusque nos seir paice la dette
quifera conue: & li remanant seit
faillie as executors a faire le testa-
ment del mort: & sil ne nos dei-
vent rien tot li chatel seient otrie al
mort, sauves les reignables parties de
sa feme & de ses enfans.

Se aucuns frans huem muert senz
testament, li chatel seient reparti
par les mains des prochains parens &
de ses amis par la veue de seinte
Iglise, sauves les dettes a chascun
que le mort lor devoit.

Nus de nos Conestables ne de nos
autres Bailliz ne pregne les bles, ne
les autres chatels daucun, se main-
tenant nen paie les deniers, sil nen
puet aver respit par volente del ven-
deor.

Nus Conestables ne destreigne nul
Chevalier a doner deniers pour la
garde del Chastel, sil lavoit faite en
sa propre persone u par altre pro-
dome sil ne la puet faire par aucune
reignable achaisun *, & se nos le
menons o enveions en ost, il fera
quites dicelle garde tant dis cum il
sera par nos enloft.

Nus Viscontes ne nostre Bailliz
ne altre ne pregne les chevaux ne les
charettes daucun franc home, pour
faire cariage, fors par la volente de
cel franc home.

Ne nos ne nostre Baillie ne pren-
drons altrui bois a nos Chastels, o
a nos autres ovres faire, fors par la
volente de celui cui sera li bois.

Nos ne tendrons les terres de cels
qui seront convenue de felonie, fors
un an & un jor, & adons les ren-
drons as Seignors des fiez.

Tot li Kidel seient dici en avant
oste del tot en tot de Tamise & de
Medoie, & par tote Engleterre,
fors par la costiere de la mer.

Li bries qui est apelez precipz des
ci en avant ne seit farz a nul daucun
tenement, dont frans hoem peult
perdre la cort.

Summons for a Debt which the De-
ceas'd ow'd to us, our Sheriff or Bay-
liff may well attach and inventory the
Goods of the Dead, which shall be
found upon his Lay-fee, to the value
of the Debt which the Deceas'd ow'd
to us, by the view of lawful Men, yet
so as nothing be remov'd till such
time as the Debt which shall be found
to be due to us be paid; and the re-
sidue shall go to the Executors to per-
form the Testament of the Dead: and
if nothing be owing to us, all his
Goods shall go to the use of the Dead,
saving to his Wife and Children their
reasonable parts.

If any Freeman die intestate, his
Goods shall be divided by the hands
of his near Kindred and Friends by
the view of Holy Church, saving to
every one their Debts which the Dead
ow'd them.

None of our Constables, nor other
our Bayliffs shall take the Corn, nor
other the Goods of any person with-
out paying for the same presently, un-
less he have time given him by consent
of the Vendor.

Our Constables shall distrain no
man who holds by Knight-Service, to
give Mony for Castle-guard, if he
has perform'd it himself in proper
Person, or by another good Man, if
he cou'd not perform it himself for
some reasonable Cause: And if we
lead him, or send him into the Army,
he shall be discharg'd of Castle-guard
for so long time as he shall be with
us in the Army.

Our Sheriffs, our Bayliffs, or others,
shall not take the Horses nor Carts
of any Freeman to make Carriage, but
but by leave of such Freeman.

Neither our selves nor our Bayliffs
shall take another man's Wood for
our Castles, or other occasions, but
by his leave whose Wood it is.

We will hold the Lands of such as
shall be convicted of Felony but a year
and a day, and then we will restore
them to the Lords of the Fees.

All Wears shall from this time for-
ward be wholly taken away in Thames
and Medway, and throout all England,
except upon the Sea-coast.

The Writ call'd *Precipe* henceforth
shall be made to none out of any Te-
nement, whereby a Freeman may lose
his Court.

* *Id est ratio-
nable occa-
sion.*

* Une mesure de vin fait par tot
 nostre Regne, & une mesure de cer-
 veise, & une mesure de ble, co est
 li quartiers de Londres, & une leise
 de dras teinz, & de rosez, & de
 habergie, co est deus aunes dedenz
 listes, & des peis * fait ensement
 come des mesures †.

* pois.
 † mesures.

‘ Riens ne fait done ne pris des ci en
 avant pour le brief del enqueste de
 vie, o de membres de aucun, mais
 fait otre en pur don, & ne fait es-
 conduit.

‘ Se aucuns tient de nos par feuf-
 me o par, sokage, & tient terre dal-
 trui par servise de Chevalier, nos
 n’aurons mie la garde del eir, ne
 de la terre qui est daltrui fie par a-
 chaison de cele feufme, o del so-
 kage, o del borgage. Ne n’aurons
 la garde de cele feufme, o del so-
 cage, o del borgage, se cele feufme
 ne deit service de Chevalier.

‘ Nos n’aurons la garde del eir ne
 de la terre dalcun, que il tient dal-
 trui par servise de Chevalier, par
 achaison daucune petite serjanteri,
 qu’il tient de nos par servise de ren-
 dre saettes, o cotelz, o tels choses.

‘ Nuls Bailliz ne mette des cien a-
 vant aucun a lei par sa simple parole,
 fors par bons tesmoins amenez aice.

‘ Nuls frans hom ne sera pris, ne
 emprisonnez, ne deslaillez, ne ullagiez,
 ne eissilliez, ne destruis, ne aucune
 maniere, ne for lui n’irons ne n’en-
 veierons, fors par leal jugement de
 ses pers, o par la lei de la terre.

‘ A nulli ne vendrons, a nulli ne-
 scondirons ne ne proloignerons dreir
 ne justise.

‘ Tuit li marchant aient sauf & seur
 eissir d’Engleterre, & venir en En-
 gleterre & demorer, & aler par En-
 gleterre, par terre & par eue a
 vendre & a chater, sans totes males
 totes par les ancienes drettes costu-
 mes, fors el tens de guerre, cil ki
 sunt de la terre qui nos guerroe, &
 se tel sunt trové en nostre terre el
 commencement de la guerre, soient
 atachie sans damage de lor cors & de
 lor choseo, jusqu’il fait fen de nos o
 de nostre chevetein Justifier coment
 li marcheant de la nostre terre se-
 ront traitie, qui donc seront trové
 en

One Measure of Wine shall be us’d
 throughout our Kingdom, and one
 Measure of Ale, and one Measure of
 Corn, to wit, the London Quart.
 And there shall be one breadth of dy’d
 Cloth, Russlets, and Haubergets, to
 wit, two Ells within the Lists: And
 concerning Weights, it shall be in like
 manner as of Measures.

Nothing shall be given or taken
 henceforth for a Writ of Inquisition
 of Life or Member, but it shall be
 granted freely and shall not be deny’d.

If any hold of us by Fee-farm, or
 by Soccage, and hold likewise Land
 of others by Knight-Service, we will
 not have the Custody of the Heir,
 nor of the Land which is of the Fee
 of another, by reason of such Fee-
 farm, Soccage or Burgage, unless such
 Fee-farm owe Knight-Service.

We will not have the Wardship of
 the Heir, nor of the Land of any
 Person, which he holds of another by
 Knight-Service, by reason of any Pe-
 tit Serjeantry by which he holds of us,
 as by the Service of giving us Arrows,
 Knives, or such like.

No Bailiff for the time to come shall
 put any Man to his Law upon his bare
 word, without good Witnesses pro-
 duc’d.

No Freeman shall be taken, nor im-
 prison’d, nor disseiz’d, nor out-law’d,
 nor exil’d, nor destroy’d in any man-
 ner; nor will we pass upon him, nor
 condemn him, but by the lawful Judg-
 ment of his Peers, or by the Law of
 the Land.

We will sell to none, we will deny
 nor delay to none Right and Justice.

All Merchants may with Safety and
 Security go out of *England*, and come
 into *England*, and stay, and pass thro
England by Land and Water, to buy
 and sell without any evil Tolls, pay-
 ing the antient and rightful Dutys,
 except in time of War; and then they
 that are of the Country with whom
 we are at War, and are found here
 at the beginning of the War, shall be
 attach’d, but without Injury to their
 Bodys or Goods, till it be known to
 us or to our Chief-Justice, how our
 Merchants are entreated which are
 found in our Enemys Country; and if
 ours

en la terre qui contre nos guerroie,
& se li nostre sunt ilucke sauf, seient
si lor sauf en la nostre terre.

Leise chacun des ci en avant eissir
de nostre Regne & repairer sauf &
seur par terre & par eue sauve nostre
fei, fors el tens de guerre par aucun
petit tens pour preu del Regne:
Mais di co sunt jet te fors li empri-
sone, & li utlagie solon la lei del
regne, & la gent ki contre nos guer-
roie. Des marcheans seit seit, si co-
me nous avons devant dit.

Se aucuns tient daucune eschaette
si come del honor de Walingeford,
Notingehan, Boloigne, Lancaestre,
u dautres echaetes qui sunt en nostre
main, & sunt de baronie, & il
murt, ses heirs ne doinst altre re-
lief, ne face a nos autre servise, qui
feist al Baron, ce cele Baronie fust en
main del Baron, & nos la tendrons
en tele maniere que le Baron la tint.

Li home qui maignent fors de la
forest, ne viegnent de ci en avant
devant nos Justises de la forest par
communes somonces, sil ne sont en
plait u pleige de aucun ou d'aucuns
qui seient atachie pour la forest.

Nos ne ferons Viscontes, Justises,
ne Bailliz, fors de tels qui sachent
la lei de la terre, & la voillent bien
garder.

Tuit cil qui fonderent Abbeies,
dont il ont charges des Reis d'En-
gleterre, o ancienne tenue, aiant en
la garde quant eles seront voides, si
com il avoit devent.

Totes les forez qui sunt aforestées
en nostre tens seient maintenant de-
seforestées, et ensement seit seit des
rivieres qui en nostre tens sunt par
nos mises en defens.

Totes les males costumes des fo-
rez & des Warenes, & des Fore-
stiers, & des Warrenniers, des Vis-
contes & de lor ministres, des ri-
vieres & de lor gardes, seient
maintenant enquisés en chascun Con-
te par xii. Chevaliers Jurez de mei-
mes le Conte, qui devent estre esleu
par prodes homes de meismes le
Conte & de denz xl. jorz apres co
quil auront fette lenqueste, seient
del tot en tot ostées par cels meis-
mes, si que jamais ne soient rapelées,
eissi

ours be safe there, they shall be safe
in our Land.

It shall be lawful for all Men in time
to come, to go out of our Kingdom,
and to return safely and securely by
Land and by Water, saving their
Faith due to us, except it be in time
of War for some short time for the
Profit of the Realm. But out of this
Article are excepted Persons in Prison,
Persons out-law'd according to the
Law of the Land, and Persons of the
Country with whom we are at War.
Concerning Merchants, what is above-
said shall hold as to them.

If any hold of any Escheat, as of
the Honour of *Wallingford*, *Notting-
ham*, *Boloin*, *Lancaster*, or of other
Escheats which are in our hand, and
are Baronys, and die, his Heirs shall
owe us no other Relief, nor do us any
other Service, than was due to the
Baron of such Barony when it was in
his hand; and we will hold the same
in like manner as the Baron held it.

Men that dwell out of the Forest,
shall not appear before our Justices of
the Forest by common Summons, un-
less they be in Suit themselves, or Bail
for others who are attach'd for the
Forest.

We will not make Sheriffs, Justices,
nor Bayliffs, but of such as know the
Law of the Land, and will keep it.

All that have founded Abbys,
whereof they have Charters from
Kings of *England*, or antient Tenure,
shall have the Custody thereof whilst
they are vacant, as they ought to
have.

All the Forests that have been affo-
rested in our time, shall instantly be
disafforested; in like manner be it of
Rivers, that in our time and by us
have been put in defence.

All evil Customs of Forests and
Warrens, and of Foresters and War-
renners, of Sheriffs and their Mini-
sters, of Rivers and of guarding them,
shall forthwith be enquir'd of in every
County by twelve Knights sworn of
the same County, who must be chosen
by the good Men of the same County.
And within forty days after they have
made such Inquisition, the said evil
Customs shall be utterly abolih'd by
those same Knights, so as never to be
reviv'd; provided they be first made
E e e known

The Great Charter of King John,

‘ eissi ne por quant que nos le sachons
‘ avanto nostre Justise, se nos ne su-
‘ mes en Engleterre.

‘ Nos tendrons maintenant toz les
‘ hostages & totes les chartres, qui
‘ nos furent livrées des Engleis en
‘ seurte de pais, o de feel servise.

‘ Nous osteron de tot en tot des
‘ baillies les parens Girard d’Aties, si
‘ que des ci en avant n’auront nulle
‘ baillie en Engleterre, & Engelart de
‘ Cigoigni, Peron, Guion, Andreu de
‘ Chanceas, Gion de Cigoigni, Gifrai
‘ de Martigni & ses freres, Phelippe,
‘ Marc & ses freres, Gefrai son nevo,
‘ & tote lor fiute, & maintenant em-
‘ pres le reformement de la pais oste-
‘ rons de nostre Regne tos les estran-
‘ ges Chevaliers, Aubelastiers, ser-
‘ jans, soldiers quo chevaux et o armes
‘ vindrent al nuisement del Regne.

* Leal, ut
infra.

‘ Se alguns est dessaisiz o esloigniez
‘ par nos, sens real * jugement de
‘ ses pers, de terres, de chastels, de
‘ franchises, o de sa drettrure main-
‘ tenant li rendrons, & le plaiz en
‘ commencera di co, adonc en feit
‘ fait par jugement des xxv. Barons,
‘ dont len parole de foz en la seurte
‘ de la pais.

‘ De totes iteles choses dont alguns
‘ fu dessaisiz o esloigniez senz leal ju-
‘ gement de ses Pers par le Rei Henri
‘ nostre pere, o par le Rei Richart
‘ nostre frere, que avons en nostre
‘ main, o altre tienent cui il nos co-
‘ vient garantir, aurons respit jusqu’a
‘ commun terme des croiziex, fors
‘ que celes choses dont plaiz fu co-
‘ menciez o enqueste faite par nostre
‘ comandement devant que nos pris-
‘ sions la Croiz. Et se nos repairons
‘ del pelerinage o par aventure re-
‘ manons del pelerinage maintenant
‘ en frons pleine dreiture. Cest mei-
‘ mes respit aurons & en ceste ma-
‘ niere de dreiture faire des forez de-
‘ saforester, o que remaignent forez
‘ que li Reis Henri nostre pere, o li
‘ Reis Richart nostre frere aforeste-
‘ rent, & des gardes des terres qui
‘ sunt daltrui fie; que nos avons eues
‘ jusques icy par achaison de fie que
‘ alguns teneit de nos par servise de
‘ Chevalier, & des Abbeies qui furent
‘ fondées en altrui fie que el nostre, es-
‘ quels li sires del fie dit quila droi-
‘ ture,

known to us, or to our Chief Justice
if we be out of the Realm.

We will forthwith restore all the
Hostages, and all the Deeds which
have been deliver’d to us by the Eng-
lish, for Surety of the Peace, or of
faithful Service.

We will wholly put out of Bay-
liffwicks the Kindred of Gerard de
Aties, so that from henceforth they
shall not have a Bayliffwick in England;
and Engeland de Cigoigni, Peron, Guyon,
Andrew de Chanceas, Gyon de Cygoigni,
Geffry de Martigni and his Brothers,
Philip, Mark and his Brothers, Geffry
his Nephew, and all their Train. And
presently after the Peace shall be per-
form’d, we will put out of the Realm
all Knights Foreigners, Slingers, Ser-
jeants and Soldiers, who came with
Horse or Arms to the Nufance of the
Realm.

If any be disseiz’d or esloyn’d by
us, without lawful Judgment of his
Peers, of Lands, Chattels, Franchi-
ses, or of any Right, we will forth-
with restore the same; and if any
difference arise upon it, it shall be de-
termin’d by the Judgment of the five
and twenty Barons, of whom men-
tion is made hereafter in the Security
for the Peace.

As to all things whereof any have
been disseiz’d, or esloyn’d without
lawful Judgment of their Peers, by
King Henry our Father, or by King
Richard our Brother, which we have
in our hands, or which any other has,
to whom we are bound to warrant
the same, we will have respit to the
common Term of them that are crost
for the Holy Land, except such things
for which Suits are commenc’d, or
Inquest taken by our Order before we
took upon us the Cross. And if we
return from the Pilgrimage, or per-
haps forbear going, we will do full
Right therein. The same Respit we
will have, and the same Right we
will do in manner aforesaid, as to the
disafforesting of Forests, or letting
them remain Forests, which the Kings,
Henry our Father, or Richard our Bro-
ther have afforested; and as to the
Custodys of Lands which are of the
Fee of other Persons, which we have
held till now by reason of other mens
Fees, who held of us by Knight-Ser-
vice; and of Abbys that are founded
in

• fure, & quant nos seron repaire
• de nostre pelerinage, o se no rema-
• nons, nos enfrons maintenant plei-
• ne droiture a cels qui sen plain-
• dront.

• Nuls ne soit pris ne emprisonnez
• pour apel de feme de la mort dal-
• trui, que de sun marri.

• Totes les fins & toz les amercie-
• mens qui sont fait vers nos a tort &
• contre la lei de la terre, soient tot
• pardonez, o len en face par juge-
• ment del xxv. Barons dont len pa-
• role de soz, o par le jugement de la
• greignor partie de cels ensemble,
• o le devant dit Archevesque Stefne
• de Cantorbe sil i puet estre: & cels
• quil vodra apeler od sei, & sil ni
• pora estre neien meins ne voist li
• affaires avant senz lui en tel maniere
• que se alguns o aucun des devant diz
• xxv. Barons, seront en tel querele
• soient oste de cest jugement, & altre
• esleu & jure soient mis a co faire en
• lieu de cels par le remanant des de-
• vant diz xxv. Barons.

• Se nos avons desfaiz & esloigniez
• les Walais de terre & de franchises,
• o daltres choses senz leal jugement
• de lor Pers en Engleterre, o en
• Wales, maintenant lor soient ren-
• dues, & se plaiz en sera comanciez
• selor en soit fait en la Marche par
• jugement de lor Peres des tenemenz
• d' Engleterre solonc la lei d' Engle-
• terre, des tenemenz de Wales so-
• lonc la lei de Wales, des tenemenz
• de la Marche solonc de lei de la
• Marche, & ce meismes facent li Wa-
• lais a nos & as noz.

• De totes celes choses dont alguns
• des Walaix fu desfaiz, o esloignie
• senz leal jugement de ses Pers par le
• Rei Henri nostre pere, o par le Rei
• Richart nostre frere, que nos avons
• en nostre main, o altre tinent cui
• il nos covient garantir, aurons re-
• spit jusqual commun terme des Croi-
• siez, fors de celes choses dont plaist
• fu commenciez o enqueste faite par
• nostre commandement devant que
• nous prissions la Croiz, & quant nos
• serons repairez, o se par aventure
• remanons de nostre pelerinage main-
• tenant lor enfrons pleine dreiture
• solonc

in other mens Fees, in which the
Lords of the Fees claim a Right: And
when we shall be return'd from our
Pilgrimage, or if we forbear going,
we will immediately do full Right to
all that shall complain.

None shall be taken nor imprison'd
upon the Appeal of a Woman, for
the death of any other than her Hus-
band.

All the Fines and all the Amerce-
ments that are impos'd for our use,
wrongfully and contrary to the Law of
the Land, shall be pardon'd; or else
they shall be determin'd by the Judg-
ment of the Five and twenty Barons,
of whom hereafter, or by the Judg-
ment of the greater number of them
that shall be present, or before *Stephen*
Archbishop of *Canterbury*, if he can be
there, and those that he shall call to
him; and if he cannot be present,
Matters shall proceed notwithstanding
without him; so always, that if one
or more of the said Five and twenty
Barons be concern'd in any such Com-
plaint, they shall not give Judgment
thereupon, but others chosen and
sworn shall be put in their room to
act in their stead, by the residue of
the said Five and twenty Barons.

If we have disseiz'd or esloin'd any
Welchmen of Land, Franchises, or
of other things, without lawful Judg-
ment of their Peers, in *England* or in
Wales, they shall forthwith be restor'd
unto them; and if Suits arise there-
upon, Right shall be done them in the
Marches by the Judgment of their
Peers; of *English* Tenements accord-
ing to the Law of *England*, and of
Tenements in *Wales* according to the
Law of *Wales*; and Tenements in the
Marches according to the Law of the
Marches: And in like manner shall the
Welch do to us and our Subjects.

As for all such things, whereof any
Welchmen have been disseiz'd or es-
loin'd, without lawful Judgment of
their Peers, by King *Henry* our Fa-
ther, or by King *Richard* our Brother,
which we have in our hands, or which
any others have, to whom we are
bound to warrant the same, we will
have respit till the common Term be
expir'd of all that crost themselves for
the *Holy Land*, those things excepted
whereupon Suits were commenc'd, or
Inquests taken by our Order before
we took upon us the Cross; and when
we shall return from our Pilgrimage,

The Great Charter of King John,

solonc les lez de Wales, & les devant dites parties.

Nos rendrons le fil Lewelin maintenant & toz les hostages de Wales, & les chartres que l'en nos livra en seurte de pais.

Nos serons a Alisandre le Rei d'Escoce de ses setors & de ses hostages rendre, & de ses franchises, & de la drecture solonc la forme que nos frons a nos autres Barons d'Engleterre, se autrement ne doit estre par les chartres que nos avons de son pere Willaume, qui fu jadis Reis d'Escoce, & co sera fait par jugement de ses Pers en nostre Cort.

Totes ces costumes devant dites & les franchises que nos avons otrées a tenir en nostre Regne quant a nos appartient envers les nos, tuit cil de nostre Regne, & Clerc & lai doivent garder quant a eus appartient envers les lor.

Et car nos avons otrées totes les choses devant dites por Dieu, & por amandement de nostre Regne, & por mieuz plaiser la descorde qui es comanciée entre nos & nos Barons: nos voelliant que ces choses seent fermes & estables a toz jorz, faisons & otrions a nos Barons la seurte de soz escrite; co est que li Baron ellisent xxv. Barons del Regne telz quil voudront, qui dient de tot lor poer garder & tenir, & faire garder la pais & les franchises que nos avons otrées & confirmées par ceste nostre presente Chartre, cissi co est a saver que se nos, o nostre Justise, o nostre Bailli, o aucuns de nos ministres mesfaisons en aucune choses vers aucun, o trespassions en aucun point de la pais, o de la seurte, & nostre mesfais sera mostrez a quatre Barons del devant dit xxv. cil quatre Baron vieignent a nos, o a nostre Justise, se nos sumes fors del Regne, & nos monstrent nostre trespassement, & requierent que nos faciens amender cel trespassement sanz proloignement & se nos namendons le trespassement, o se nous sumes fors del Regne nostre Justise ne lamendra devant xl. jors apres co que il sera mostrez a nos, o a nostre Justise se nous sumes fors de la terre, adonc

or if peradventure we forbear going, we will presently cause full Right to be done therein, according to the Laws of Wales, and before the said Partys.

We will forthwith restore the Son of Lewelyn, and all the Hostages of Wales, and the Deeds that have been deliver'd to us for Security of the Peace.

We will deal with Alexander King of Scotland, as to the restoring him his Suitors and his Hostages, his Franchises and Rights, as we do with our other Barons of England, unless it ought to be otherwise by virtue of the Charters which we have of his Father William late King of Scotland; and this to be by the Judgment of his Peers in our Court.

All these Customs and Franchises aforesaid, which we have granted to be kept in our Kingdom, so far forth as we are concern'd, towards our Men, all Persons of the Kingdom, Clerks and Lay, must observe for their parts towards their Men.

And whereas we have granted all these things for God's sake, and for the amendment of our Government, and for the better compromising the Discord arisen betwixt us and our Barons: We willing that the same be firmly held and establish'd for ever, do make and grant to our Barons the Security underwritten; to wit, That the Barons shall chuse Five and twenty Barons of the Realm, whom they list, who shall to their utmost Power keep and hold, and cause to be kept the Peace and Libertys which we have granted and confirm'd by this our present Charter; inasomuch that if we, or our Justice, or our Bayliff, or any of our Ministers, act contrary to the same in any thing, against any Persons, or offend against any Article of this Peace and Security, and such our Miscarriage be shewn to four Barons of the said Five and twenty, those four Barons shall come to us, or to our Justice, if we be out of the Realm, and shew us our Miscarriage, and require us to amend the same without delay; and if we do not amend it, or if we be out of the Realm, our Justice do not amend it within Forty days after the same is shewn to us, or to our Justice if we be out of the Realm, then the said four

adonc li devant dit quatre reportent
cele cause al autres de celz xxy. Ba-
rons, & adonc cil xxv. Barons a la
commune de tote Engleterre nos
destreindront & greveront en totes
li manieres que il porront. Co est
par prendre chastelz & terres &
possessions, & en queles autres ma-
nieres quil poront, jusqu'il soit a-
mende solonc lor jugement, sauve
nostre persone & de nostre Reine,
& de nos enfans, & quant il sera
amande il attendront a nos, cissi
com devant. Et qui verra de la
terre jurt que a totes les devant di-
tes choses paroir, il obeira al co-
mandement des devant diz xxv. Ba-
rons, & quil nous grevera ensemble
oels a son poer, & nous donons
comunement & franchement congie
de jurer a chascun qui jurer verra,
& ja ne le defendrons a neis un, &
toz cels de la terre qui de lor von gre
voldront jurer as xxv. Barons, de
destreindre & de grever nos, nos les
frons jurer oels par nostre commande-
ment, si com devant est dit.

Et se aucuns des xxv. Barons mor-
ra, o partira de la terre, o sera de-
storbez en aucune maniere quil ne
puist les choses qui sont devant dites
poursuivre, cil qui seront remes des
devant dit xxv. Barons, ellisent un
autre en lieu de celui solonc lor es-
gart, que jurera en tel maniere com
l'autre ont fait.

Et en totes les choses que li xxv.
Barons devont poursuivre se paraven-
ture cil xxv. seront present, &
descorderont entre els d'aucune
chose, o aucun de cels qui seront
sumons ne vdront, o ne pouront
estre present, soit ferm & certain
do que la greignon partie de cels
qui seront present porvera, o re-
cevra ensemblement com se tait i ayeient
consenti.

Et li devant dit xxv. Barons jure-
ront que totes les choses qui sont
devant dites, quil garderont seele-
ment, & seront garder de toz lor
poer.

Et nous ne porchaterons d'aucun par
nos, ne par altrui rien pour quei
aucuns de ces otriemenz o de cestes
franchises soit rapeler o amenuiez,
& se aucune tel chose sera porchacie
fait cassee & veine, & ja ne use-
rons par nos ne par altrui.

Et

four Barons shall report the same to the
residue of the said Five and twenty Ba-
rons; and then those Five and twenty
Barons, with the Commonalty of Eng-
land, may distress us by all the ways they
can; to wit, by seizing on our Castles,
Lands and Possessions, and by what other
means they can, till it be amended, as
they shall adjudge, saving our own Per-
son, the Person of our Queen, and the
Persons of our Children: And when it
is amended, they shall be subject to
us as before. And whoever of the
Realms will, may swear, that for the
Performance of these things he will
obey the Commands of the said Five
and twenty Barons, and that together
with them he will distress us to his
Power: And we will give publick and
free leave to swear to all that will
swear, and will never hinder any one:
And for all Persons of the Realm, that
of their own accord will swear to the
said Five and twenty Barons to di-
stress us, we will issue our Precept,
commanding them to swear as afore-
said.

And if any of the said Five and
twenty Barons die, or go out of the
Realm, or be any way hinder'd from
acting as aforesaid, the residue of the
said Five and twenty Barons shall
chuse another in his room, according
to their discretion, who shall swear as
the others do.

And as to all things which the said
Five and twenty Barons are to do, if
peradventure they be not all present,
or cannot agree, or in case any of
those that are summon'd cannot or
will not come, whatever shall be de-
termin'd by the greater number of
them that are present, shall be good
and valid, as if all had been present.

And the said Five and twenty Ba-
rons shall swear that they will faith-
fully observe all the Matters aforesaid,
and cause them to be observ'd to their
power.

And we will not obtain of any one
for our selves, or for any other, any
thing whereby any of these Conces-
sions, or of these Libertys may be re-
vok'd or annihilated; and if any such
thing be obtain'd, it shall be null and
void, nor shall ever be made use of by
our selves or any other.

And

Et totes males volentes, de-
 deigz, rancors, qui sont nées entre
 nos & nos homes clers & lais, deske
 la descorde, comanca, avons plainement
 relaisiées & pardonées a toz,
 & estre co toz les trespassemens qui
 sunt fait par achaisson di ceste des-
 corde des la Pasche en la sezain de
 nostre Regne jusqual reformement
 de la pais, avom plainement relaisi-
 sie a toz clers, & a lais & quant a
 nos aportient lor avon plainement
 pardone & otrie di co lor avon fait
 faire lettres de tesmoin overtes de
 Seignor Stefne l' Arceveske de Can-
 torbire, de Seignor Henri l' Arce-
 veske de Diveline, & des devant diz
 Evesques, & de maistre Pandolf for
 ceste seurte & ces otreiemenz, por
 la que chose nos volons & coman-
 dons fermement que l' Eglise d' An-
 gleterre soit franche, & que li home
 en nostre Regne aient & tiegnent
 totes les devant dites franchises, &
 les deitures, & les otreiemenz bien
 & en pais franchement & quitte-
 ment, plainement & entierement a
 els, & lor elrs en totes choses, &
 en toz leus, a tozjorz si com devant
 est dit. Et si fu jure de nostre part,
 & de la part des Barons que totes
 choses qui defus sunt escrites, seront
 gardées a bone fei sanz malengin.
 Tesmoig en sont cil qui sunt devant
 dit, & mult altre.

Ceste chartre fu donée el pre est
 appelez Roveninkmede entre Win-
 desores & Stanes, le quinzain jor de
 juig l' an de nostre Regne dis & sept
 ans.

1215.

Joan par la grace de Dieu Reis d'
 Engleterre as Visconte de Suthan-
 tefire, & a dosce esleuz en tel Conte
 a enquerre & oster les malveisies
 costumes des Viscontes & de lor mi-
 nistres des fores & des forestiers, &
 des Warenes, & des Warrenniers,
 & des Riviars, & de lor gardes, sa-
 luz. Nos vos mandons que senz de-
 lai faisiez en nostre main les terres,
 & les tenemenz, & les chatels de
 toz celz del Conte de Suthantefire
 qui ne vodront jurer as xxv. Barons
 solonc la forme qui est escrite en
 nostre chartre des franchises, o a
 celz quil auront a co atornez; & s'il
 ne volent jurer maintenant empres
 quinze jorz acompliz, puisque lor
 terres & lor tenement, & lor chatel
 seront

And all ill-will, Disdain and Ran-
 cour, which has been between Us and
 our Subjects of the Clergy and Laity
 since the said Discord began, we do
 fully release and pardon to them all.
 And moreover all Trespasses that have
 been committed by occasion of the
 said Discord since *Easter*, in the six-
 teenth Year of our Reign, to the re-
 storing of the Peace, we have fully
 releas'd to all Clerks and Laymen;
 and so far as in us lies we have fully
 pardon'd them: And further we have
 cans'd Letters Patent to be made to
 them in testimony hereof, witness'd
 by *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
Henry Archbishop of *Dublin*, and by
 the aforesaid Bishops, and by Mr. *Pan-*
dulphus, upon this Security and these
 Concessions: Whereby we will and
 strictly command, that the Church of
England be free, and enjoy all the said
 Libertys, and Rights, and Grants,
 well and in peace, freely and quietly,
 fully and entirely to them and their
 Heirs, in all things, in all places, and
 for ever as aforesaid. And we and
 our Barons have sworn that all things
 above written, shall be kept on our
 parts in good Faith without ill De-
 sign. The Witnesses are the Persons
 above-nam'd and many others.

This Charter was given at the Mea-
 dow call'd *Running-Mead*, betwixt
Windsor and *Stanes*, the Fifteenth day
 of *June*, in the seventeenth Year of
 our Reign.

JOHN by the Grace of God King
 of *England*, to the Sheriff of *Hamp-*
shire, and to the Twelve that are
 chosen in that County, to enquire of
 and put away the evil Customs of
 Sheriffs, and of their Ministers, of
 Forests and Foresters, of Warrens
 and Warrenners, of Rivers, and of
 guarding them, Greeting. We com-
 mand you, that without delay, you
 feize into our hand the Lands and
 Tenements, and the Goods of all
 those of the County of *Southampton*,
 that will not swear to the said Five
 and twenty Barons, according to the
 Form exprest in our Charter of Li-
 bertys, or to such as they shall have
 thereunto appointed; and if they will
 not swear presently, at the end of
 fifteen

seront seisi en nostre main : faites
vendre toz lor chatelz, & les de-
niers qui en seront pris gardez sau-
vement, a metre en laie de la sainte
terre de Jerusalem; & lor terres &
lor tenemenz tenez en nostre main
jusquil aient jure, & co fu pourvieu
par le jugement l' Arceveske Stefne
de Cantorbire & des Barons de nos-
tre Regne. Et en tesmoig de ceste
chose nos enveons cestes nos lettres
overtes. Tesmoig mei meisme. A
Odibaam le vint & septain jor de
Juig, lan de nostre Regne dis & sep-
tain.

fifteen days after their Lands, and
Tenements, and Chattels are seiz'd
into our Hands, that ye sell all their
Goods, and keep safely the Mony that
ye shall receive for the same, to be
employ'd for the Relief of the Holy
Land of *Jerusalem*; and that ye keep
their Lands and Tenements in our
Hands till they have sworn, or that
Stephen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and
the Barons of our Kingdom have gi-
ven Judgment thereupon. In witness
whereof we direct unto you these our
Letters Patent. Witness our Self:
At *Odibaam* the Seven and twentieth
Day of *June*, in the Seventeenth Year
of our Reign.

SEVERAL

fifteen days after their lands and
Tennement, and Charles are
into our hands, that ye shall then
Goods, and keep the money that
ye shall receive for the same, to be
employed for the Relief of the Holy
Land or Jerusalem, and that ye keep
their lands and Tennements in our
hands till they have sworn, or that
Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and
the Barons of our Kingdom have
given judgment thereupon. In witness
whereof we direct unto you this our
Letter. Witness our self.
At Oxford the seven and twentieth
Day of June in the seventh Year
of our reign.

leont fait en nostre main: faites
vendre toy chascun & les de-
vies qui en seront par vendues lan-
vement, a metre en laide la sainte
croix de Jerusalem: & les deniers
qui en seront levés en nostre main
pour l'achat d'icele, ou de la poissance
de la terre de Jerusalem, ou d'aucune
partie de la terre de la sainte croix de
Jerusalem. Et en temoign de ceste
chose nos envoies cestes nos lettres
overtes. Testmoign mesme. A
Oxford le six de Juin l'an par de
Dieu, le second de l'regn de l'empereur

REVERA

SEVERAL
DISCOURSES
UPON
Practical Subjects.

BY
SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Fff

SEVERAL
DISCOURSES
UPON

Practical Subjects

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LII

A decorative horizontal border featuring a repeating pattern of stylized flowers and scrolling vines. The design is symmetrical and intricate, with dark, solid-colored floral motifs set against a lighter, textured background. The pattern includes large, rounded flower heads and delicate, swirling vine-like elements that create a continuous, flowing effect across the width of the page.

SERMON I.

PSALM CXIX. 73.

In these words we may observe two things :

I. The Sense and Consideration that *David* had of his Original, and from whence he came, and at whose hands he receiv'd his Being; *Thy Hands have made me and fashion'd me.*

II. The Effect of this Sense and Consideration; it prompts him to Obedience, he wou'd fain know what he must do for God who had done so much for him: *Give me Understanding that I may learn thy Commandments.* He finds he has very great Obligations laid upon him by God, and that makes him desirous to understand his Duty towards him, and to know which way he may serve and please the Author of his Being.

I. The Sense and Consideration that *David* had of his Original, and from whence he came, and at whose hands he receiv'd his Being; *Thy Hands have made me and fashion'd me.* This was a Consideration which possess'd *David's* Mind, and was very frequently in his Thoughts, as we may see by this, that he takes all occasions to make mention of it. And that we may not think he spoke of it by rote, and that they were words of course, he shews that he had deeply consider'd the thing, he had study'd the point, it was not superficial, but a deep and thorow Sense which he had of it: *Psal.* 139. 14. 15, 16. *I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvellous are thy Works, and that my Soul knoweth right well. My Substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the Earth. Thine Eyes did see my Substance, yet being imperfect; and in thy Book were all my Members written, which day by day were fashion'd, when as yet there were none of them.* And as he knew this right well for his own part, so he was desirous that all others shou'd take knowledg of it, and duly consider it as he had done: *Psal.* 100. 3. *Know ye that the Lord he is God, it is he that hath made us, and not we our selves; we are his People, and the Sheep of his Pasture*

This is a very obvious Truth; we were not able to make our selves, for then it wou'd be much easier for us to preserve our selves: nor were we made by others, our Parents being our selves. The probable Saying which we have receiv'd from a Woman, who saw her seven Sons marry'd before her, and lay to them, *For ye have taken away my youth, and ye have married them, and ye have taken away my virginity, and ye have taken away my honour, and ye have taken away my life, and ye have taken away my name, and ye have taken away my fame.* She utterly disowns and disclaims any part she had in giving being to her Children, and exhorts them securely and confidently to put themselves into his hands who made them at the first, the Creator of the World, who form'd the Generation of man, and found out the Beginning of all things. And he indeed is a likely and probable Author of our Original, from whom we may reasonably derive our lives; for he is every way able and sufficient to produce such Creatures as we are. This is infallibly certain, that whosoever made us was able to make us; he must have as great Perfections as we, for none ~~can give more than he has: nay he must have greater Perfections than we, or~~ else we might as well have made our selves. Now here is the advantage which Religion has against Atheism: We assign a sufficient Cause of our Being, but they one which is impotent and utterly insufficient: We say that we had our Souls from the Father of Spirits, our Reason and Understanding from an infinitely wise, intelligent and powerful Being; we name a likely Author of our Being. But now whence do they derive them, and from what Original? They fetch Life from dead Matter, and Sense from a Stone: They say we are the Offspring of a material World; whereas Reason and Understanding are not Matter, nor the Result of it, nor within the Sphere of it, nor have any Affinity with it.

There is as wide a difference betwixt Thought and a piece of Matter, as there is betwixt Heaven and Earth: so that when men ascribe the Reason and Understanding, the inward Freedom and Liberty of their Minds to the power of Matter, which is not only void of these Excellencies and Perfections, but likewise for ever incapable of them; they commit the same absurdity in Reasoning, as he wou'd be guilty of in Arithmetick, who shou'd say twenty out of Ten. Their Philosophy is as senseless as an Idolater's Prayer, which he makes to a wooden Image, as the Wisdom of Solomon has describ'd it in the Thirteenth Chapter of that Book, Verse 18. *For Health he calleth upon that which is weak, for Life prayeth to that which is dead, for Aid humbly beseebeth that which hath least means to help, and for a good Journey asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward.* And just so do they; they derive a Being, which is full of Desires, from that which is listless, and has none at all; they derive Consciousness from that which has no Knowledge; and in a word, they derive Liberty from Necessity: Whereas he that considers the Perfections of a reasonable Soul, and concludes from thence, that they were produc'd by some more perfect Being, argues as reasonably as he, that seeing excellent Pieces of Painting, does judge they were done by some able Master. When we view the Excellencies and Endowments of human Nature, we can ascribe them to no other Author than him, from whom the Psalmist acknowledges to have receiv'd his Being, *Thy Hands have made me and fashion'd me.* This is a Conclusion which is easily prov'd, and to which every body will yield their Assent; but that which is wanting, is a constant Sense and serious Consideration of this Truth. This is a plain and undeniable Truth, when we reflect upon it, and take it into our Thoughts; but how very seldom do we do that? God gave us our Being, we cannot deny it whenever we argue it: but we live without any sense of it, we are as regardless and unmindful of it as if there had never been any such thing; and, as the Apostle's words are, *We live without God in the World.* Now that we may be the more excited to follow the Example of David, who shews upon all occasions what a constant sense he had of the Original of his Being, that he was made and fashion'd by the Hands of God, I shall endeavour to shew you,

First of all, The Reasonableness,
 Secondly, The Advantages, And
 Thirdly, The Reasonableness of bearing in mind this Consideration.
 First, The Reasonableness of bearing in mind this Consideration: And that upon these two Accounts:

1st. In respect of our Being it self. And
 2^d. In respect of God, at whose hands we receiv'd it.
 1st. In respect of our Being it self. This is so great a Blessing, that our Hearts ought to be very much affected with it. It is a mighty Preferment, to be rais'd from nothing to be a Man, to be little lower than an Angel, to be created in the Image of God, and not made like the Horse and Mule which have no Understanding. But as I observ'd to you, Men generally have but slight Apprehensions of this wonderful Blessing, they do not take notice of it, nor mind it as they ought to do: And one reason of that neglect may be this; Our Being is grown so familiar to us, and we are so long us'd to it before we come to the use of our Reason, and to be able to ask our selves whence we are, and how we came hither, that we are apt to look upon it as an ordinary thing: whereas if we came into the World as *Adam* did, grown men, and capable of reflecting upon our Being as soon as we had it, how shou'd we be ravish'd and overjoy'd with it, and our Spirits even overcome with the sense of so sudden and surprizing a Happiness? Such an unexpected Good cou'd not chuse but fill the Soul with an amaz'd Joy. No man can fully imagine what a strange Delight it wou'd be to him to awake into Being, and to find himself upon a sudden endow'd with Reason and Understanding, with Life and Sense, and all the Powers of a reasonable Soul, of which he knew nothing before: I say, it cannot be imagin'd how welcome the first Discovery of this new Happiness wou'd be to him. And now is there any reason that this Happiness shou'd be the less regarded by us, because we have longer enjoy'd it? We shou'd rather prize it the more, because by the continuance of it God does in effect every day bestow a new Being upon us. And this is not only the foundation of all our present Happiness, but which is more considerable, of all our large Expectations in another World; and therefore we are extremely stupid if we do not regard nor entertain a due Sense of so wonderful a Blessing. Reason and Reflection are given us in vain, if we do not make this use of them; if we overlook so great a Benefit as our Being, what can we in reason take notice of? for nothing in the World can come so close to us, or so nearly concern us.

But, 2^d. We have likewise great Reason to bear in mind this Consideration in respect of God, at whose hands we have receiv'd our Being. If we consider how freely and unexpectedly we came by it, how God bestow'd it upon us when we were not capable of begging any such favour at his hands; that he shou'd thus give unsought and unask'd, where he can hope to receive nothing again; that he shou'd make a Subject to exercise his Bounty upon; these are such ways of bestowing a Benefit as are peculiar to God alone. The Benefit it self far exceeds the greatest kindness that any Mortal Men can shew us; they cannot breathe that Breath of Life into our Nostrils which has made us living Souls. But then for God to create an Object of Charity, to make somewhat that might be capable of his Bounty, is such an excess of Goodness as we can never sufficiently admire. And is all this to be forgotten? The devout Psalmist was of another mind; *Psal. 71. 6. By thee have I been holden up ever since I was born, thou art he that took me out of my Mother's Womb; my Praise shall be always of thee.* He thought he had a copious Subject for perpetual Praises and Thanksgivings, and was resolv'd not to bury so great a Benefit as this either in Oblivion or in Silence, but to make others sensible of it as he was himself.

Secondly, I come now to the Advantages of this Consideration, That God made us; that if we be not mov'd by the Reason of the thing, yet we may be prevail'd upon by our own Interest. And this is such a Consideration, that no wise man cou'd live comfortably one moment without it. It is the only Security we have, our Satisfaction, the Ease and Joy of our Hearts, to think that we are in the hands of a faithful Creator. We have no greater Comfort here below, than to think we have a God that made us; and what he was then, he

he is still; his Arm is not shorten'd, but he is still as able to support us in Being, as he was then to bring us into it. Were it not for this, what poor helpless things shou'd we be, like so many fatherless Children turn'd out into the wide World? But now we have one to fly to in all our straits, to support us under all calamitys, and to provide for us in all our wants. Our blessed Saviour has taught us to make use of this Argument; Mat. 6. 25. *Is not the Life more than Meat, and the Body than Raiment?* The force of it is this: God has given me Life, so precious a thing as that, and therefore I may very well trust him for so poor a thing as Bread; he has given me a Body, and sure he will not suffer the Work of his own Hands to perish, and be lost for want of something to cover it. This is a sure Argument of Contentment, and will stay by us when all other things leave us. What an uncomfortable thing wou'd it be to think, that we had been made by a fortuitous concourse of Atoms, and that we liv'd under the Reign of blind Chance, where we might be destroy'd in a moment, without the least hopes of reparation or living again! Whereas now we know, that when Death hath done its worst, when this Body is dissolv'd and crumbled into Earth, God can as easily raise it out of the Dust as he made it at the first: For with God, as the Psalmist expresses it, *is the Well of Life, and it can never be drawn dry.* This Consideration was that which inspir'd those seven Brethren, whom I mention'd before, with so much Courage and Resolution: One of them going to be mangled and tortur'd, held forth his Hands, and said, *These I had from Heaven, and for his Laws I despise them, and from him I hope to receive them again.* No Man can be miserable that has this sense of things, and this expectation, That if he loses this Life, God will give him a better; and this Confidence every good Man may have, he need not fear being lost. So that when Men forget the Original of their Being, and do not consider whose Hands made them and fashion'd them, they are their own Enemy, and rob themselves of the greatest Happiness that is to be had in this World.

Thirdly, As it is reasonable in it self, and of great advantage to us, so it is a thing of very easy performance, and has little difficulty in it. It is easy to reflect and turn our Thoughts upon any Object, but it is still easier to think of him that made us; because in this case we need do no more than only not strive to forget him: For every thing prompts us and puts us in mind of him, every thing within us and without us is a Remembrancer to us; we need not climb up into Heaven, nor descend into the Deep, nor cross the Seas to seek him; *He is not far from every one of us, for in him we live, and move, and have our Being.* And therefore we may as well forget that we are alive, and stir, and take our Breath, as forget him who gave us Life, and Breath, and all things. It was he that planted the Eye with which we see, and the Ear with which we hear; in his Book were all our Members written, which day by day were fashion'd, when as yet there were none of them. Our own Body, which we continually carry about with us, may put us in mind by what Hand it was made and fashion'd: so that if we have not a constant Sense of this in our Minds, we are utterly inexcusable; for besides the great reason there is for it, there is little difficulty in it. And so I come to the second thing:

II. The Effect of this Sense and Consideration in David; it prompted him to Obedience, it made him desirous to understand his Duty towards God, and what he might do to serve and please him: *Give me Understanding that I may learn thy Commandments.* And a due Consideration that God made us, inclines us and disposes us to do his Will upon these two Accounts.

First, It makes us humble. And,

Secondly, It makes us thankful.

First, It makes us humble, it acquaints us with the Condition of a Creature who is born to obey; he is not his own, and therefore ought not to be at his own disposal. The Obligation of Creatures to render Obedience to him that made them does cleave to their Being, it is inseparably annex't to their Condition, it is the very Essence and Truth of a Creature-State: we were subject to the Will and Pleasure of our great Creator, when he was pleas'd

to make us; and why shall we not be subject now? What has made the Difference? Every one that considers whence he receiv'd his Being, will express himself as St. Paul does, when speaking of God he calls him, *The God whose I am, and whom I serve.* Ought his Will to stand or ours, who are but of yesterday, who lay at his Mercy, whether we shou'd be or not be any thing at all?

Secondly, It disposes us to Obedience, as it makes us thankful, and fills us with Gratitude to him. When we consider that all that we have or are is owing to God, we shall devote our selves to his Service, and be wholly made up of Obedience to him. How can we find in our hearts to offend Him, who has done so much for us? Shall all that Love be cast away upon us, and only inable us to be Rebels against God? He cannot but take this very unkindly at the hands of his own Creatures. If we have the least Spark of Goodness left in us, it will make our Hearts bleed to think, that ever we shou'd prove such ungrateful Wretches towards God, as to make him wish that he had never made us. And yet the Scripture tells us, that it has been the Wickedness of Man has drawn God to this: *Gen. 6. 5, 6. And God saw that the Wickedness of Man was great upon the Earth, and it repented the Lord that he had made Man upon the Earth, and it griev'd him at the Heart.* If we cannot requite our Creator, however let us not grieve him; tho it be not in our power to make him any part of amends, yet it is horrid to render Evil for Good. There is nothing sure can make a greater Impression upon us than this wonderful Love of God; this will ingage and constrain us to love him again, and to yield up our selves to his Service.

I come now to consider more particularly those words of David, wherein he expresses his Desire of obeying God, and doing his Duty to him; *Give me Understanding that I may learn thy Commandments.* Wherein we shall take notice of these three things.

- 1st. To whom he directs his Prayer, to God that made him.
- 2ly. The Matter of his Prayer, *Give me Understanding that I may learn thy Commandments.* And,
- 3ly. The Ground of this Prayer and Address to God, *Because his Hands had made him and fashion'd him.*

1st. To whom he directs his Prayer, to God that made him. And to whom else shou'd a Creature go? He is the Father of Spirits, and the Center of immortal Souls: we came from him, and ought to return to him again. *A Post of your own,* says St. Paul to the Heathens, *has said we are his Offspring:* This they knew by the Light of Nature, and therefore the same Light of Nature directed them to seek to him. Under that notion of a Father our blessed Saviour teaches us to come to him; and in the beginning of that most excellent Form of Prayer, which he put into our mouths, has made us bold to call him our heavenly Father. And then he has farther instructed us what Encouragement there is contain'd in that Title, to expect his Blessings, by comparing God with earthly Parents, and by shewing, that if they be bountiful and liberal to their Children, he will be so much more. *Mat. 7. 11. If ye then being Evil know how to give good Gifts unto your Children, how much more shall your Father who is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him?* Earthly Parents are often indigent, and cannot give; and evil and ill-natur'd, and will not give what they can very well spare to their Children: But God is free from both these Imperfections; he has never the less for what he bestows, he can never lessen his own native Stores; and then he is liberal, and upbraideth not, he is bountiful in his Nature, he loves to communicate, he has made an infinite number of Creatures only to exercise his Bounty upon. He has given them large Capacities to receive the Effects of his Goodness, and he fills every thing living with Plenteousness. He is the Fountain of all Goodness. All the Love and tender Affection which is found in the most indulgent Parent upon Earth, is but a Spark of the Divine Love, but a Drop of that Ocean of Goodness which is in God. We think we love our selves very well, but it may easily be prov'd that God loves us much better than we can love our selves; for he planted that Affection within us whereby we love

our

our selves, and it is but an effect of that great good Will which he himself bears to us, and therefore must be greater in the Cause. And as he is thus able and willing to help us, so he is near at hand, he is not far from every one of us, we may easily apply our selves to him, he is always ready to receive our Requests. He knows our Wants before we our selves do, and is privy to all the secret Motions and Desires of our Souls; and therefore to him we ought to direct our Prayers, and put up all our Petitions, for he only is capable of receiving and answering them. Thus you see *David* does, he calls upon Him for help who had made him, and given him his Being, and therefore he still depends upon him. And as to this matter, Christianity has not alter'd the old Religion of those times, only it has enabled us to go to God in the prevailing Name of *Jesus Christ*; *John 16. 23. Verily, verily, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my Name, he will give it you.* He would have us make use of his Name and powerful Intercession, and encourages us, in what we ask of God, to beg it for his sake, and we shall not be deny'd; for this is a part of Worship so peculiarly belonging to God, that we cannot give it to any Creature without the greatest Sacrilege. Prayer does testify our dependance upon Him, to whom we make it; and therefore we rob God of his Honour, when we alienate this Service from him, and apply it elsewhere. We give the Attributes of God, Allsufficiency, Goodness and Omniscience, to Saints and Angels, if we pray to them; and to give these Perfections to Creatures, is that which God has declar'd against, when he says, *He will not give his Glory to another.* Saints and Angels cannot be omniscient; How then can they know whether we pray to them or no? How can finite Creatures be every where, and at the same time receive Petitions from Persons in all parts of the World? Nay, how can they know mens Hearts, and the Sincerity of their Desires, which is the chief Ingredient of a good Prayer?

As for their knowledg of the Conversion of a Sinner, at which there is Joy in the presence of the Angels of God, which is us'd as an Argument for praying to them; it is easily answer'd. It is true, the Conversion of a Sinner lies deep, the Seat of it is in the Heart; it is a thorow change of Mind and Affections, as well as of outward Actions: so that if they cou'd discover the Secrets of all mens Hearts, they wou'd be so far qualify'd for and capable of receiving mens Prayers. But they are not endu'd with any such Perfection, as may appear from that very Passage which is brought to prove it; *Luke 15. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Our Saviour spoke this Parable, saying, What Man of you having an hundred Sheep, if he loses one of them, does not leave the ninety nine in the Wilderness, and go after that which is lost until he find it? And when he has found it, he layeth it on his Shoulders, rejoicing; and when he cometh home, he calleth together his Friends and Neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my Sheep which was lost: I say unto you, that likewise Joy shall be in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth.* And the same is exprest in the 10th Verse, *There is Joy in the Presence of the Angels of God over one Sinner that repenteth.* Now it is plain, that as the Shepherd, when he has found his lost Sheep, communicates his Joy to his Friends and Neighbours; so when God has recover'd a lost Sinner, this is represented as so grateful to him, that he makes the Angels Partakers of his Joy. And this is not only agreeable to the two Parables which our Saviour uses upon that occasion, but very reasonable in it self, that God shou'd reveal to the Angels, and particularly acquaint them with such things as may contribute to their Happiness, and afford them matter of Satisfaction and Delight, tho at the same time they be ignorant of many other things: And if Saints be but equal to the Angels, the same holds as to them. So that to pray to either of them, tho it be but to intercede for us, is to suppose them Omnipresent, and Searchers and Triers of the Heart, which are Attributes belonging to God alone.

And as to the further Effect and Success of such Prayers, the less need be said, since in the very making of them there is committed the greatest Injury and Dishonour to God, when Creatures are treated with the same Honour as is due to Him alone, whose Hands have made us and fashion'd us. For, as the Prophet says to God, *Thou art our Father, tho Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel be ignorant of us.* He understands our Wants, and the State of our

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Souls, and with what Affection we pray to him; and is able and readily dispos'd to help us: and therefore we are wanting to our selves if we do not make our frequent Addresses to him for the supply of all our Needs. *He is a God that heareth Prayer, and therefore to him shou'd all Flesh come.* He only is capable of receiving our Prayers, and it is one of the first things we are to believe, that he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him. But on the other hand, to pray to Creatures, is to set them up in the place of God, and is an Honour which we may be sure is disown'd, and rejected and abhor'd by all the Saints and Angels of God, if they know any thing of the Devotions of the Church of Rome. So much for the first thing, to whom David directs his Prayer, *To God that made him.*

2ly. The Matter of his Prayer; *Give me Understanding that I may learn thy Commandments.* From whence I shall take occasion to consider these two things:

1. That the knowledg of Religion is a great point of Wisdom. And,
2. That it is to be sought at the hands of God.

1. That the knowledg of Religion is a great point of Wisdom. To understand the Commands of God, is to know that which does most nearly concern us, and is of greatest use to us. It is to know the Will and Pleasure of him who is our best Friend, but if we disobey him, will prove our sorest Enemy; *who will take vengeance of them that know not God, and put the knowledg of his Laws far from them.* The knowledg of Religion therefore is not a vain and impertinent Curiosity, but that upon which our Happiness depends; it is that which secures our everlasting Interest, and teaches us how to escape from the Wrath to come. So that if a Man were stor'd with all other Sciences, knew all the Secrets both of Art and Nature, cou'd measure the Earth, and call all the Stars by their Names; yet if he were destitute of the knowledg of his Duty towards God, that wou'd be a greater defect than all his other Accomplishments cou'd recompense. As for other parts of Learning, they may be spar'd, and Men can live well enough without them; but he that does not know the way to Happiness is an ignorant Man, whatever he may know besides, because he is defective in the great thing of all, he fails in the main. To be acquainted with our Duty, to know what is the good, and perfect, and acceptable Will of God, what he is pleas'd and delighted with, and what will render us like to Him, and promote our eternal Happiness, must needs be the truest Wisdom; because it serves the highest Purposes, and is that which is in order to our greatest end, the Salvation of our Souls. It is useful to know the Laws of the Land where we live, because we are to be govern'd by them; but what then is it to know the Statutes of Heaven, the unchangeable Laws of Righteousness and Goodness, those Rules by which we must live and be happy for ever? This made David, in another place, to admire the Law of God at that high rate, and to advance the knowledg of it above all other knowledg: *Psal. 119. 96. I have seen an end of all Perfection, but thy Commandment is exceeding broad.* All other Knowledg has but a narrow and limited use, and is some way or other subservient only to the Conveniences and Accommodations of this short Life; but the knowledg of our Duty towards God is of a larger extent, the Usefulness of it reaches beyond the Grave, and launches out into the vast Ocean of Eternity; we shall be the better for it to endless Ages.

2. This Knowledg is to be sought at the hands of God, thither St. James directs us to go; James 1. 5. *If any Man lack Wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all Men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.* And in the 16th and 17th Verses to the same purpose, *Do not err, my beloved Brethren; every good Gift and every perfect Gift is from above, and comes down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.* Wisdom and Understanding are Rays of Light, which come from the Father of Lights, which he sheds into the Minds of men. 'Tis true, men have reasonable Facultys which God has given them, but still they must depend upon him in the use of them: for, as Elihu has very well observ'd, *Job 32. 8. There is a Spirit in man, and the Inspiration of the Almighty giveth them Understanding.* God applys himself to us by the way of our Facultys, and has given

us a Spirit, whereby we are capable of receiving Wisdom from the Father of Spirits. We do so intirely depend upon God, that we ought to acknowledg him in all things, and ascribe to him whatever good thing we have; and consequently if we know whence we receive, we know whither to resort.

3ly. The last thing I observ'd, was the ground of *David's* Prayer and Address to God; *Because his Hands had made him and fashion'd him.* Wherein I shall observe these two things:

1. That *David* looks upon the knowledg of his Duty as so considerable a thing, that God's Bounty in making and creating him wou'd be imperfect without it.

2. He makes God's former Mercys an Argument why he shou'd bestow more.

1. *David* looks upon the Knowledg of his Duty as so considerable a thing, that the Benefit of his Creation wou'd be imperfect without it. Without this we were made in vain, and do not answer the end of our Creation. We came into the World upon no other Errand, than to know the Will of God, and to do it. And this likewise is absolutely necessary to our everlasting Well-being; it is the Perfection of our reasonable Nature, to be as like God in Holiness and Goodness, as the Condition of a Creature will admit; and without this our Being will prove a Burden to us, and our Creation only qualify us for Destruction: So that *David* here prays for that which alone can render his Being a Blessing, and make it the foundation of Happiness and Comfort to him. He beseeches God to continue that good Work which he had begun, and to perfect his Kindness towards him, and to crown Nature with Grace, which we know will end in Glory: That God, who had made him a Man, wou'd make him a Good man, without which it had been happier for him never to have had a Being, it had been much better for him if he had never been born.

2. He makes God's former Mercys an Argument why he shou'd bestow more. This is all that Creatures can plead for the continuance of his Mercys; that he wou'd not lose his former Bounty, and suffer it to be cast away for want of continuing it; that he wou'd not throw away the Work of his own Hands, but that he wou'd, for his former Goodness-sake, still continue to be gracious.

SERMON

S E R M O N II.

MATTHEW XIX. 16—22.

And behold one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have Eternal Life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me Good? there is none good but one, that is God; but if thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no Murder, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not Steal, Thou shalt not bear False Witness, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. The young Man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my Youth up; what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven; and come, and follow me. But when the young Man heard that Saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great Possessions.

IN this Passage we have a great variety of choice and profitable Matter. I shall endeavour to sum up the principal things contain'd in it under these few Heads.

I. We have the Example of one who was solicitous and inquisitive after his future Condition, and desirous to know upon what terms he might hope for Happiness: *Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have Eternal Life?*

II. We have the ordinary way to Happiness mark'd out to us: *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments.* These are the standing Rule of Life, which will bring us to Heaven.

III. That in some extraordinary Cases God does require some extraordinary things of particular men, which are not generally necessary to the Salvation of all men: *Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven; and come, and follow me.*

Lastly, We have the sad Example of one that went far towards Happiness, and yet fell short; that lack'd but one thing to be perfect, that had gone all the way to the very last Step, and yet wou'd not take that to come to his Journey's end: *But when the young Man heard that Saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great Possessions.* I shall discourse upon each of these in their order.

I. We have the Example of a Person who was solicitous and inquisitive after his future Condition, and desirous to know upon what terms he might hope for Happiness, in these words; *Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal Life?* He was very forward, and came running to Christ, as the other Evangelist St. Mark tells us, Chap. 10. 17. to be resolv'd in this Question. Tho he were a Ruler, as St. Luke tells us in the eighteenth Chapter, yet he made the humblest Address to him that could be, kneeling, and giving him a more honourable Appellation, than he shou'd have given to one whom he thought to be no more than a man, as our Saviour tells him, when he says, *Why callest thou me Good?* That Title is too much for me, whom you conceive to be but a man; for in strictness there is none good but one, that is God. So earnest was this Person to be satisfy'd in this Point, which our Saviour lik'd very well in him, as appears by his Answers, and his whole Carriage towards him; and such a Temper of Mind is very necessary to a religious Life. If men have no care for their Souls, no concern for their everlasting Condition, nor any desire to learn their Duty in order to Happiness, they can neither be religious here, nor happy hereafter. I do not say this is all, but it is a very good beginning, and an excellent Preparative to a good Life: for men cannot do their Duty, unless they know it; and they cannot know it, unless they be desirous to learn and to come to the knowledge of it. Neither will eternal Life be thrust upon men without seeking after it, or doing somewhat for it; therefore this Person was so far in the right, in being so industrious to learn what good thing he must do to inherit eternal Life: which is enough to reproach the common negligence of men in this matter. How careless and unconcern'd are most Christians either about Heaven, or the way to it! Every thing in the World besides is sold us for Care and Pains, only they think that Happiness will come upon easier terms. If they do not think so, if this be not the inward Belief of their Hearts, why do they spend so few thoughts, and take so little care about it? Why do they no oftner repair to our blessed Saviour in his Gospel, who there teaches us what we ought to do if we wou'd enter into Life? Why do they not search the Writings of the Apostles, the Servants of the most High God, which shew unto us the way of Salvation, as the Devil himself confess of them? *Acts 16. 17.* This Ruler was glad of the Opportunity, and came running, and kneeling, and beseeching to be instructed in those things, which lie open before us in Holy Scripture every day. Let us take heed that the Performances of a man, who himself fell short of Perfection, do not one day rise up against us, and condemn us.

II. We have here the ordinary way to Happiness mark'd out to us by our Saviour; *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments.* These are the standing Rule of Life, which will bring us to Heaven. The Observance of these is universally and indispensably necessary; and whoever lives in the breach and transgression of them, must not think of entering into Life. We may as well imagine to obtain the end without the means, or to come to a place by going the quite contrary way, as to expect Happiness when we neglect the Commandments of God; *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments:* These are the Terms and Conditions of our admission into Heaven. Upon the young Man's further Demand, which Commandments he was to keep, our Saviour rehearses the second Table of the Law: *Thou shalt do no Murder: Thou shalt not commit Adultery: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false Witness: Honour thy Father and thy Mother: And thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* We can but conjecture why our Saviour repeats the whole second Table, and omits the first: But the reason may be, because the Jews generally in his time were more negligent of the second Table than of the first. They were scrupulous as to the outward performance of their Duty to God, but had little or no regard of their Duty towards Men. They made an open Profession of their observance of the first Commandment, and wore it about them: and we are told that the common Sentence written upon their Phylacterys, was that famous Passage in the Law, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord*

Lord thy God is one Lord; and thou shalt love him with all thy Heart, and Soul, and Strength. They abhor'd Idols, and made a great stir about the Roman Ensigns which were brought into their City, because they were the Images of Eagles, and such like things. They were very cautious of the Letter of the third Commandment, of applying the name of God to a Ralhhood; and therefore they had found out indirect and by-Oaths of swearing by Heaven, and Earth, and Jerusalem; wherein if they swore false, they thought themselves guiltless, because they did not use the name of God, tho our Saviour informs them better, *Mat. 5. 34.* They were exceeding nice in the point of the Sabbath, and kept it more strictly than God ever intended it shou'd be kept; insomuch that our Saviour himself was tax'd by them as a Sabbath-breaker. Thus far these Hypocrites went, but then they made little or no conscience of the second Table: They made void the fifth Commandment by their Traditions, teaching men that they needed not relieve their Parents, so they gave their Mony to religious Uses; if they did but say it was *Corban*, that was enough. How full of Rancour, and Spite, and bloody Malice they were, appears by their Carriage towards our Saviour; by which we may see how little they val'd the sixth Commandment, and how little the ninth, when they set up false Witnesses against him. Nay, they kept the first Table, that they might the better break the second: they made the Worship of God an Instrument of Fraud and Rapine; they made long Prayers, that they might have a fairer opportunity to devour Widows Houses, and by a shew of Sanctity get their Estates into their hands. And therefore our Saviour wisely orders his Discourses, according to the Temper of the People, and the State of the times in which he liv'd. They were very defective in the Dutys of moral Honesty and Justice, and therefore our Saviour chiefly insists upon these: He preach'd, and explain'd, and press'd the Dutys of the second Table in his Sermon upon the Mount, without mentioning any thing of the first, excepting his Reproof of that Evasion of the third Commandment, which I spoke of before. And here again, he puts this Person in particular remembrance of these Dutys, as being absolutely necessary to be perform'd by all those who wou'd enter into Life. I shall speak of them in the order wherein they here lie.

The first is, *Thou shalt do no Murder.* This Sin was the first which God forbid just after the Flood, as that which wou'd have made a Desolation in the new World in a short time, amongst those few that had escap'd the Flood. And this Precept was the first which our Saviour undertook to explain in his Sermon upon the Mount, *Mat. 5. 21.* wherein is principally forbidden the taking away any man's Life. We are not Masters of our own Lives, much less of any other man's. We are set here by God, and appointed our Station; and we must not leave it but at his Call, and no Calamitys or Afflictions ought to make us weary of it. And if we have not our own Lives at our disposal, much less have we other mens: We gave them not their Lives, and therefore we have no right to take them away. And if there cou'd be suppos'd a State wherein there were no Laws, no Property, but all things were in common, so that there cou'd be no Injustice in any thing else; yet Murder wou'd be Injustice, because every man has an undoubted Right and Title to his Being antecedently to all Laws; for no Laws can make a man's self more his own than he was before, nor can any Laws bind a man from preserving and defending his Life from the Violence of any private Person. As for Magistrates, they are in God's stead, they are God's Vicegerents, and so that quite alters the Case: And indeed God has set them up, chiefly to give Protection to the World, to secure mens Lives from the Violence of bloody men, and to require every man's Blood at the hands of him that sheds it. And that man is guilty of Murder, not only who kills another, but is any other way willingly and purposely accessary to his Death. *David* was guilty of murdering *Uriah*, tho he was slain by the Sword of the Children of *Ammon*: and *Jezabel*, and it's probable *Abah* too, were guilty of the Death of *Naboth*, tho the men of his own City ston'd him with Stones. So far the *Jews* thought themselves bound by this Law. But our Saviour, in his explication of it, has made it much more comprehensive, and forbids not only actual

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Murder,

Murder, and contriving and compassing the Death of any man, but the least tendency and inclination that way, all Anger, and reviling Speeches, and such like Provocations, which often stir up Strife, and end in Blood. He has not only forbid the Sin, but the occasions of it; all Anger, and Wrath, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking; all revengeful Thoughts, all rendring of Evil for Evil, all Unquietness and Unpeaceableness of Spirit: in a word, he has taken care to destroy all the Seeds of Murder. He tells us, *Mat. 5. 22.* that causeless and immoderate Anger shall not go unpunish'd; but for a man to vilify his Brother, to call him *Raca*, that is, a vile contemptible and worthless Fellow, shall have still a heavier Punishment; and to call him *Fool*, that is, to give him virulent and railing Language, and the worst name he can think of, as this was among the *Jews*, this shall be punish'd with the greatest extremity, and in the highest degree: These are the Sins from which, by virtue of this Command, we are bound carefully to abstain; and we have great reason so to do. For,

1. This is a very heinous Sin, as appears by the reason God gives why he forbids Murder, and why he so severely threatens to follow it with Vengeance; *Gen. 9. 6.* *For in the Image of God made he Man.* It destroys and defaces the Image of God: the Injury is not only done to the Person who suffers it, but God interprets it as likewise done to himself. And dare any one lift up violent hands against the Image of God, which is imprinted upon Man, and which is enough to render him sacred and inviolable? And,

2. As it is an Affront and Injury to God, so it is such an Injury to Man as cannot be repair'd; it robs a man of that which is most precious to him, and of which it is impossible to make him any Restitution. He that deprives a man of his Goods, or his good Name, is capable of making him Satisfaction, and repairing the Damages he has sustain'd; but he that deprives a man of his Life, has for ever put it out of his power to make any manner of satisfaction for the wrong he has done. Men shou'd therefore tremble to think of doing any ill thing, which they can never undo all their Lives after. And I doubt not but the sense of this great and irreparable Injury is that which has haunted those Murderers, who for a long time have conceal'd their Fact; and has at last made them turn their own Accusers: This is that Load of Guilt which Blood brings upon men.

3. We have not only reason to keep, but to value this Precept, as it is an Argument of God's Love and Care for Mankind; for as he has thereby provided for the safety and preservation of others, so he gives a Charge to all others not to touch, nor to lay violent hands upon us: This is our Protection and Safeguard, and keeps us alive, and secures us from becoming a Prey to other men. Our Lives, it seems by this, are precious to him, when he has thus given charge from Heaven concerning them; therefore every particular man shou'd be as glad of this Commandment, as if God had given charge that he by name shou'd have no hurt done to him, and shou'd as gladly keep it.

So much for the Negative part, what is forbidden in this Precept, what we must not do, and also the Reasons why we shou'd so far observe it, and carefully abstain from those Sins. I come now to the Dutys which are enjoin'd us by virtue of this Commandment; and the first is, the mutual preservation of each other, that no man shou'd perish thro the neglect and default of his Brother, but that we ought to defend and relieve them, to seek Peace and Reconciliation with them whom we have offended and provok'd; nay, to do it in the first place, to defer a religious Duty till we have done that; for so our Lord has expressly commanded in the explication of this Commandment, *Mat. 5. 23, 24.* *Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there rememberest that thy Brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, first be reconcil'd to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.* And so for those that have been offended or injur'd, they must as readily forgive as often as it is sought at their hands, *If thy Brother turn again, and say, I repent, forgive him;* and not only thus till seven times, but till seventy times seven; many hundreds of times without limitation. We are likewise requir'd to bear an universal Love and good Will towards all men, and to be so far from any thoughts of Revenge, as to repay Injurys with Kindness, and to

overcome Evil with Good; to love our Enemies; bless them that curse us; and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us; according to the Example of God himself, who does not confine his Goodness and Mercy to good men; and those that love him, but extends it to those that offend and provoke him every day. This is that Charity which the Apostle recommends to us; which is not easily provoked, thinketh no Evil, but beareth all things; which is so necessary a Temper for the maintaining the Peace of the World, and to secure the observance of this Commandment, that it will not be amiss to add some Directions and Motives to the attainment of this excellent frame of Spirit.

And the first step towards this charitable Temper, is to be careful of all Jealousys and Suspensions, and to resolve to put the best Construction upon all things that look like Injuries and Provocations. For what a great Folly is it to take things amiss, when it may be no ill was intended; and to interpret things against our selves, when they are capable of a better sense? This I remember is the Philosopher *Epictetus's* Rule, that we shou'd always take things by the right handle, and in all doubtful matters ever suppose the best. He gives this Instance: "You call a Servant, and he does not come at your bidding; upon this you chafe, and are angry that he does not obey your Commands: Is it not easier to conclude that he did not hear you, and so, as he says, learn to excuse those things which look like Injuries, and not be apt to interpret and resent them as such?" And I cannot but think this a very good Rule, for it is plain that men often suffer themselves to be mov'd and disquieted with imaginary Wrongs and Provocations, that are taken indeed, but were never given. And therefore men shou'd think no Evil, nor be willing to take any thing in ill part: and in so doing, if they are mistaken, it is an Error on the right hand; whereas on the other side, causeless Anger is both sinful and foolish.

2. If the Injury done to you be plain and palpable, and openly avow'd by him that did it, in that case look beyond the Instrument of the wrong you suffer, and take it as an Affliction sent from God. This was that which made *Job* take things so patiently: He did not look upon the *Chaldeans* and *Sabeans*, who destroy'd his Servants, and took away his Cattle, as the Authors of that Calamity; and therefore he did not swell with thoughts of Anger and Revenge against them, but acknowledg'd the hand of God in it, and so welcom'd his Affliction: *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* Thus this admirable man overlook'd all second Causes, and fix'd his Eye upon Him who had given him all, and so was not disquieted when he lost all. And therefore if we wou'd not be disturb'd at the Injuries we meet with, let us consider that God has a right to punish us, when men are unjust towards us; and that tho they do us wrong, yet he does us none. For this is enough to tame the Rage of our Spirits, when we think how little we suffer in respect of what we have deserv'd at his hands.

3. Let it be consider'd, that no Injury can do us so much hurt as our own Anger, and Hatred, and revengeful Thoughts; and that he who is impatiently inrag'd at what he suffers, is his own Enemy. It is our Saviour's Saying, *In your Patience possess ye your Souls.* Impatience robs us of our selves, and puts our Souls out of our own possession, which no outward Violence were able to do: We thereby assist the Malice of our Enemies, and suffer that Dart which they have thrown to stick fast in us. In a word, no outward Wrongs cou'd take any hold or fasten upon us, but for our own inward resentment of them; and I think it is very unadvisable to side with our Enemies, and by Anger, and such like uneasy Passions, to punish their Faults upon our selves.

4. Let us consider, that the forgiving and passing by Injuries is the ready way to our own Pardon. And who wou'd not forgive a small Trespass, upon condition he might be clear'd from the Punishment of capital Crimes? Who wou'd not remit a small Debt, if he were sure thereby to be discharg'd of vast Sums which he owes to another? We shou'd be so far from being inrag'd at Injuries, that we shou'd be glad of an opportunity to do somewhat towards our own Pardon, and that we are put in a way of coming out of Debt. It

is plain, this Duty of Forgiveness is so incorporated into the Christian Religion, that we cannot pray to God for the Forgiveness of our Sins, without exercising this Charity towards others. Nay, the want of this turns our Prayers into the heaviest Imprecations against our selves: For when we say, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, and yet do not forgive; what do we but desire God to give us the same measure? What do we but bar our own Pardon, and beg of him to harden himself against us as we do against others? So that if we be hard to forgive, we cannot say the Lord's Prayer; and if we do not daily use that, I do not see how we can be Christians: for that Prayer is the Badg of our Profession, our Saviour made it on purpose for his Disciples and Followers to use, and enjoind the use of it to all that belong to him; as appears plainly by the occasion of his giving it: Luke 11. 1. *One of his Disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his Disciples: And he said unto him, When ye pray, say, Our Father, &c.* which is as if he had said, As John gave another form of Prayer to his Disciples, so when you pray do you be sure to use this. So that our forgiving of others, is the condition upon which our own Pardon is suspended; and if we bear Malice in our Hearts, we ruin our selves, with designing Revenge against others.

5. Who wou'd, to gratify his unreasonable Passions of Anger and Hatred, which are very uneasy in themselves, have the Guilt of Blood lying upon him, and be in a fearful expectation of that Vengeance which is due to it? and yet those that are malicious are accounted such in the sight of God, and will be dealt with accordingly. St. John tells us, *That he that hateth his Brother is a Murderer*; and he adds immediately, *And ye know that no Murderer hath eternal Life abiding in him.* These are the dreadful Consequences of Uncharitableness, which shou'd make us think our selves never far enough off from this Sin, and careful not to do any thing which may favour of Malice, or in the least degree border upon Revenge; but make us, as our Saviour's word is, *from our Hearts forgive men their Trespases.* And on the other hand, we have the greatest Invitations to Charity and Forgiveness: for,

6. This makes us like God himself, it raises us to the highest Perfection that Men are capable of; it shews us to be the Children of our heavenly Father, who has proclaim'd himself to be gracious, and merciful, and long-suffering. And what can be nobler and greater than to resemble the best and most happy Being in the World? It is St. John's Advice, *Beloved, let us love one another, for Love is of God; and every one that loveth, is born of God, and knoweth God: He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is Love.* After which great Expression, nothing more can be said in behalf of this Divine Temper, to recommend it to you.

Now as God by forbidding Murder has made the World a secure Habitation, that we need not go in perpetual fear of our Lives; so by enjoining Charity and Forgiveness, he has establish'd a perfect Friendship amongst men, and banish'd all Displeasure, and Differences, and Distaste out of the World. He wou'd thereby endear us to one another, and make our Lives comfortable and happy. And sure we have no reason to be against that which is so much for our own good; and to make our selves Enemys, when he wou'd have us live together as Friends and Brethren. And therefore, as I said before, let us not only keep this Commandment, but value and prize it: for not only the Security, but the Comfort and Joy of our Lives is wrapt up in it. We may very well believe our Saviour, that it is the way and passage to Life, when the observance of it wou'd create a Heaven upon Earth, and give us a foretaste of that uninterrupted Peace and Love which reigns there to all Eternity: To which God bring us all in the way of his Commandments, and thro the Merits of his dear Son, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory for ever. Amen.

SERMON

S E R M O N III.

The Second S E R M O N on this Text.

MATTHEW XIX. 16—22.

And behold one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have Eternal Life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me Good? there is none good but one, that is God; but if thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no Murder, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not Steal, Thou shalt not bear False Witness, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.—

THE next Commandment which follows is this, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*; whereby is forbidden all manner of unlawful knowledg of any Person: and that in one word is to be reputed unlawful, which is contrary to the sacred Institution of Marriage made by God in the beginning of the World. He join'd our first Parents together in that inseparable State for the Propagation of Mankind, and made them Flesh and Bone one of the other. Adultery and Fornication, and all Sins committed against this Commandment, are Breaches of that antient and primitive Law which God made in the beginning to our first Parents. Adultery violates that inseparable State wherein God plac'd our first Parents, it puts asunder those whom God hath join'd together; and Fornication profanes that holy State, by putting them together whom God has not join'd: and as for all other kinds and degrees of Unchastity, they contradict that end for which God instituted that State, the Increase of the World. We may therefore take some measures of the heinousness of these Sins from their contrariety to that Primitive Institution, which is the Original of so many Blessings to Mankind; from thence proceed all the dear Relations that are in the World, all the Charities and mutual Endearments of Father, and Son, and Brother; by this we not only have a Being, but know to whom we owe it, that we may honour them for it; and by this we have all the unknown Comforts of looking upon our own Posterity, and of receiving that Honour again which we formerly paid: In short, it is this alone which has created Order in the World, and distinguishes human Society from Herds of Cattel, where they are all Strangers to one another, and all Kindred and Relation is mingled and lost in Confusion. And so it is plain that there is a natural Evil in these Sins, tho God had never forbidden them. But besides, God has in all Ages warn'd men of these Sins, in the Law of Moses, and by the Prophets; and has declar'd, that *this is the Will of God, even our Sanctification*; and that we shou'd abstain from Fornication, and

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every one shou'd know how to possess his Body in Sanctification and Honour, and not in the Lust of Concupiscence, even as the Heathen which know not God, as St. Paul has exprest it. The Scriptures lay before us likewise variety of Arguments, to dissuade us from the Commission of these Sins, from the Folly and Shame of it: Prov. 6. 32, 33. *Who so committeth Adultery with a Woman, lacketh Understanding; he that doth it, destroyeth his own Soul: A Wound and Dishonour shall he get, and his Reproach shall not be wip'd away.* From the Abuse and Injury which is thereby done to the Dignity of our Bodys; 1 Cor. 6. 18. *Flee Fornication: every Sin that a man doth is without the Body; but he that committeth Fornication, sinneth against his own Body.* Other Arguments we have in the same Chapter; (1.) From our being Christians: *Know ye not that your Bodys are the Members of Christ, and so are not to be prostituted to be made one Flesh with an Harlot? Ver. 15, 16.* (2.) Because these Sins do violate and profane the Temple of the Holy Ghost; Ver. 19. *Know ye not that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you?* and therefore this is the means to drive away that Spirit of all Purity, and to deprive our selves of his blessed Presence. (3.) Because these Sins do alienate our Bodys from God, who has an unalterable right to them; Ver. 19, 20. *And ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a Price: therefore glorify God in your Body and in your Spirit, which are God's.* We are not to dispose of our selves contrary to his Will, because we are his, and not our own. Lastly, These Sins are constantly reckon'd up among those which disinherit men of eternal Happiness, and shut them out of the Kingdom of Heaven; and particularly it is said in Heb. 13. 4. that *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judg.* This is the last and extremest of all Evils, and to which no weightier Considerations can be added to make men careful to avoid these Sins.

But besides the gross Acts of these Sins, our blessed Lord has forbid the least thought that way: Mat. 5. 27. *Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit Adultery: But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart.* And he tells us likewise, that we had better pluck out our Eyes, than be thus betray'd by them to lustful Desires, in the following Verse: *And if thy right Eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy Members shou'd perish, and not that thy whole Body shou'd be cast into Hell.* So far wou'd our Saviour have us keep our selves from these Sins, that he does not allow us to have any Desires or Inclinations towards them: our very Thoughts are not free; and tho we shou'd not proceed to the outward Act, yet if we give way to unlawful Desires, the holy Religion of our Saviour tells us, that we are no better than inward Adulterers: Which shou'd make us suppress all manner of unchaste Thoughts in their very birth and beginning, and cast them out of our minds in as much haste as we wou'd Coals of Fire out of our Bosom. And if we ought to be so pure and chaste in our Thoughts, so ought we to be likewise in our Words, for obscene and filthy Talk can proceed from no other than a foul Heart: and besides, it corrupts and raises ill Thoughts in the minds of others; and I may add, that every Christian ought to have chaste Ears, and both for his own sake and theirs, not to endure such kind of Discourse in others.

Thus I have shew'd the extent of this Command, which reaches not only to our outward Actions, but even to the very Hearts and Souls of men; and if it were carefully obey'd, wou'd prevent a world both of Sin and Confusion. And seeing the observance of this Command is so much for the Honour, and Dignity, and Benefit of Mankind, we have all the reason in the world to obey it: We have no cause to think this Command grievous, or a severe restraint laid upon men, because it ties us to be Men, and does not suffer us to be Beasts. It is rather an Argument of the Love of God towards us, that he is concern'd to have us do nothing beneath the Dignity of our Nature, and that he restrains us only from doing our selves harm; that our Duty is our true Interest, and that we always in effect serve our selves when we serve him.

Nay, we have no reason to think that restraint, which our Saviour has laid upon our very Thoughts and Desires, hard or severe; for if we shou'd indulge

indulge our selves in unlawful Desires, it would be much harder to refrain from the outward Act, than when we take care to suppress the first and most secret Inclinations towards it; as it is easier to stand still at the first, than to stop our selves when we are running down a steep Hill: And therefore our Saviour, in forbidding unchast Desires, lays the Ax to the Root of those Sins, which otherwise would grow upon us. Nay further, in that Expression of our Saviour, *He that looks upon a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery already with her in his Heart*; we are caution'd to avoid the very occasions of evil Thoughts, not to gaze immoderately upon beautiful Faces; but, as Job's Expression is, *so make a Covenant with our Eyes*. To which we may add out of Scripture two other occasions of these Sins; and the first is Idleness, which lays a man open to all manner of Temptations, especially to this sort of evil Thoughts, which cannot be better suppress'd and diverted than by engaging our Minds in some better Employment. And, 2. what the Scripture calls Fulness of Bread, high Fare, which is Fuel to Fire; against which the Apostle warns us, when he bids us *make no provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof*, Rom. 13. 14.

And now let not every one whom God has kept back from the gross and open breach of this Commandment, presently justify himself with the proud and insulting Pharisee, Luke 18. 11. *God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, Extortioners, Unjust, Adulterers, or even as this Publican*: But let him lay his hand upon his Heart, and examine how many evil Thoughts and Desires he has entertain'd there; and instead of casting a Stone at others, let him condemn himself, and repent of his own inward and private faults, and detest all degrees of this Sin as much in himself as in others: thereby he will, according to the Apostle's Advice, 2 Cor. 7. 1. *Cleanse himself from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit, perfecting Holiness in the Fear of God*.

And so I pass to the next Commandment, *Thou shalt not steal*. By which is forbidden the invading of any man's Property, or the detaining from him any thing which belongs to him: For if we must not take any thing by stealth from the Owner of it, much less by Rapine and Oppression, which adds Violence to Wrong. And then for Fraud, and Deceit, and Cozenage, false Weights, and false Measures, and such like, they are no better than so many sorts of Theft; and as for withholding from men what is due to them, it is likewise no better. So that all sorts of Injustice are forbidden in this single word, whereby God has as it were fence'd about the Estates and Propertys of men from the Invasion of others; and has commanded on the other hand, that whatever is due to any man, shall be render'd to him. I shall only add, that as this Sin of Injustice unrepented of shuts men out of Heaven, besides this common Portion of all Sins unrepented of, it has another peculiar Mischief attending it, that it renders a man's Repentance extremely difficult: For he that goes about to repent of Injustice, must, as far as it is possible, make restitution for the wrong he has done, and restore what he has unjustly and fraudulently taken away; for that man cannot be said to repent of his Sin who lives in it, and will not part with it. How then can he be thought to repent of the wrong he has done, who still continues to do it, by not making Satisfaction for it, at least as far as he is able? Men do not repent of their Sins, unless they undo as far as it is possible what they have done amiss, which the unjust man cannot do till he has, to his Abilitys, made reparation to them whom he has wrong'd. This shou'd make men very clear and upright in their Dealings, and afraid to live in a course of Fraud and Deceit, because here they may see what endless work they cut out for Repentance, and without Repentance it will go a thousand times worse with them.

This Command, as it forbids all Injustice, so it likewise enjoins us Labour and Industry, that we may support our selves in honest courses, and not be tempted to Fraud, and indirect ways of enriching our selves; and besides, to be charitable to those that are in want, to keep them honest, and to hinder them from sinning against this Commandment. St. Paul joins all these together in that excellent Advice, Eph. 4. 28. *Let him that stole, steal no more; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that*

he may have to give to him that needeth. And this last Duty of relieving the Poor, those that are so indeed, and cannot support themselves by their own Labour, is not so much Charity as Justice: They have a right to our Superfluities, and to what we can well spare; for God has not given some men Estates and Abundance, that while they wallow in Plenty and Luxury, the rest of the World shou'd starve: But he has made Rich and Poor (for, as Solomon says, *He is the Maker of them both*) that the Poor may crave the Assistance of those that are rich, and the Rich have the Pleasure and Reward of relieving them: That the poor man may receive some Comfort and Refreshment from the abundance which God has given to the Rich, and that the rich man may, by parting with somewhat at present, increase his future Reward, and make himself Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness; that when he comes to die, and these perishing Riches, like false Friends, leave him and stand him in no stead, he may be receiv'd into everlasting Habitations. I cannot omit St. Paul's Direction to Timothy to this purpose; 1 Tim. 6. 17. *Charge them that are rich in this World, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain Riches; but in the living God, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy: That they do Good, that they be rich in good Works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold of Eternal Life.* Nay, this Counsel does not only concern those that are wealthy; but, as the Apostle implies in the fore-mention'd place of the *Ephesians*, those who labour with their hands, that they may have some small Overplus to give to them that need it; and if so, we ought by no means to withhold it from them.

The next Commandment is, *Thou shalt not bear false Witness.* By which is forbidden principally the giving in a false Testimony in publick Courts of Justice, as that which is most prejudicial to a man, and overthrows publick Justice; and because it is confirm'd by Oath, is a very great Dishonour to God himself. Upon all which accounts it must needs be a very heinous Sin.

1st. It is a very great Injury to a man to have false Witness brought against him in Courts of Justice, where he comes to seek for Right, and where Truth ought to be most strictly maintain'd. This is like killing a man at the Horns of the Altar, where he has taken Refuge and Sanctuary; and like wounding him with the Sword of Justice, from which he look'd for Protection. In this case a man has Wrong done to him under the notion of Right, and his Sufferings are the more intolerable, because inflicted upon him by the hand of Justice.

2^{ly}. It is not only a very great Injury to private Persons, but it tends to the Overthrow of all publick Justice, which is instituted for no other end than to maintain Truth, and to do Right. Now when men suffer with a face of Justice, and find themselves wrong'd where they sought for Relief, this brings an Odium upon that sacred Institution, as if it were no better than a publick Oppression. Delays, and such like Corruptions in the administration of Justice, turn Judgment into Vinegar, and make it stale and sour: But this turns it into Wormwood, and is like the Star of that name in the *Revelation*, which fell into the Waters, and made them so very bitter, that men cou'd not drink of them. But,

3^{ly}. Because such a false Testimony, as we are speaking of, is constantly mix'd with Perjury, it is a very great Dishonour to God himself. For he that takes a false Oath, does in effect reproach God either with Ignorance, as if he cou'd neither see, nor know, nor perceive it; or else by countenancing a Falshood with the Sacred Name of God, he makes God a Party in this Sin, as if he approv'd it, and were altogether such a one as himself. And this must needs be a very horrid Crime, for it is the worst way of denying God, and blacker than downright Atheism. For as *Plutarch* very wisely observes, "I had rather the World shou'd say, there never was such a man as *Plutarch*, than be represented as a cruel, and vile, and wicked Person:" So it is a greater Dishonour to God for men to have evil Thoughts of him, than to have none at all; it is a more horrid Abuse of him, to liken him in our Thoughts to the Father of Lyes, than to have no manner of Conception nor

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Belief of him : The one is as much as to say he has no Being, but the other that he ought to have none. By which men may see the heinousness of this Sin, and the horrid nature of it, which swears men out of their Lives or Estates, and publick Justice out of the World, and in effect God himself out of Heaven. And if they regard not men, yet let them fear God, who will not suffer this Sin to go unpunish'd, but has warn'd men beforehand, that *he will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain*, and countenances his lying and false Testimony with the Sacred Name of the God of Truth.

In the second place, the raising of false and slanderous Reports is forbidden in this Command ; for this is another kind of bearing false Witness, and tho not so hateful as the former, yet is a very great Sin. Which if it do a man no further Injury, yet it wounds him in his Reputation ; which is a very tender place, and is to most men, like their Eyes, very dear to them, and quickly hurt. This is a Sin which *David* signifies will infallibly shut men out of Heaven, when he sets it down for a Qualification of such a one *as shall abide in God's Tabernacle, and dwell in his Holy Hill, Psal. 15. 2. that he backbiteth not with his Tongue, nor doeth Evil to his Neighbour, nor taketh up a Reproach against his Neighbour* : Whereby it also appears, that if we take up a Reproach against our Neighbour, and propagate a Slander, it is a like Guilt as if we had invented them. And this indeed is the first occasion of their being rais'd : For if no body wou'd receive nor spread abroad slanderous Reports, there wou'd be none to raise and forge them, when they had no such vent and encouragement. And it may be further added, that tho we have no hand in any such slanderous Reports, tho we neither made them at the first, nor dispers'd them afterwards ; yet if we take any secret or inward Pleasure in hearing any man calumniated or defam'd, this makes us guilty before God : for this is inconsistent with that Christian Love and Charity we shou'd bear in our Breasts towards all men. And we ought rather to vindicate an Enemy, and do him right in this Case, than be pleas'd with the Spoils of his Reputation, and look on with Contentment whilst others rob him of his good Name. Thus much I suppose is directly forbidden by this Commandment. But because false Witness contains in it these two Evils ; speaking to the prejudice of our Neighbour, and speaking contrary to Truth ; both these are prohibited by virtue of this Commandment.

1st. Speaking to the prejudice of our Neighbour. This is contrary to that mutual Kindness and good Will which ought to be amongst men, tho the matter were true ; and contrary to that Rule of our Actions which our Saviour has given us, *To do to others as we wou'd be done by*. For there is no man but desires to have that conceal'd, which, if it were mention'd, wou'd be to his disadvantage ; and therefore neither ought he to be forward to prejudice another in the same kind. And indeed the telling of Truth it self, when it may occasion mischief, and do our Neighbour hurt, is reputed in Scripture to be no better than bearing of false Witness. One Instance will make this very clear. *Doeg the Edomite*, that was set over the Servants of the House of *Saul*, saw when *David* went into the House of *Ahimelech* the Priest, and how *Ahimelech* there entertain'd him, and what kindness he did for him ; of all which he gave *Saul* particular Information in every point, according to what he had seen : Wherein tho he spoke no more than what was true, and what he had seen with his own eyes ; yet because he thereby brought mischief upon *Ahimelech* and his Family, *David* charges him with Lying and Falshood, *Psal. 52*. You may see by the Title of the Psalm that it was written against *Doeg*, upon this occasion ; and he tells him at the 3d Verse, *Thou lovest Evil more than Good, and Lying rather than to speak Righteousness : Thou lovest all devouring Words, O thou deceitful Tongue !* It is plain, by comparing the 21st and 22^d Chapters of the first of *Samuel*, that *Doeg* related the naked Truth, and had a fair opportunity to ingratiate himself with the King by his Information against *Ahimelech* ; yet because of the Mischief he brought upon *Ahimelech*, all this wou'd not excuse him from being branded as a false Witness, and his mischievous and devouring Words as so many Lyes. So that malicious Reports or Informations, which touch the Lives of Men, have here a very ill Character ; and therefore those that speak to the prejudice of others,

others, tho in lighter matters, are guilty in proportion to the mischief they bring upon their Neighbours.

2dly. As this Commandment forbids all manner of Speeches which may tend to the hurt of our Neighbour, and are contrary to that Kindness and Good-will we ought to bear towards others; so it forbids all Lying and Falshood which is contrary to Truth. This is a very great Sin, as being contrary to God, who is Truth it self; and it is part of the Devil's foulest Character, *That he was a Liar from the beginning.* And it is a Sin justly odious among men, as being a term of the greatest disgrace which can be fasten'd upon any man. And there is reason for it; for it argues a base Spirit, to be overaw'd by any Considerations whatsoever from speaking truth. Besides, it is an enemy to Human Society: for Truth is one of those Pillars which bear up the World, and maintain a mutual Trust and Confidence among men. It has been thought by some, that the Vices of men checking and ballancing one another, do contribute much to the Support of the World, and hinder things from falling into disorder and confusion. So one ambitious man hinders the growth and shortens the Power of another; one deceitful man discovers another: in a word, one vicious Person supplants another, and disables him from doing that mischief he might otherwise do. I grant this to be true in part, That wicked men, by controuling and interfering with one another in their Vices, do accidentally prevent some of those Mischiefs which might otherwise happen; yet these are but broken Reeds to support the Weight of Human Society. For the World is establish'd upon surer foundations; it is upheld by that little Honesty, and Righteousness, and Truth, which is still left: and this appears by considering what would be, if Justice and Truth should universally fail from amongst men. For then there would be nothing but Falshood and Discovery, Discovery and Falshood again. Nothing among the Ambitious, but some climbing up, and others pulling them down: nothing but Oppression in those that had Power, and nothing but being oppress'd when that Power shall be wrested out of their hands by others. In a word, if these Vices were let loose, and all men were addicted to the practice of them, there would be nothing but Confusion in the World. So that we are beholden to those Vertues which hinder Vice from doing any more mischief than it does; but there is nothing due to Vice for preventing mischief sometimes by accident: for you may plainly see, that in its own nature it is pernicious and destructive, and that if it were suffer'd to reign, and were not restrain'd by Good men, it would bring the World to ruin and confusion. Thus much for what is forbidden by this Commandment, and of those Sins which may be very well reduc'd under this Head, of bearing false Witness.

And if we ought to put away Lying, on the contrary we are bound to speak the Truth; and if we ought not to bring a false Accusation against our Neighbour, by a parity of reason we are bound to clear him from any such, and to vindicate his Innocence. We expect from others, that they should not stand by and suffer any slanderous Reproach to be fasten'd upon us, when they know very well there is no ground for it; and therefore we ought to do as much for them. And as this is just and equitable, so there is nothing which wou'd tend more to the Peace and Quiet of Mankind; it wou'd heal those Breaches, and allay those Heats and Heart-burnings which are amongst them. For from Lyes, and Slanders, and false Reports, proceeds most of that Misunderstanding which is amongst men: and indeed, as the Wiseman speaks, they are enough to separate chief Friends. And therefore for the better keeping of this Commandment, let us likewise carefully avoid such Sins as betray men into these which are here forbidden: And they are chiefly Pride and Uncharitableness.

1. Pride disposes men to lessen the Reputation of others. When proud men see others above them, they are ready to bring them down as low as themselves, tho it be by Slander and Detraction: And this is the reason why so many are pleas'd, if not in inventing, yet in hearing slanderous Reports; because when another is evil spoken of, they naturally make an inward and secret Comparison of themselves with him, that they are not so bad as he,

and so entertain the better opinion of themselves. The inward Complacency which men take upon this occasion, is the cause that this Sin is so common, and that they are so generally addicted to it, because it gratifies their Pride and Self-conceit, which sticks the closest to men of any Vice whatsoever. For if they were to strip themselves of their vicious Affections one by one, Pride and Self-conceit wou'd be the last to be parted with, so deeply are they rooted in our deprav'd and degenerate Natures. But alas! what a foolish way is this, of gratifying our Pride, beside the wickedness of it? Which is as silly as what is reported of some *Indians*, who if they kill a man of more Beauty and Merit than themselves, think they shall inherit his Perfections, and enjoy that themselves which they have destroy'd in another. Whereas if men did thorowly consider things, they wou'd blush to think of recommending themselves to their own Thoughts in such a pitiful way as this; and the Conscience of their own Defects wou'd humble them rather, and make them strive to amend them, when they find that to gain their own good opinion they stand in need of such wretched Helps as the Disparagement of other men.

2. Another occasion of this Sin is Uncharitableness. We are so selfish, that we have little of that large and universal Love which Christianity requires: and it is not more seen in any thing, than in what we are now speaking of. For no man loves to hear his Brother or Friend evil spoken of; such kind of discourse grates a man's ears, and he takes all the care he can to vindicate their Reputation. So that when we have no regard for the Reputation of others, it shews how little we have of a Christian Temper, to be no more concern'd for them than if they were Strangers or Enemys, tho the Gospel requires us to love them as Brethren. And therefore as I have upon other occasions recommended to you the Divine Grace of Charity, so let me upon this; for it is so necessary towards the observance of this Precept, as well as the rest, that St. Paul calls it the fulfilling of the Law: *Owe no man anything, but to love one another; for he that loveth another, hath fulfil'd the Law. For this, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear False Witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other Commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this Saying, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. Love worketh no ill to his Neighbour; therefore Love is the fulfilling of the Law.* Rom. 13. 8, 9. 10.

The next Precept is, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother.* To Honour, is a very comprehensive word in this place, and contains in it all Reverence, Love, and Obedience. And in this place are principally meant our natural Parents, our Fathers according to the Flesh, who under God have given us our Being in the World; and therefore next after him we ought to honour and obey them, to give them the greatest Reverence and Regard, and to have an inward Gratitude and Love for them.

(1.) We ought to reverence them, to esteem them very highly, and to have an inward Value for them, which is not to be the less for any Infirmitys attending them. For let their Failings be what they will, still they have the same Relation to us; and our Duty does not depend upon their Perfections or Qualifications, but merely upon their being our Parents. So that it is impossible for us to be excus'd from this Duty of honouring them upon any pretence whatsoever.

(2.) We ought to have an inward Love and Gratitude for them. For they have been our Benefactors in a very high degree, and done so much for us, as we are never able to requite: we have therefore a great Debt of Love and Gratitude to pay back again to them, to acknowledg it with all thankfulness, and to bear a great affection towards them. And this Obligation which we have to love them, can never be cancel'd or made void by any after Unkindness of theirs; for that early Care which they had of us when we cou'd not help our selves, is such a Benefit as all our Love is not able to requite: and therefore the sense of that ought to cover all those things which Children are afterwards apt to take unkindly from their Parents. And as a Testimony of this Love, they ought to be helpful to their Parents upon all occasions, and be glad of an opportunity of doing any thing for them, whereby they may satisfy

satisfy both their Parents and themselves, that they do not forget their Duty towards them. This part of this Commandment the Scribes and Pharisees had made void in our Saviour's time, and had taught the People pretences to excuse themselves from this part of their Duty to their Parents, for which our Saviour severely taxes them in Mat. 15. 3. *Why do you transgress the Commandment of God by your Tradition? For God commanded, saying, Honour thy Father and Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him die the death. But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his Father or Mother, It is a Gift, by whatsoever ye might be profited by me, and honour not his Father and Mother, he shall be free. Thus have ye made the Commandment of God of none effect by your Tradition. Ye Hypocrites, well did Esaias prophesy of you, &c.* So that the fairest pretences cannot excuse any from assisting and being helpful to their Parents, no not giving their Mony to the Temple and to Sacred Uses, for this is the Case which our Saviour here mentions; nothing shou'd hinder us from shewing our Love and Affection to them.

(3.) As a Result of the two former, Obedience is due to them. And therefore the Apostle repeating this Commandment, words it thus, *Children obey your Parents in the Lord; as it is fit in the Lord; that is, where the Christian Religion does not bind you to the contrary, where God himself has not pre-engag'd you to do the contrary, for they indeed cannot countermand what God has commanded: in all other things we must obey them, and prefer their Will and Pleasure before our own.* So large an Obedience we must pay unto them, tho they shou'd be harsh and rigorous in their Commands. For what the Apostle says concerning Servants, that *they must obey their Masters, as well the froward as the kind and gentle,* belongs likewise to Children, whose Obedience thereby is the more acceptable to God. And tho I believe this Commandment does not contain the Duty of Parents, yet what the Apostle says to them is very proper to be here mention'd: *Parents provoke not your Children to wrath, lest they be discourag'd.* All wise and religious Parents considering what a great Duty of Reverence and Obedience God has laid upon their Children to pay to them, shou'd be careful not to make this Duty heavier by harsh Commands and rigorous Impositions; but however if they fail in their Duty, Children cannot be thereby excus'd from theirs.

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SERMON

S E R M O N I V.

The Third SERMON on this Text.

MATTHEW XIX. 16—22.

And behold one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have Eternal Life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me Good? there is none good but one, that is God; but if thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no Murder, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not Steal, Thou shalt not bear False Witness, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.

I Come now to the last Command of all, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* This which is the tenth Commandment, is variously express'd by the Writers of the New Testament: St. Mark, in his relation of this Passage, words it thus; *Do not steal, do not bear False Witness, defraud not, or deprive not*, for so the word there us'd signifies, Mark 10. 19. In Rom. 13. 9. where St. Paul tells us that Love is the fulfilling of the Law, and reckons up this with the other Commandments of the second Table; he renders it, as the Septuagint had done before, *Thou shalt not covet or desire.* And here St. Matthew, meaning the very same Commandment, expresses it thus, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* Now from these several Expressions, we shall be able to gather the full Sense and Force of this Commandment. That which we are here chiefly forbidden, is the depriving any man of what is his; and that we might have no temptation to do that, in the next place we are forbidden to covet or desire in our hearts what is another man's: and that we may be sure to be free from all such kind of Desires, we are enjoin'd to love our Neighbour as our selves, to be so far from seeking any thing that may be to his prejudice, that on the other hand we are to wish well to him, and be as much pleas'd to have him still enjoy what he has, as we are with our own Possessions. This is the large Comment and Explication which the Christian Doctrine has added to this Commandment, *Thou shalt not covet.*

I shall begin with that which is principally forbidden in this Commandment; and that is, the depriving our Neighbour of any thing he enjoys. This is the highest Breach of this Commandment; and if men indulge themselves in covetous Desires, they come at last to this. And 'tis a great Sin, because it removes those Landmarks, and breaks those Bounds, which the Laws both of God and Man have set to distinguish what is our own from what is not. I say, the Laws of God: for from the first Creation, God put the World into such a method as is utterly inconsistent with a state of having all

things in common. For by making one first Father of Mankind, he brought Property into the World. By that means *Adam*, who was Lord and Owner of the World, had a right to assign what part of it he pleas'd to his Sons, and to reserve what he pleas'd to himself. And accordingly we find that *Cain* and *Abel* knew their own, and out of that offer'd Sacrifices unto God. *Abel* offer'd the choicest of what he had, and largely in proportion to what he had; both which argu'd a devout Mind: whereas it is likely that *Cain* fail'd in each of these. It may be he never stood to chuse the best, but took what came next to hand. This is plain by what *St. Paul* says, *Heb. 11. 4. By Faith Abel offer'd a more excellent Sacrifice than Cain*; by which our Translation prefers it in the quality of it before *Cain's*, but in the Original it is *παιδιον θυσιαν*, which may as well be render'd a bigger Sacrifice, larger in Quantity and Measure: and this must needs be the more acceptable to God, as proceeding from a freer Heart, and one that wou'd willingly part with more of what he had to God. So early was Property in the World, and so it continu'd with the Increase of Mankind till the Flood; after which *Noah* again was in possession of all, and by the Family of his Sons were the Nations of the Earth divided, as the Scripture tells us. And that Confusion which after the Flood happen'd at *Babel*, was only a Confusion of Language; for the Dispersion which follow'd it was not so confus'd a thing as is generally thought, but an orderly Plantation of the World: So that when men talk of a scrambling State of Nature, where all things were in common, it is but a slier and cleaner way of denying the Truth of what the Scripture relates to us. And therefore such an Hypothesis, besides the Unallowableness of it, being utterly false, can teach us nothing of Truth, nor can any true Deductions and Inferences be drawn from it; for if there be nothing in it, nothing can come out of it. So likewise the State of Marriage, which gives Man and Wife an unalterable Title to one another, was of Divine Institution; and this Knot was ty'd so close, that man cannot pull it asunder: And therefore it is utterly unlawful to dispossess a man of these things, of his Wife, or House, or Ox, or Ass, or any thing that is his; of which you see the Laws of God, as well as of Man, have made him the true Owner. And the better to secure men from offering this wrong to one another, God has forbidden the least Thought or Desire that way.

For so in the second place *St. Paul*, as I said before, renders this Commandment, *Thou shalt not covet*; and elsewhere, *I had not known Sin, if the Law had not said, Thou shalt not covet*. So sacred and inviolable are the Possessions of other men, that God does not allow us to compass or design them for our selves in our own Heart: He does not suffer us to make any Approach towards them, not so much as with a covetous Eye, or a secret Wish. Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy Neighbour's, is as much as if he had said, Seek not to deprive him of any thing that belongs to him, no not in thy Thought: Do not invade nor trespass upon him so much as with a wandering Desire; whatever he possesses, let him not have the less for a Thought or Wish of thine.

I shall here a little consider the nature of this Sin of Coveting, which is forbidden by this Commandment; and upon examination we shall find that it is very injurious both to God and Man.

1. To God himself. For he having plac'd men in the lawful possession of what they have, and bestow'd it upon them, if we covet it, and wish it to our selves, what do we in effect but dislike his Choice? Who are we that he shall not be Master of his own Favours, to place them as he thinks fit? *Is our Eye Evil, because he is Good?* He does us no wrong when he is more bountiful to another; *May he not do what he will with his own?* It is therefore very great presumption in us to dislike the choice which God has made in the disposal of his Blessings, and to become our own Carvers of what is wholly his; and to reverse, even in our most secret Thoughts, his all-wise ordering of things.

2. It is a great Injury to Men. If there were no such thing as coveting in the World, how free, and secure, and easy wou'd men be in the enjoyment of what they possess? Whereas now it is an Incumbrance which goes along

with all Honours, and Wealth, and great Abilitys, or any singular Blessing in any kind, that they are attended with Envy and Care. And tho my grudging at what another man has, or wishing it mine, takes away nothing from him; yet the Mind of man is strangely nice in these matters. So in the present Case; Men wou'd willingly enjoy what they have, intirely, and without any Rivals, and have every body far from wishing what wou'd be to their Loss; and when they do but think that any body has a mind to what is theirs, it is apt to fill them with Jealousy and Disquiet. Tho it be true that Coveting, if it proceeds no further, does not lessen what another enjoys, nor censorious Thoughts hurt one's good Name; that a Benefit does a man as much good, tho it came with an ill will, as if it were willingly bestow'd upon him; yet the Spirits of men being sensible how much Selfishness, and Uncharitableness, and ill-Will there is in the World, are not satisfy'd unless they think they have the good Wishes and good Opinion, the Hearts and Affections of men. It is plain therefore, that if men did govern themselves by this Command, the Possessions of our Neighbours wou'd be more easy and secure to them.

3. The largest and fullest Expression wherein this Commandment is render'd, is this, which is here us'd by St. *Matthew*, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*. For this not only roots up all coveting and unlawful Desires out of the Hearts of men, but likewise plants Love and good Will in the room of them: It requires us to be as well pleas'd that our Neighbour shou'd enjoy what he has, as we are to enjoy what we have: It makes the Kindness we have to our selves, the Rule and Measure of our good Will towards others; than which the World cannot be taught a more perfect Lesson. For the Love and Preservation of our selves is deeply rooted in the nature of Mankind, and lies at the very bottom of our Being. Nothing can be nearer and closer to us than our own Welfare. The Apostle St. *John* resolves our Love to God himself into this very Principle; *We love him*, says he, *because he first lov'd us*. And therefore when this Commandment requires that our Neighbour's Happiness and Welfare shou'd be to us as our own, it lays it very near our Hearts, and does most effectually recommend it to us. And that we may be thus heartily concern'd for the good of our Neighbour, I observe, that the Scripture represents him as being very nearly related to us. It teaches us to look upon other men as our Brethren, as having the same Blood in them which we have, and consequently who ought to be naturally dear to us. It goes further, to reconcile and win our Affections to other men: for the Apostle tells us, that *we are Members one of another*, that they are part of our selves; so that we have all the reason that can be to love them, unless we will be so absurd and unnatural as to hate our own Flesh. Such a new relation has the Gospel of Christ superinduc'd amongst men, that as Nature prompts us to love those whom we are told are of the same Blood with us, so our Christianity might ingage us to love this new Brotherhood of all the World. I do not say that we are bound to have the same degrees of Love and Tenderness for other men, as for our selves, or our near Relations; because these being natural Affections, will run in that Channel into which Nature has put them: but we ought to have such a sincere Affection for all other men, as to seek their Good, and to do them all Offices of Kindness, and particularly not to do or wish them any harm. It is not necessary that we love them passionately, so we bear a constant and steady Love and good Will towards them, and be ready to express it on all occasions in our outward Actions. And this I thought fit to mention, to prevent any Scruples in matters of this kind. For Religion, because it enters in at our Reason, and not by our Senses, and is seated in the Soul and Spirit, does not move our Passions and Affections so much as sensible things, and those which have a natural relation to us. Let a man do what he can, he will feel more of the Passion of Grief for the Loss of a Child, than for having committed a Sin against God, tho his Understanding at the same time tells him that the Sin of his Soul, and the Displeasure of God, is a far heavier Affliction than the parting with a Child. And as in that case God is pleas'd to accept of that Sorrow which works Repentance, and produces Amendment of Life; so in this present case, he measures our Love to our Neighbour, by our Offices of Charity, and by doing

all that for him which we wou'd have done to us, if we were in his case, and not by any natural Tenderneſs. So that, in ſhort, we love our Neighbour as our ſelves, if we are well pleas'd with his enjoying what he has, and are rather inclin'd to promote his Happineſs, than to deprive him of the leaſt part of it, and according to the Opportunitys we have, do diſcover our good Will by answerable Actions. This may ſuffice for explication of this Commandment. From what has been ſaid, I ſhall make ſome Inferences.

And, 1. Behold the wonderful Goodneſs of God, who not only beſtows many Bleſſings upon us, but takes care to ſecure to us the enjoyment of them, that no man lay violent hands upon them, or any other way wreſt them from us; that no man ſo much as wiſh them his, but be as eaſy and ſatisfy'd in our Enjoyment of them, as if he had them himſelf. There is no end of his Goodneſs; he not only loves us himſelf, but wou'd have all the World do the like. This Care he has taken in behalf of every particular man living. That there might be a perpetual good Underſtanding and good Will amongſt men, he has made the whole World but one Neighbourhood, one Family, one Brotherhood, nay one Body, for we are Members one of another. Every man is Neighbour to him that can do him any good; and he is bound to love this Neighbour as himſelf: In ſuch ſaſt Bands of Love and Amity does he tie men together. He is ſo deſirous of our Happineſs, that he wou'd not have us ſtay ſo long for it as till we come to Heaven; but begin it here, in that mutual Love and Amity which reigns there for ever and ever. If Men will be their own Enemy, who can help it? For God, who wou'd have all men to be happy, will make no man happy againſt his Will.

2. From this Commandment, which ſays, *Thou ſhalt not covet*, we may ſee the great difference betwixt the Laws of God, and the Laws of Man. Man can only give Law to our Words, and outward Actions; but the Laws of God reach the Heart, and lay a reſtraint upon our very Thoughts and Deſires: our moſt ſecret Wiſhes are under the Government of theſe ſpiritual Laws. So that we are not only concern'd to take care of what we ſay or do, but likewise of the inward Motions of our Spirit; and as the Wiſeman expreſſes it, *to keep our Heart with all Diligence*. But tho God has given us ſpiritual Laws, which reach to our Souls and Thoughts, and has not left ſo much as our Thoughts free, but has laid reſtraints upon our Deſires, and Intentions and Purpoſes; yet theſe are no ſuch ſevere Fetters as men may be apt to think them, and that upon this twofold account.

(1.) Becauſe he has given us more prevailing Motives for the obſervance of theſe inward and ſpiritual Laws, than the Sanctions of any human Lawgiver can amount to. No Legiſlator upon Earth can enforce his Laws with ſuch Rewards and Penaltys as God has forc'd his; he may threaten Imprisonment or Death, but he cannot threaten Hell and everlaſting Deſtruction: nor can he propoſe any ſuch Rewards as God has laid up for them that obey him. He cannot continually watch and overlook his Subjects, nor have Spys over all their Actions; whereas we are aſſur'd that God is always preſent with us, and the moſt ſecret Thought is not hid from him; that he ſees into the innermoſt Corner of our Hearts, and obſerves all our private Deſigns and Intentions, and will call us to a ſtrict account for them in that day when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be reveal'd. Now theſe are Conſiderations ſo weighty, as wou'd make us ſtruggle with the greateſt Difficultys. But beſides, the Government of our Wills, and Deſires and Intentions, is much more in our power than the obſervance of human Laws, or than the command of our own Bodies. Upon this account therefore we are capable of obſerving theſe inward and ſpiritual Laws of God; and were it not for our Heedleſneſs, and Inconſideration, and Perverſeneſs, they wou'd be eaſy to us. But,

(2.) Theſe inward Laws and Reſtraints are ſo far from being intolerable Burdens, that they are great helps to us in the performance of our Duty. If God had left our Hearts and Deſires free, we ſhou'd have been the more apt to break out into all outward and open Wickedneſs. If God had not forbidden us to covet, we ſhou'd have been very prone to go further, and to defraud our Neighbour of his own. If we had had leave to indulge our ſelves in adulterous Thoughts, what ſhou'd have kept us from committing the Act?

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If we might have born Malice in our Hearts, and plotted Revenge, what wou'd have hinder'd us from shedding Blood? for tho these Sins are horrid, yet the often designing, and wishing, and contriving them, wou'd have taken off much of that Horror, and render'd it more familiar to the Minds of men. It appears therefore, that God, by forbidding evil Thoughts and Desires, has choak'd up that impure Fountain, which wou'd have stream'd forth into all the Actions of our Lives: *For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil Thoughts, Adulterys, Fornications, Murders, Thefts, Covetousness, Wickedness, Deceit, Lasciviousness, an evil Eye, Blasphemy, Pride, Foolishness; all these things come from within, and defile the man.* First of all evil Thoughts, and then this black train follows after; as our Saviour tells us, *Mark 7. 21.* To the same purpose Solomon says, *Keep thy Heart with all Diligence, for out of it are the Issues of Life.* Therefore God has taken the more care of us, and made our Duty the more easy, by forbidding the first Motions and Inclinations to Sin, and by taking order to suppress our evil Thoughts, that Lust might never conceive and bring forth Sin; and so afterwards Sin, when it is conceiv'd, bring forth Death.

(3.) Let us but keep this one Commandment as St. Matthew has here set it down, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*; and by keeping this we shall keep all the rest. This is a short and compendious way of doing that whole Duty which God has requir'd of us towards men: For *Love is the fulfilling of the Law*, as St. Paul tells us; and the whole second Table is briefly comprehended in this Saying, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* And therefore, upon another occasion, our Saviour sums up the whole Law into these two: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Might; this is the first and great Commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. Upon these two hang all the Law and the Prophets.* These two contain in them all that can be said of our Duty either to God or Man. He that loves God in so large a measure, will be sure to cleave to him; he will not make Mammon his God, nor idolize any Creature, or prefer it before his Creator, *who is over all, God blessed for ever.* He will have more Reverence for God than to apply the Authority of his Sacred Name to a Falshood, or to profane it by using it on trifling occasions, or without at least an habitual Reverence for it; but will sanctify the Lord God both in his Heart, and in all his Words. Neither will he grudge to consecrate some part of his time to God, who has given him the whole, wherein he may offer up both himself and his hearty Acknowledgments to the great Creator of Heaven and Earth; which is the Substance of the first Table. And so, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*, comprehends the other Commandments, and fulfils them all, as you may easily make it out in your own Thoughts. And then why shou'd we rob our selves of the Reward of doing our Duty, and of the Pleasures there are in loving our Neighbour, for a few coveting selfish Desires? If we did but thus love our Neighbour, and rejoice at his Prosperity, we shou'd in a manner enjoy his Enjoyments, in taking delight to see him happy. For just as uneasy as Envy is, which suffers not a man to enjoy his own, for pining and vexation at the good of others; so pleasant and delightful, on the other hand, is this kind Temper of loving our Neighbour, which heightens our own Happiness, and makes the Pleasure of others to be ours.

Thus I have explain'd these Commandments, which together with the other Table, of which I just now gave you the Substance, are the Path of Life, and the way to Bliss and Immortality. What God had said before, *Do this, and live*; our Saviour says here over again, *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments.* And I hope what the Scripture has told you concerning the Excellency of that State, has left so sweet a remembrance in your Minds, as will be a prevailing Argument with you to keep the Commandments of God. All your hopes are bound up in the observance of them: These are the Terms of Salvation, and you cannot be happy upon any other.

III. I shall now speak to the Third Head of Discourse, namely, That God does in some extraordinary Cases require those things of some men, which are not

not generally necessary to the Salvation of all men; as here our Saviour did of this young man, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven; and come, and follow me.* This however is no standing Rule; God does not require that every particular man shou'd do thus; he does not lay it as a Duty upon all Christians to be so munificent in their Charity, and to give all to the Poor. In the common course of things, and in the Circumstances we are now in, it is no man's Duty utterly to impoverish himself, and to increase the number of the Poor by his Charity; but on the other hand, to manage his Bounty so wisely, that he may still have whereof to give, and not let his Liberality so overflow as to dry up the Fountain. And so we find in the Precepts of the Apostles, who direct men to proportion their Charity according to their Ability, and as God has blessed any man to lay aside part of it for charitable uses: He that has much, to give much; and he that has little, to give of that little. Whereas such high Instances of Charity, of giving all he has at once, wou'd disable a man from being liberal any more, and from doing so much good in the continual distribution of his Charity as he might do. Besides, as some men have well argu'd from the nature of the Jewish Religion, that it cou'd not be intended for an universal Religion, which shou'd bind all Mankind; so we may say in this present Case, That Religion was so narrow in the very Frame and Constitution of it, that we may see it was fitted only for a particular Nation: For by that Law all the men were to appear thrice a year before the Lord in one place, which was the Temple; and there to offer their Sacrifices, and eat the Passover, and perform such like religious Dutys. Now this was utterly impossible for men who liv'd in remote Countrys to do, tho they had done nothing else but travel'd to and fro. Whereby it is plain, that God never intended that Religion for an universal Law, nor indeed for a Religion of any large spread, because it was no ways fitted for that purpose. And so it is in the present Case. This Precept cannot bind all men, because it is utterly impossible in the nature of the thing: for if all men were bound to sell their Estates, who shou'd there be left to purchase them? But in a particular and extraordinary Case, as it was when our Saviour was here upon Earth, and call'd men to leave their Father, and Mother, and Wife and Children, and House and Lands, and to attend upon him in his Ministry; this indeed then was a necessary Duty in all of whom he requir'd it. And so we see all his Disciples obey'd his Call; they forsook all and follow'd him. They readily parted with all they had, and put themselves into his Service; and together with their humble Master, who for our sakes likewise empty'd himself and became poor, they subsisted wholly on the Charity of others. That was the particular season of this Duty, when our Saviour call'd men to attend upon him, and imploy'd them in the first preaching the Gospel of his Kingdom; and does not concern other men, or other times, but is to be limited to those Persons whom he expressly call'd to the performance of this Duty. And therefore this is not, what the Papists wou'd persuade us, a Counsel of Perfection, whereby men might now do a meritorious Act; but it was a necessary Duty for those whom our Saviour then call'd to it, and we have neither Command nor Warrant to do the like, unless we take it in such a large sense as this, that we ought to part with what we have, when we cannot keep it without the loss of our Religion, or breaking some plain Command of God. But that, tho very true, is not the literal sense of this place, where our Lord absolutely commands this Person to part with all he had, which, but for this Command, he might have safely kept.

Another Instance of these extraordinary Dutys is Martyrdom. God requires of every man, that designs to enter into Life, to keep the Commandments, to avoid the Sins there forbidden, and to do the Dutys enjoin'd; but he does not call all men to be actually Martyrs. He often blesses his Church with such happy times, as that it is safer for a man to be a Christian, and to own and profess his Holy Religion, than to do otherwise. And so multitudes of holy Men and Women go to Heaven, without passing thro fiery Trials. And at other times no man ought to expose himself to needless sufferings, nor run himself into danger; but if either his Life or Religion must be

be parted with, and he cannot keep both, then indeed he must preserve his Loyalty to the blessed Religion of our Saviour, tho it be with the loss of his Life. But this, Thanks be to God, is now become a rare case, tho it were very frequent in the first Ages of the Church. And even then St. Peter puts the Primitive Christians, who were under Persecution, in mind of this Caution, that they shou'd not expose themselves to Sufferings, unless there were a necessity for it: 1 Pet. 1. 6: *Wherein ye greatly rejoice, tho now for a Season (if need be) ye are in Heaviness thro manifold Temptations, or Trials of Persecution: That the Trial of your Faith being much more precious than of Gold that perisheth, tho it be try'd with Fire, might be found unto Praise, and Honour, and Glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ.* These, and if there be any other such, are extraordinary Dutys, which God does not ordinarily require: and tho we ought not to refuse them, whenever it is the Will of God we shou'd perform them; yet we ought to wait his Call, and not run before we are sent.

What has been said upon this Head may serve to rectify these two Mistakes.

1. That men may not think, when they read such Passages as these, they are of universal Concernment to all Persons, and thereby be discourag'd from the Christian Religion, as if it laid heavy burdens upon men, and grievous to be born. No; Christianity does not oblige men to be prodigal of their Lives or Estates, or to throw away those things which are dearest to them. We may safely enjoy our Lives, and all the Comforts of them, and yet be very good Christians. Our Religion may very well consist with our Safety and outward Enjoyments, and really promotes our Interest even in this World. Therefore let no man entertain such hard Thoughts of Religion, as if it went about to strip us of all we have: For this Commandment here in the Text was never meant for a standing Rule to all others; it is not one of those Terms and Conditions of the Gospel, without which we cannot be sav'd; but a temporary Command, only fitted for the first times of Christianity, and for the immediate Disciples and Followers of Christ, who attended upon him in Person, and whom he expressly commanded to do so. I say, it concern'd only these, and none else; and our Saviour lik'd this Person in the Text so well, that he wou'd have had him to be one of that number. This appears likewise from what the Gospel tells us of a certain Scribe, who came to offer his Service to our Saviour, and told him, *Master I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.* Our Lord immediately replys, *The Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head:* As if he had said, If you will follow me, I will tell you what you are to expect. You must be as naked and unprovided of the Accommodations of this Life as I am. Can you submit to such a mean Condition of Life as I do, without any certain Dwelling-Place? If not, you are not fit to follow me, you cannot be one of my Disciples. So another made the same Offer to our Saviour to be one of his Followers and Attendants, only he beg'd leave to go home and bury his Father first, and then he wou'd follow him, and continually attend upon him. Our Lord says, no, he must not engage himself in any manner of worldly Concernments, but leave it to others; *Let the Dead bury their Dead.* Another wou'd but go first and take leave of his Friends, and bid those at home farewell. Our Lord does not allow so much as that, but tells him, that *no man having put his Hand to the Plow, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God.* These were all but occasional Injunctions, and our Saviour does not tie us to these Conditions, but we may be his Disciples without the observance of them. He does not deny us a certain Dwelling-Place, and to be better provided than he was. He does not deny us to pay our last Duty to our dearest Relations; and therefore it is plain, that such kind of Passages do not concern us, nor are essential to our being Christians, but were fitted to special times and occasions. Neither is it now necessary for us, since a great part of the World is become Christian, thro much Tribulation to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; because the Profession of the Christian Religion is now protected by the Civil Government, as it was then oppos'd and persecuted: So that Martyrdom, which was so common in the first days of Christianity, that

that only one of the twelve Apostles escap'd it, and that too by Miracle, is now become a rare and extraordinary Case: And therefore no man has reason to reckon these among the standing and common Rules of Life, but to look upon them as particular Trials, wherein God has been pleas'd to exercise some men, but which are not the common Lot of all; because in the course of his Providence he does not often bring men to these straits, that they must either part with their Lives, or their Religion.

2. What I have said may likewise serve to discover that Error which the Papists have fallen into, that tho every man is not bound necessarily to part with all he has, yet those that are so dispos'd do a meritorious Act, and much better than those that do not; and that it is necessary for particular Orders of men to vow Poverty. But who has requir'd these things at their hands? God has enjoin'd men to be charitable to others, and to give to him that needeth: but he has no where commanded us to make our selves the Objects of Charity, by bringing our selves into want, and by a chosen and voluntary Poverty: and he has given us many Precepts, which imply, that instead of throwing away what we have, we shou'd rather increase it, that we may be able to do the more good, to be rich in good Works; and to make our selves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, that when Death strips us of all the rest, we may receive a Reward for what we have well employ'd in a course of Charity all our Lives.

SERMON

SERMON V.

The Fourth SERMON on this Text.

MATTHEW XIX. 16—21.

And behold one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have Eternal Life? And he said unto him, Why callest thou me Good? there is none good but one, that is God; but if thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no Murder, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not Steal, Thou shalt not bear False Witness, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself. The young Man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my Youth up; what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven; and come, and follow me. But when the young Man heard that Saying, he went away sorrowful, for he had great Possessions.

THE last thing which I observ'd, was this: We have here the sad Example of one that went far, and yet fell short of Perfection; that lack'd but one thing to be perfect, and yet when our Saviour requir'd that of him, he went away sorrowful. He had kept these Commandments, which our Lord here rehearses, from his Youth up, and had liv'd in a conscientious observance of them, insomuch that our Saviour was taken with him, as St. Mark tells us, Ch. 10. 21. Then Jesus beholding him, lov'd him, and told him he lack'd but one thing more, which was, to give away what he had to the Poor, and be his Follower; and yet he had not the heart to do that, but was sad at the Saying, and went away griev'd, for he had great Possessions.

In discoursing upon this Head, I shall,

First, Shew you the Danger of partial Obedience, and how little it avails a man to keep all the Commandments, and yet fail in some one point. And,

Secondly, The Danger of loving this present World, which was the Ruin of this Person here in the Text, and was that which made him fall short.

First, I shall shew the Danger of partial Obedience, and how little it avails a man to keep all the Commandments, and yet to fail in some one point. What pity was it that this Person, who had obey'd and observ'd so many Precepts throughout the whole course of his Life, shou'd at last stick at one single Command, and so lose all the Reward of his former Obedience? If men do not obey God in all things, it is nothing worth. God requires an

absolute and universal Obedience, and nothing less will satisfy him: We cannot compound with him with the performance of one Duty for the neglect of another. This St. James expressly tells us in Chap. 2. Ver. 10. *For whosoever shall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.* And he gives this convincing reason for it, in the very next Verse: *For he that said, Do not commit Adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a Transgressor of the Law.* The same God, the same Authority which commanded the one, commanded the other; and therefore there is equal reason to obey him in the one as in the other. And when mens Obedience is not universal, and all alike throughout; when they pick and chuse in the Dutys of Religion, it is plain, whatever good things they may do, they cannot be said to be done in obedience to God. For Obedience to God is an intire Submission of our Wills to his, without any manner of exception or reservation; when we do not at all consult our own Will and Pleasure, but merely his, and yield up our selves to be wholly govern'd and acted by his Commands. And therefore such a Principle as this wou'd make all Dutys alike to us, and no Command from God cou'd come amiss. We shou'd serve God as willingly in hard, and costly, and difficult Performances, as in easy Dutys, and such as cost us nothing. When men have entirely devoted themselves to God, such an absolute Obedience of their Will to his, will prompt them to do whatsoever he shall command them. This is that Divine Temper which St. Austin pray'd for, when he said, *De faciam quod jubas, & jube quod vis.* Lord grant I may do what thou commandest, and do thou command what thou wilt. Whereas when men are not thus uniform in the Service of God and in the Dutys of Religion, it is plain they do not serve God upon the Principle of true Obedience, but upon some uncertain and unconstant Principle, which is not able to carry them thro a Religious Course. It may be they serve God upon low and mean Considerations, and for temporal ends, as finding some parts of Religion to make for their Reputation or worldly Interest; and then they serve God no longer than they can serve themselves.

Satan unjustly tax'd Job, for serving God upon such poor and mean Considerations, as wou'd not hold out if he were brought into poverty and distress: Job 1. 9. *Then Satan answer'd the Lord, and said, Dost Job fear God for nought? Hast not thou made a hedge about him, and about his House, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the Work of his hands, and his Substance is increased in the Land. But put forth thine hand, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.* But upon trial it prov'd quite otherwise: Job's Religion and Fear of God was built upon such firm Principles, as cou'd not be shaken by the greatest Calamitys, which came so thick upon him one in the neck of another; but he still held fast his Integrity. He was as devout when stript of all, as in the midst of his greatest plenty and abundance; and thought it unreasonable to grudge at the Evil which came from the hand of God, from whence he had before receiv'd Good. The Character which God gave him in his Prosperity, he made good in his Adversity; and the Afflictions which fell upon him, wrought no other change in him, than to make him an Example of Patience. No doubt he bless'd God for his Store and Abundance, but his Piety was not built upon such sandy Foundations: for when he had lost all, he had a heart to do the same still; he fell down and worship'd, and said, *Naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* When men serve God upon any low and temporal motives, their Piety will cease if the grounds of it fail; and therefore there is no such steady Principle, as to serve God for his own sake and out of pure Obedience to him, and to resolve with that holy man just now mention'd, *Tho he kill me, yet will I trust in him.* If a man give Alms out of vain-glory, and to be seen of men, his Bounty lies in the eyes of others, and he is no longer charitable than he is taken notice of. He who forbears a Sin only for the shame and disgrace of it, will commit it when he can do it with privacy, or when the Humour of the Age has made the Vice fashionable, and taken away the reproach of it. He who, in one word, does well upon any worldly Consideration, will not always do so, be-

cause the Reason of his Actions at some time or other will fail; and it is impossible that any temporal motives can make men thorowly religious, because they do not extend to all Dutys. And therefore if men wou'd be uniformly good and religious (and unless they be so, they will lose all their Reward) they must serve God upon such Reasons and Principles as will bear them out thro all Dutys, and enable them to perform an universal Obedience to all his Commands. This Person in the Text, it is likely, had kept the Law upon those Promises of long Life, and Plenty, and Prosperity, and such outward Blessings, wherewith the Law of Moses abounded, for the encouragement of those who shou'd observe it. And therefore when our Saviour laid a Command upon him which wanted such motives, and instead of promising him more, bid him part with all he had already; it is no wonder he went away sorrowful. The same reason which mov'd him to keep all the other Commandments from his youth up, was an argument against this new Command, which enjoind him to leave his Riches, the great Blessing of the Old Testament.

It will not be amiss to mention in this place some of those great and universal Motives which will make us intirely religious, and mould and frame us to all Vertue and Goodness at once. Now Religion being the proper work of the Will, and matter of our first choice, there are but two ways of coming at the Will of man, and prevailing upon it; and that is by the Understanding, and by the Affections.

I. By the Understanding, which is the great Counsellor of the Soul, and advises men what they are to do; which shews them the differences of Good and Evil, and is that Light which the Wills of men ought to follow; which if men do not follow, they are self-condemn'd, and know themselves to be perverse and unreasonable. It is therefore a great step to Religion, to have a true notion of it, and a right understanding of the nature of those Dutys which God requires of us; to be well inform'd of the Reason, and Equity, and Excellency of every Command of God, that so we may approve them in our own minds, as holy, just and good. *Plato* says of Vertue, that if it cou'd be seen, it wou'd move great Love and Affection. What the Sight of Vertue wou'd be, that is the Knowledg of Religion. There is no man that considers the Dutys of Christianity, but will find reasons in them, without looking any further, why they ought to be perform'd. Their own worth is enough to recommend them to us. If they had never been commanded, yet they wou'd always have been fit to be commanded; and if men had been left to themselves to chuse the Laws by which they wou'd be govern'd, they cou'd not possibly have made a better choice than God has made for them. Religion has no worse enemy than Ignorance: for if men knew and consider'd it better, they wou'd love it better. Every Duty carries motives along with it in its own bosom, and speaks for it self as much as can be said in its behalf. Temperance is Wisdom and Health; it gives men a sound Mind in a sound Body. Charity has all the Charms and Endearments of Friendship. Contentedness is a kind of All-sufficiency. Justice and Truth argue a great and generous Mind, which can subsist and is satisfy'd from it self and from its own, and will speak its own thoughts, and not another's. And Mercy and Compassion in a manner make one man a God to another. Every Vertue is a Perfection; and, as *Solomon* says, *The Righteous is more excellent than his Neighbour*. Nay, those Vertues which are most contemptible in the eye of the world, have a great deal of solid worth in them. Humility and a low Opinion of a man's self, at the first sight seems to be a mean and poor-spirited Temper; but is indeed greater than Pride and Arrogance, because it puts a just value upon things. For who is the more contemptible Person, he that prizes Dust as if it were Gold and Treasure, or he that esteems it as it is, and looks upon it to be no better than Dust? And this is the very difference betwixt the humble and the proud man. *Abraham* and *Alexander* were men made of the same Clay; but herein they greatly differ'd, that one had the generosity to own and confess what he was, that he was but dust and ashes, while the other had the vanity to be ador'd. Patient enduring of wrongs has but a mean character in the world, but it speaks a

Mind end'd with Fortitude more than Oppression and doing of wrong does; it declares a man to be above his greatest Enemies; and Superior to the worst they can do to him. And thus it is throout all the Dutys of Religion; their own proper and native Excellencies are sufficient to recommend them to us, especially if we compare them with the Folly and Mischief, the Crookedness and Deformity of those Vices which are contrary to them.

And now what cou'd more incline the Minds of men to Religion than such due apprehensions of it, and to be convinc'd that our Duty is our interest and happiness, and that when we obey God, we do what is really best for us, and live up to the Dignity of that excellent Nature which he has given us? This is a sure and constant Principle of Well-doing, because our Duty it self will furnish us with Reasons and Motives for the doing of it, and it will appear to be desirable in it self. Let us therefore carefully examine the Nature of those Dutys which God requires of us. When he commands us to be sober, let us consider the sense and meaning of it, that he bids us to preserve both our Bodys and Minds, and not to forfeit our Health and Reason for Drink, or Company, or any such trifles. When he commands us to be patient, and to forgive Injuriys, let us consider that he bids us in effect to possess our Souls and be our own men, and not be transported with Anger and Revenge, which differs from Madness only in the duration of it, because it is of less continuance: he bids us not to improve one single Blow into a Pray, which may bring many more upon us: he bids us not to revenge other mens Injuriys upon our selves, nor punish their Faults upon our own backs, by our inward Impatience and Uneasiness, and by unquiet and revengeful Thoughts; but to overcome Evil with Good, to conquer our Enemies in the noblest way, and to disarm them with Kindness. When he commands us to be contented, let us consider that he bids us be happy in the enjoyment of what we have, without disquieting our selves in vain for what we have not. When he commands us to be humble, it is as if he had said, I wou'd not have you be impos'd upon, and so think more highly of your selves than you ought, and by paying your selves with false Mony, reckon your selves rich when you are not so. In short, whatever Duty he commands, he does in effect bid us do our selves one good turn or other, now in one kind, now in another; and always directs us to that which is our Happiness and Perfection, only under another name. It is therefore a certain sign we do not weigh and consider what our Duty is, when we are averse to it; we have not a true notion and due apprehensions of it, our Understandings are not rightly inform'd concerning it: for if they were, they wou'd either very much influence our Wills, and incline us to the performance of them, or continually upbraid us as the most absurd and unreasonable Wretches. This is the first Principle of an universal Obedience, a true Notion of the Dutys of Religion, whereby the Understanding represents them as reasonable and desirable to the Wills of men.

2. The other way of prevailing upon the Wills of men, is by the Affections; which by their vehemence and importunity do often sway the Will contrary to the Dictates of the Understanding. This happens as often as men act against the clear Light of their Minds, and against their better Judgment; which fills them with remorse and sense of Guilt. But when the Affections move agreeably to the Dictates of the Understanding, the Mind of man makes the freest choice, and acts without any reluctancy. Accordingly we find, that besides that account of the Reasonableness of our Duty which the Scripture gives us, it likewise propounds such Considerations as may work upon our Affections; especially those which are most prevailing and predominant, our Love, and Hope, and Fear. Hope and Fear are those two Passions in the Mind, which all Law-givers have look'd upon as sufficient to bridle all the rest, and to incline the Wills of men to Obedience. And thereupon they have always establish'd their Laws upon Rewards and Punishments, which work on the Hopes and Fears of men. But the greatest Rewards or Punishments amongst men, are inconsiderable to what the Gospel lays before us: *Fear not them, says our Saviour, who can kill the Body, and after that have no more which they can do: but I will forewarn you whom you shall fear, Fear him who can destroy both Body and Soul in Hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him.* As

if

if nothing else were worth our Fear. What can affright us from the Breach of our Duty, if everlasting Punishment will not restrain us from it? St. Paul says, *We must all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, and receive for what we have done in the Flesh, whether it be good or whether it be evil: knowing therefore the Terrors of the Lord, we persuade men.* And surely these are sufficient to persuade any considering man, who has any care or concern for himself: for who can live with everlasting Burnings? In that foremention'd place, *1st. 2. 12.* after he has told us, *That he that offends in one point, is guilty of all,* and given us a clear and undeniable reason for it, he concludes his Discourse with these words; *So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judg'd by the Law of Liberty.* The Gospel indeed is a Law of Liberty, in respect of the *Mosaic* Law, which was encumber'd with a great many burdensom Ceremonys; upon which account it was a Yoke, which neither the latter Jews nor their Fathers were able to bear: but it is not such a Law of Liberty, that we may live as we list. For the Apostle here tells us, that we shall be judg'd by it not only for our Actions, but for our Words too: *So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judg'd by the Law of Liberty.* Accordingly as we have conform'd our Lives to that Rule, we shall stand or fall. Which shou'd make us exceeding careful not to live in any known Sin, in any habitual Breach of this Law: for the same Apostle tells us, *That Sin, when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death;* a Death which is dreadful to think of, how much more then to suffer it?

But on the other hand, the Gospel sets before us Life and the largest Rewards to work upon our Hopes. Tho we shou'd give our Desires and Expectations their full swing and the largest scope, yet they cannot hope for so much as God has laid up in store for them that obey him: *Glory, Honour, and Peace, to every man that worketh good.* So the Apostle tells us, *Rom. 2. 6. God will render to every man according to his deeds, to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for Honour, and Glory, and Immortality, eternal Life.* What eternal Life is, we cannot at present fully discover; and it is the better for us that we do not fully comprehend the greatness of that Happiness: however the Scripture has told us so much of it, as may make us despise all the Temptations of the World, and all the Pleasures of Sin, which are but for a season: we know so much of it, as may make us steadfast and immovable, and always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as we know that our Labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

3dly. A third Affection which is of great use in this matter, is the Love of God. This Affection has a strange power upon the Will, and enables it to overcome all Difficultys; it sweetens the hardest Dutys, and makes the most grievous things seem easy and pleasant. *Jacob* made light of the seven years Service which he underwent for *Rachel*, *Gen. 29. 20.* the Text tells us, that *those seven years seem'd unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her.* Now the Gospel every where abounds with Motives and Reasons why we shou'd entirely love God. It every where testifies his Love and Good-will towards us: *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him, should not perish, but have everlasting Life.* It every where represents him as very desirous of our Welfare and Happiness, *not willing that any should perish, but that they should come to the knowledge of the Truth, and be sav'd.* It tells us of the Riches of his Goodness, and Mercy, and Forbearance, and what he has done for us, and what he means to do. In a word, it tells us all which may serve to kindle our Love and enflame our Hearts towards him; that so the Love of him might rule in our Hearts, and make us entirely devoted to him. For if we did thus heartily cleave to him, we shou'd only serve him and none else, and not halt in our Obedience to him. The power of Love is more or less according to the Excellency of that thing to which it unites us. Love makes one whole as it were of him that loves, and of that which is belov'd by him: and if the thing be less worth than himself, and he values it less, he is ready to part with it, and to prefer his own Preservation before it, because he looks upon himself as the better part. But if he loves any thing, which he looks upon as more excellent than himself, he is so devoted to it, that he does not esteem himself or his own Life in comparison of that which

which by his Love is become his better part. Thus we have many examples of men who have expos'd themselves to certain Death for love of their Prince or their Country, and sometimes for private Persons to whom they had specially devoted themselves. And thus it wou'd be in our Obedience to God: if we lov'd him as we ought to do, we shou'd prefer his Will infinitely before our own, and sacrifice all our Desires to his pleasure. Our own Will wou'd be altogether resolv'd into his, and we shou'd readily forgo our own, that his might stand. This is such a Principle of Obedience, as wou'd never fail if our Hearts were thorowly possess'd with it.

The second thing I propounded, was the danger of loving this present World, which is a great hindrance to an universal Obedience. Our Saviour has told us, that we cannot serve God and Mammon: it is a Temper of Mind utterly inconsistent with Religion, because men always ought to be ready to sacrifice their present Interest and worldly Advantages to the Divine Commands. We cannot cleave to God with all our heart, when we have divided our Affections, and bestow'd the greatest part of them upon the World. And this makes the Apostle St. John give us so strict a caution to take off our hearts from the World: *Love not the World, nor the things of the World. If any man love the World, the Love of the Father is not in him.* I shall therefore represent to you the danger of loving the World,

1st. In some Instances wherein it is utterly inconsistent with several Dutys of Religion.

2^{dly}. As it renders the Minds of men earthy and sensual, and indisposes them for seeking after a better Life.

1st. The Danger of it appears in several Instances, wherein it is inconsistent with Religion. As,

1. When Religion exposes men to worldly Losses; when a man is reduc'd to those extremities, that he must either suffer in his Estate, or make shipwreck of Faith and a good Conscience; then the Love of the World makes men false to their Religion, and willing rather to forfeit their Part in Heaven, than their Portion here upon earth. They are apt to prefer those things which are seen, before those that are not seen; and chuse to stick to what they have, rather than to lay hold of eternal Life. And this is often seen in the world: For tho' our Saviour does not command us to strip our selves of all we have, and give it away, as he did several of his immediate Followers; yet it often happens by the Iniquity of the Age which men live in, that they must either do contrary to their known Duty, or suffer the spoiling of their Goods, and it may be the loss of all they have. In these straits the Love of the World is a Rock upon which great numbers of men make shipwreck of a good Conscience. They lose their Integrity to save their Estates; and to preserve them whole, wound their own Souls. Most mens Observation can furnish them with sad examples of this Truth; but amongst others, we have a very remarkable one in Scripture. Demas, who tho' a Fellow-Labourer of St. Paul, yet upon some such-like occasion forsook him, as he complains to Timothy, 2 Epist. 4. 10. *Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me; for Demas has forsaken me, having lov'd this present World.* Such an influence has the World upon some mens Hearts to seduce them from the ways of Happiness, and like a strong byass to draw them aside, and make them apostatize from the most holy Religion. It prevails with men to forfeit all their future Hopes for some present Enjoyments. In another place St. Paul tells us concerning his Fellow-Labourers, that their Names were in the Book of Life; Philip 4. 3. *With Clement also, and with other my Fellow-Labourers, whose Names are in the Book of Life:* and yet he afterwards tells Timothy in this place, that one of his Fellow-Labourers had forsaken him, having lov'd this present World. What happy beginnings does this Sin destroy? It seems by this instance, that it prevails with men to forgo the most comfortable Condition in reference to another Life, and to turn their backs upon Happiness. How sad was it for such a one, who had gone so far, and made so fair a progress in Religion, to turn back again to the World, and to raze out his Name which before stood recorded in Heaven; and to leave behind him this black Character, that he lov'd this present World?

2. When

1. When it puts men upon courses of Fraud and Injustice. To this purpose *James* tells us, that he that hath it, cannot be content. And the Apostle, that *those that will be rich, shall fall into temptation, and the snare of the Devil*; that is, those who are set upon Riches, and care not how they come by them, right or wrong. The Love of the World is that which prompts men to Robbery, and Wrong, and Oppression, and to invade the Rights and Possessions of others. When men have made Riches their greatest good, and their last end, this reconciles them to any means of getting them, and makes the most unlawful Gain to have a good favour. It is this greedy and insatiable Desire which makes men oppress and swallow up the Inheritances of others, and instructs them in all the Mysteries of Fraud and Deceit, both which are so directly contrary to the Duty of a Christian.

2. It is an utter Enemy to Charity. It seals up mens Bowels of Compassion, and makes them as loth to bestow any thing upon their poor Brethren, as to part with so much of their Blood. They cannot find in their heart to give that cheerfully, upon which they have set their best Affections. When men have made Money their God, they count it a kind of Sacrilege to give away the least part of it; whereas the Christian Doctrine requires us to be ready to distribute, willing to communicate, and not to lay such a dead hold upon Riches, as not to open our hands for the relief of others. These Instances are sufficient to shew how inconsistent the Love of this World is with Religion, and how contrary to the Dutys of it; how it extinguishes all Charity, and all Sense of Honesty, and makes men apt to throw off all Religion whenever it becomes chargeable, or a hindrance to their worldly Profit.

3dly. The great danger of loving this present World appears likewise in this, that it renders the Minds of men earthly and sensual, and indisposes them for seeking after a better Life. Men cannot look downwards to the Earth, and up towards Heaven at the same time. The Love of the World makes them have no relish for divine and spiritual things. It is true, the Law of *Moses* comply'd much with the Temper of the *Jews*; and a plentiful Country, and great Abundance was the chief Motive to that Religion. But the Doctrine of our Saviour, is built upon better Promises, he has given us a further Prospect, and open'd to us the Glories of a future Life; and therefore that degree of Love to the World, which was allowable in a *Jew*, is utterly inconsistent with our Religion, which shou'd raise our Thoughts higher from the Earth. We ought to live more by Faith, and not by Sight; and not to look so much at the things which are seen, which are temporal; because our Saviour has told us of things, which are not seen, which are eternal. We have less reason to set our Hearts upon this World, because we expect a greater Happiness elsewhere; so great, as may make all things here below to seem little in our Eyes. *Regard not your Stuff*, says *Joseph* to his Father and Brethren, *for the good of all the Land of Egypt is yours*. We have a better Country set before us than this of our present Abode, and therefore it wou'd be very unreasonable if we shou'd be fond of any thing here. The great Design of the Christian Religion is to refine and spiritualize our Hearts and Affections, and to purge us thorowly from the Dross of this World, which cleaves so close to us; to instruct us how much our Soul is our better part, and that we ought to take infinitely more care for that than for the accommodations of this present Life: In a word, to estrange our Hearts from this World, and to place them upon God, and upon the Glories and Happiness of another Life, which we expect hereafter. Now when mens Thoughts, and Cares and Affections, run out altogether towards the World, must not this needs divert them from their greater Concernments, and make them neglect to lay up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on Eternal Life? When men altogether mind the World, what do they in effect but set up their Rest on this side the Land of Promise? As if they were to live here for ever, and thought of no other place. It is very absurd for us to hope for Heaven hereafter, and yet to love the World, and the things of the World, while we are here. For this is to desire things that are quite contrary to one another. To hope to live in another Country, and yet to take up our Rest in this, and to make this

this our home: to raise to our selves a Happiness, which is agreeable to Flesh and Blood, and yet to desire to be Partakers of that Kingdom which Flesh and Blood cannot inherit: In short, it is to desire things as much opposite as Earth and Heaven. No; the Christian Religion teaches us, that these things are inconsistent; if we will have our Portion in this Life, we must look for nothing in the next. All those that look for Heaven hereafter, must have their Conversation in Heaven at present: they must be there in Heart and Desire, they must be above this lower World, they must lead a Divine Life, and conform themselves to the manners and way of Life which is there led. It must needs unfit and indispose men for those blessed Regions of Light, to live like Moles, and to be always in the Earth: And therefore there is no sense in those mens Wishes, who would fain be allow'd to set their Hearts upon this World, and not miss of the Happiness of Heaven neither: For it is to desire things which are impossible, and which cannot stand together. To be carnally minded, and to be spiritually minded, do as much differ in themselves, as the Apostle assures us they do in their last end and issue, when he says, *that to be carnally minded is Death, but to be spiritually minded is Life*. Now the Work and Business of the Christian Religion being to perfect men, and to fit them for that higher State of spiritual Enjoyments; the more we love the World, the more unfit we render our selves for that happy State, and the deeper we sink our selves into the things of this Life, the farther we go from Heaven. Seeing then the Love of the World is so dangerous, it will be very useful here to add some Considerations which may wean our Hearts from it. And the

1st. Is to consider the uncertainty of the things of this Life; *Why dost thou look upon things which are not? for Riches make to themselves Wings, and fly away*, as Solomon tells us. The more fugitive and uncertain they are, the more indifferent we ought to be towards them. Why shou'd we set our Hearts upon that which may so soon leave us, and slip away from us? Why shou'd our Affections be settled upon the things of the World, when they are always in an unsettled State? For this is to trust to a broken Cable, and to cast Anchor in a Quick-Sand. The things of this Life are in perpetual Flux and Motion, and often wither and perish in our hands; and therefore are no ways fit to be the Objects of a settled Affection. But,

2^{ly}. Suppose they were not so slippery, but that we might take surer hold of them, yet let us a little consider the emptiness of them. What Satisfaction can they afford to a reasonable Soul, or to any of our nobler Desires? They are able indeed to disquiet us, but not to give us Contentment. Some Heathens have understood the little worth that is in them so well, as to slight and despise them; and have eas'd themselves of them, as a Burden and Incumbrance in their pursuit of better things. They can only accommodate our Bodys with some outward Conveniences, and even in that which is their proper Sphere they can do but little for us. They cannot ease us of Pain, nor remove Sickness, nor reprieve us from Death, but fail us, and do us no good in our greatest need. For,

3^{ly}. Suppose they cou'd make us very happy while we live, and wou'd never leave us, yet we must leave them; the greatest Happiness they cou'd afford wou'd be very short-liv'd: for the use of them determines on this side the Grave, and they can stand us in no stead in the next Life. And therefore why shou'd we place our Trust in them, and call Gold our Hope, or fine Gold our Confidence, when they will one day certainly fail us, and leave us naked and miserable? Upon all these accounts, if we only consider the things of this World, as they are in themselves, they can deserve very little of our Love or Affection. But then,

4^{ly}. Let us consider, in the next place, that in loving this present World, we cherish an Affection, which will make us unhappy both here and hereafter.

(1.) If we chain our Hearts to the things of this Life, they must needs undergo the same fate which all worldly things do, and be subject to all those Changes which happen to all things under the Sun. We shall be disquieted with Hopes and Fears, and a Succession of Disappointments. There

will be Trouble and Anxiety in getting Riches, and an unknown Care in keeping them, and Sorrow in the loss of them: So that whether men have a considerable part of the World or no, if they set their Hearts upon it, they are sure to be miserable; for the Cares and Fears which attend Wealth eat out all the sweetness of it, and a restless desire after Wealth is all the pains of Hunger: And generally, the more men have of the World, the more it provokes, but never satisfys their Appetite. These are plain and known things, and have been observ'd to our hands thousands of years since; yet men will take no warning, till their own Experience tells them, as Solomon's did him, that *they are all Vanity, and Vexation of Spirit.*

(2.) As the Love of the World makes us unhappy here, so it will hereafter. If men carry with them worldly, and earthly, and sensual Affections into another World, they must needs be miserable; for their Riches cannot follow them, there is no place for any such Enjoyments. As the Apostle says, *Meats for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats; but God shall destroy both it and them:* There will be no such things in that spiritual World, which we shall be remov'd into out of this; and therefore for men to fix their Desires upon the things of this Life, is to store up a Fire within them, which for want of other Fuel will pray upon their own Hearts, and make them pine away with Anguish and Vexation for ever; and Heaven it self cannot make such men happy, for they have that within them which will not suffer them to relish spiritual Delights and Enjoyments. Now as the bent of mens Minds is here, so it will be hereafter: As the Tree falls, so it lies, is a Truth so obvious, that it did not escape the antient Heathens; for *Virgil* has observ'd, *Que cura fuit curru & equorum, &c. eadem sequitur tellure repostos.* As men stood affected to things here, they carry those Dispositions along with them into another State. And therefore, according to the observation of mere natural men, if we wou'd not be miserable in another Life, we must sit loose from the World, and have our Hearts disingag'd from it in this. But the Scripture has more fully instructed us in these matters, and has assur'd us how contrary this Temper is to the Happiness we expect in Heaven; for that Happiness is a Delight which springs from the Love and Enjoyment of God: but the Love of God and of the World cannot dwell in one Breast, no more than Heat and Cold can meet together in one Subject. *Know ye not that the Friendship of the World is Enmity with God? Whosoever therefore will be a Friend of the World, is the Enemy of God.*

LII SERMON

SERMON VI.

MICAH VI. 8.

He hath shew'd thee, O Man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

IN the foregoing Verses the Prophet describes the superstitious Conceits of hypocritical Persons, who are apt to think that God will be pleas'd with outward Performances, instead of the substantial Dutys of Religion; and are very lavish in offering those things which he never requir'd at their hands, while in the mean time they neglect their known Duty. Ver. 6. *Where-with shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self before the High God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-Offerings, with Calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleas'd with Thousands of Rams, or with Ten Thousands of Rivers of Oil? Shall I give my Firstborn for my Transgression, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* No, God expects none of these costly Services, neither will he accept of such pompous Sacrifices in exchange for the plain Dutys of Religion: *He hath shew'd thee, O Man, what is good; and what doth the Lord, &c.* As if he had said, no man need be at a loss to know what will find acceptance with God, and recommend him to the Divine Favour; for God has fully declar'd himself in this matter, and discover'd what his Will is; that he requires no more of men than to walk humbly with God, and deal justly and charitably with other men. Our whole Duty lies within this narrow compass. God does not impose any chargeable or burdensom Services upon us, nor exact any other Dutys than every man is capable of performing; instead of offering him Thousands of Rams, he only requires that we shou'd give every man his own. A Cup of cold Water only given in Charity, is more valuable to him than ten thousand Rivers of Oil; and a humble Spirit much more acceptable, than if a man shou'd offer him his Firstborn Son.

Before I come to speak of the particular Dutys, mention'd in the Text, of Justice and Charity towards men, and a humble reverent Behaviour towards God, I shall consider those first words of the Text, *He hath shewn thee, O Man, what is good*; and give you an account of the several ways whereby God has reveal'd his Will to us, and shew'd us our Duty.

I shall not need to reckon up those various methods whereby God in times past reveal'd his Will to men: by a Voice from Heaven, by the Messages of Angels, by Visions, and such extraordinary ways of instructing them what he wou'd have them to do. But God hath shewn us our Duty especially these two ways:

First, By the Light of Nature. And,
Secondly, By Scripture.

First, God hath shew'd us what is Good, and upon what Terms we may please him, by the Light of Nature. He has planted the knowledg of our Duty within us. No man is born into the World, without the common Principles of Honesty, Charity, and Reverence for God; these are deeply rooted

rooted in our Natures, and we cannot be irreverent towards God, or cruel and unjust towards others, without doing Violence to our own Souls; but our own Understandings will upbraid us, and our own Consciences condemn us. We are able to derive from a Reason within us, why we ought to adore God, and bow down our selves in all Humility before him; and we are naturally sensible, that to be unjust, is to be unequal and unreasonable, and to be unmerciful is to be inhuman. How far the Reason of Mankind instructs them in these Dutys, appears by the excellent Precepts and Examples of many of the Heathens, who were altogether destitute of the benefit of Revelation; and therefore, it is plain, all their Vertues, Discourses and Actions were only the Dictates of a natural Conscience. Men may, merely by the exercise of their Reason, discover why they ought to be honest and upright in their Dealings, and they have Motives to Mercy and Compassion in their own Bowels: and that natural knowledg we have of God is a Star, which at least will direct us to worship him, and to fall down before so great a Majesty. If Christians themselves wou'd but live up to those Rules which Heathens have given us in these matters, we shou'd quickly see a new face of things, and a great Reformation in the World. What perfect Integrity in mens Words, and Uprightness in their Dealings; what Charity and Hospitality, and how profound Devotion towards God might be learn'd even from their Writings! And no wonder, for God shew'd them what is good; and when he made men, he put the notice of their Duty within them. Our Understandings are as naturally fram'd to discern betwixt Good and Evil, as to distinguish white from black, or to know the difference betwixt strait and crooked, or to judg betwixt Harmony and Discord. It is not for man to lift up himself against God that made him, but Reverence and Humility is naturally becoming a Creature. Injustice is wrong, and so every man thinks when it is done to himself; and therefore he is partial, if he does not think so when it is done to others. And our own Preservation, which the worst of men acknowledg to be natural; I say, that very selfish Principle inclines us to be merciful to those that are in Misery, because it may be our own Case another day. So much of their Duty may men gather by rational Discourse, which is one kind of Revelation. And so St. Paul, speaking of mere Heathens, and of what knowledg they had of God, and of their Duty to him, says, Rom. 1. 19. *Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath shew'd it unto them.* So that God has taken care to acquaint all Mankind with the most substantial Parts of Religion; and if they do not practise what they know by natural Reason, they sin against God, who hath shew'd them what is good; and *they hold the Truth in Unrighteousness*, as the Apostle expresses it. But,

Secondly, God has dealt more graciously and liberally with us, by a plain and open Revelation of his Will in Holy Scripture; and has therein expressly told us in so many words, what he requires of us: wherein our Duty lies so plain before us, that he who runs may read it. We are not left to reason out our Duty by long and laborious Consequences, which the generality of men have not leisure nor opportunity to do; but this is done to our hands in Scripture. The Prophets, in the Old Testament, have preach'd and press'd these Dutys, and have inculcated them over and over again. God has rais'd up Prophets, and sent them to instruct men in his name, and to give them Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept. And in these last days he hath spoken to us by his Son, who was in the Bosom of the Father, and knew all his Mind, and has declar'd it unto us. And he left his Apostles after him to publish these things, *who have not shun'd to declare to us the whole Counsel of God.* So fully has God shew'd thee, O Man, what is good, that no one can plead Ignorance of what he ought to do, no, not the Heathens: for as the Apostle says, *It was manifest in them, God hath shew'd it unto them.* Much less we Christians, who have God's Letter which he sent to the World, as some of the Fathers call the Scripture; who have the Oracles of God committed to us, as the Apostle calls it. God hath plainly shew'd us these two ways, *that he requires of us to do justly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with our God.*

In handling of these words therefore, I shall endeavour to shew you, that they are the Dictates of right Reason, and frequently commanded in the Word of God.

First of all, To do justly, to be honest and upright in all our Words and Actions.

1. To be true and honest in what we speak. The Light of Nature instructs men in this Duty, and they utterly pervert the use of Speech when they lye and deceive. Our Tongues were made to be the faithful Interpreters of our Minds, and to convey our Thoughts to one another: There is a secret Compact and Agreement amongst men to speak Truth; for they wou'd not converse together, if they did not rely upon one another's Honesty, and take it for granted that they shall not be impos'd upon. So that when men speak false, and contrary to their knowledg, they betray their Trust, and that mutual Confidence which ought to be amongst them. And every man, when he is deceiv'd and impos'd upon, thinks himself wrong'd and abus'd in it: This is the general Sense of Mankind. It is a Saying of one of the Heathens, "I hate that man as bad as the Gates of Hell, who says one thing with his Mouth, and thinks another thing in his Breast." And how heinous this Sin is in the eyes of all, appears by mens unwillingness to be thought guilty of it, it being so great a Reproach to be counted a Lyar. And indeed it argues a baseness of Mind, not to dare to speak the Truth. And as it is hateful to men, so the Heathens did justly esteem it to be odious and abominable in the sight of God; and always expected that Falseness, especially false Oaths, shou'd be punish'd even in this World, and follow'd with speedy Vengeance. The Scripture is very clear in this matter. God forbid this Sin under the Law; Lev. 19. 11. *Ye shall not steal, nor deal falsely, nor lye one to another.* And more fully in the Gospel we are assur'd how contrary it is to the nature of God, who tho he can do all things, yet this is impossible to him; and that the Devil is peculiarly the Author of it: *He was a Lyar from the beginning, and the Father of it.* And such as follow him in this Sin, shall have their Portion with him hereafter. God has not only threaten'd this Sin with eternal Torments, but taken Persons in the very Act of this Sin, and for ever stop'd their Mouths, and hurry'd them into everlasting Misery, as was the case of *Ananias and Sapphira*, Acts 5. By all which we may judg of God's Hatred and Severity against it, and why it is so often forbidden; Col. 3. 9. *Lye not one to another.* Eph. 4. 25. *Wherefore putting away Lying, speak every man Truth with his Neighbour; for we are Members one of another.* It is absurd for Members of the same Body to deceive one another. The Eyes guide the Feet aright, and every Sense gives a true Report of what it discovers; they never deceive nor betray one another into Mischiefe, because in so doing they themselves wou'd suffer: and if we were so affected to one another as we ought to be, neither shou'd we, for we are Members one of another. So much for the first thing which God requires of us; the first part of Justice, Truth or Sincerity in what we speak, in opposition to Lying and Falseness.

2. To be honest and upright in all our Dealings. And to this also the Light of Nature directs men, as may be seen by the strict Rules of Justice, which were amongst mere natural men, and their Practice of them; counting it their Duty to render to all men their Due, and to invade no man's Property, not only in the grosser ways of Robbery and Oppression, but likewise by Cozenage and Deceit. Infomuch that some of them in their Writings have descended to particular Cases, and *Tully* especially has determin'd, that men in selling ought not to conceal the faults of their Goods, nor take advantage of the ignorance or necessity of the Buyer. Thus punctual have they been in the Rules of Honesty, and many of them were likewise in observing them. And indeed were it not for this Vertue, no Society of men cou'd live together; all things wou'd be in Confusion, and one man wou'd become a Prey to another. And to make it appear, that Justice is not founded in the Laws of men, let us suppose, that Rapine and Injustice were establish'd by Law; it wou'd then be plain to any considering man, that no Government cou'd subsist upon those Terms: And therefore there is an eternal and unchangeable Goodness

Goodness in Justice and Equity, in the very nature of it, which human Laws did not introduce, because they cannot destroy it; for if Lawgivers had made it, what hinders but they might unmake it? But no Constitutions of men, no Tract of time can alter the nature of it, or make Injustice become Justice; and such absurd Laws, as shou'd establish Iniquity and Falshood, wou'd utterly supplant themselves.

These things Reason will tell us. But Scripture besides does strictly enjoin us to be just and upright in all our Dealings, and utterly forbids all Falseness and Dishonesty. In *Moses's Law* 'tis said, *Ye shall not steal nor deal falsely*. And the Prophets do every where urge this Duty, and denounce God's Anger against Oppression, Robbery and Wrong, and grinding the face of the Poor, and defrauding any man of what is due to him; and in short, doing wrong to another either by Power and open Violence, or by Fraud and Deceit. And so the New Testament has forbidden us to go beyond, or defraud any man in any matter, and rather to suffer wrong than to do it, to injure no man, but to render unto all men their Due. It assures us, that God will avenge all Injustice, and that the Crys of the Oppress'd do enter into the Ears of the Lord of Sabbath; that is, the Lord of Hosts, who is able to avenge them, and to right all those that suffer wrong. It wou'd be tedious to quote all these places: But especially our blessed Saviour has given us one comprehensive Rule of Justice, which may supply the place of all; *Whatsoever ye wou'd that men shou'd do unto you, do ye even so unto them*; for this is the Law and the Prophets: that is, it comprizes them all. And there cannot be a more compendious and exact Rule of Justice thought on, which makes a man's self the measure of his Justice to others, which requires him to deal with others as he himself wou'd be dealt with if he were in their place. The Wit of man cannot invent any thing more equal. If you were in any other man's Condition, you wou'd take it ill to be grinded or oppress'd, to be over-reach'd or defrauded; and therefore let him have the same Usage which you wou'd desire, if you were in his Case. You wou'd not have another make advantage of your Ignorance or Necessity; therefore, says our Saviour, do not you deal so hardly by him. Render others what is due to them, as willingly as you wou'd expect what is due to you. In all manner of Affairs and Dealings with men, turn the Tables, make their Case your own, and deal with them accordingly. And as this Rule is calculated for all our Dealings, and our whole Intercourse with men, and reaches to every particular Case; so it is plain and easy, there is no difficulty in understanding it, and it only requires an honest Mind to apply it. Every man knows what he wou'd have others do to him, if he were in their Case; why that very thing, says our Saviour, let him do to them. And as it is easy to be understood, so it is short and easy to be remember'd, and admirably accommodated and fitted for our constant Use and Practice. We may easily carry it about with us, and have it in readiness upon all occasions; it will neither perplex our Heads, nor burden our Memorys. And as *Alexander Severus*, one of the Roman Emperors, who had learnt this excellent Rule from the Christians, was so taken with it, that he caus'd it to be written upon the Walls of his Palace, and of all his publick Buildings, that if possible every Room in his Court, and every Place in the City might be a silent Chancery and Court of Equity; so let us imprint it upon our Minds, and write it in our Hearts in deep and lasting Characters, always to do as we wou'd be done by.

The second thing is to love Mercy, to be ready to help and relieve those that want our Assistance in any kind, to be compassionate and full of pity to those that are in Misery, and to afford them all the Help and Comfort we can. And this is so plainly mens Duty, that it cleaves to our very Nature, and a man must first have put off Humanity, who has no sense nor concernment for the Miserys of others. And for this cause the Romans call'd the contrary Vice Inhumanity; as if we ceas'd to be men when we ceas'd to be compassionate. And they had reason so to do, for Mercy and Compassion is that which distinguishes us from savage Creatures and wild Beasts; and the Poets us'd to say of such men who had no Pity in their Breasts, that they were not made of the

the same Clay with other men, but of Flints, and bred out of hard Rocks, were nurs'd by Wolves, and had suck'd the Milk of Tigers. The Scripture does every where cherish and encourage this Vertue of loving and shewing mercy. In the Law the Jews were bound not only to be kind to the Person of their Neighbour, but to extend their Compassion to his loaded Ass, to help him up when down, and not suffer him to sink under his Burden. And every where we meet with Precepts of Mercy, and Kindness, and Compassion. Daniel in his Counsel to Nebuchadnezzar, what he shou'd do to gain the Favour of God, advises him to *break off his Sins by Repentance, and his Iniquity by shewing mercy to the Poor.* And the noblest part of Job's Justification of himself is methinks what he pleads in his defence as to this Vertue, Chap. 29. 11. *When the Ear heard me, then it bless'd me; and when the Eye saw me, it gave witness to me; because I deliver'd the Poor that cry'd, and the Fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The Blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caus'd the Widow's Heart to sing for joy; I was Eyes to the blind, and Feet was I to the lame.* Our Blessed Saviour does very much press this Duty, laying before us the universal Love and Goodness of God, *who causeth his Sun to shine upon all men, and his Rain to fall both upon the just and unjust;* and urging his great example, *that we should be merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful.* Nothing can be more divine than that Precept which he has given us, *to love our Neighbour as our selves.* In the Parable of the good Samaritan, who finding him that had fallen among Thieves, and was wounded and left half-dead, had compassion on him, and bound up his wounds, set him on his own horse, and brought him to an Inn, and took care of him; our Saviour sets before us a lively instance of Mercy and Compassion, and shews us what we ought to do upon the like occasion; *Go thou, and do likewise.* He tells us, that *Righteousness and Mercy are the weighty things of the Law,* the more solid and substantial parts of Religion, and ought of all others to be done in the first place. He assures us, that *God will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice;* that is, prefers this far before the other. He convinc'd the Jews that their strict keeping of the Sabbath ought to give way to Works of Mercy and Charity, that it was no Breach of the Commandment to heal diseas'd Persons on that day, and that God never intended to exclude Acts of Mercy by a Day of Rest; *The Sabbath was made for man, for his benefit, not man for the Sabbath.* Nay, his whole Life in the World was employ'd in Offices of Mercy and Charity, in giving Eyes to the blind, and Feet to the lame, and perfect Health to the diseas'd: *He went about doing good, and healing those that were oppress'd with the Devil; for God was with him:* that is, a Divine Power did visibly accompany him, and he made use of it, for the far greatest part, in Miracles of Mercy. In the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, he lets us see the sad end of a rich Glutton, who exceeded every day in his Fare and Apparel, and wou'd not bestow any of those Superfluities to the Poor, but suffer'd them to lie neglected at his gates. And in that plain description he has given us of the proceedings of the Day of Judgment, it appears that a particular Enquiry will be made how men have perform'd or fail'd in this Duty; whether they have fed the Hungry, or cloth'd the Naked, or minister'd to the Necessities of those that were in want; and accordingly they shall be adjudg'd to Happiness or Misery. I shall conclude our Saviour's Doctrine in this point with that Saying of his, which St. Paul has preserv'd from being lost, for it is not recorded in any of the Evangelists: *It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive.* This, it seems, he had often in his mouth; it was his usual word: *Always, says he, remembering the words of our Lord Jesus, It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive.* Certainly it is a great comfort to those that are in want, to receive; and yet our Saviour does not think that comparable to the pleasure and satisfaction of giving: which shews of what a merciful disposition he was, and we ought to be. And his Apostles after him still preach'd the same Doctrine, and make our Love and Mercy a due Debt to all men: *Owe no man any thing but to love one another: If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap Coals of Fire on his head: that is, melt him and overcome him with kindness.* And St. James makes this a main part of Religion: *Pure and undefil'd Religion before God and the Father, is this, to visit the*

Fatherless

Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the World. And we must not only shew mercy, but take delight in it, and do it without grudging; and as the Apostle speaks in another place, *He that sheweth mercy, must do it with chearfulness*: it must come easily from us, for God loveth a chearful Giver. So much for the second thing, to love Mercy.

The third and last thing, is, a humble Behaviour towards God; *And to walk humbly with thy God.* Men walk humbly with their God, when they have low thoughts of themselves, and a high sense of the Divine Majesty. And it chiefly appears these two ways: 1. By their Obedience; and, 2. By their Submission to his Will.

1. By their Obedience. When men are willing to be at the command of God, and to do his will, this shews that they own him for their great Lord and Master, and hereby they effectually profess themselves to be his Servants; That there is one above them, and that they are not at their own command, but ought to do as he wou'd have them, and not follow their own Inclinations. And this is the voice both of Scripture and Reason. When we consider that God made us, and that our Being is merely at his pleasure, we have the ties of Gratitude upon us to observe his Commands, and of our own Interest likewise, never to offend him, who can so easily recal that Breath which he has given us, and turn us again to our Dust, or make us for ever miserable. The Acknowledgments and Duty which a Creature owes to his Creator, are far greater than any man can possibly owe to another. Who can lay such obligations upon their Fellow-Creatures as God has laid upon us? Did any mortal man make us, or can he preserve us? Are we the Work of their hands, or are we indebted to them for that Breath of Life which has made us living Souls? If not, then it is plain that we ought to be more devoted to God, and more obedient to him, than any one man can be to another; and the greatest Reverence and Observance is due to him. The vast distance there is betwixt God and us, and the Excellency of his Nature, makes it fit that his Will shou'd take place of ours, and that his Counsel shou'd stand. And his Power is such, that it is not safe for such inconsiderable things as we are to disobey him. But when we further consider that we are his Creatures, and depend upon him every moment of our Lives, we ought to be wholly made up of Obedience. We ought to cast our selves at his feet, and be just what he pleases. We are not capable of rendring any thing back to God for all that we have or are, but our Wills to be govern'd and dispos'd of as he pleases. It is the only thing wherein we can acknowledg his Goodness towards us, and thank him for our Being. It is the only thing we can give him, because it is the only thing we can alienate or keep back from him. Our Lives and Fortunes are altogether in the hands of God, and not in our own: only he has left the Will of man in his own power, so that he may offer it up to God as a reasonable Service and an acceptable Sacrifice unto him, or he may be a wicked Wretch and refuse it. And when we lay our selves low in the deepest Humility, and sacrifice our selves to the Will of God; we act to the utmost height of our Reason, and 'tis the greatest thing we can do. *Verè magnum est se Deo tradere*, says *Seneca*: It is truly great and generous for a man to give up himself to God with his own hands, and to commit himself to his Government. And *Epictetus* says, that there is the same reason for our Obedience to God, and our Patience under Afflictions, because in both we set up the Divine Will above our own. He makes one an argument for the other, and shews the Absurdity of being discontented and impatient at our Condition, by the Absurdity of being disobedient to the great Governour of the World. Says he, "If I am not contented with my Condition, why am I obedient to the Commands of God, why do I not rebel against him?" There is the same reason for both, and none at all for either. And the Scripture is very full as to this point. Obedience is the thing that God prizes most, and prefers before the most publick and solemn Acts of Worship, if Obedience be wanting: As is plain by that remarkable Saying of *Samuel*, 1 Sam. 15. 22. *Hath the Lord such delight in Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices, as in hearkening to the voice of the Lord? Behold! to obey*

is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken than the Fat of Rams.

But because it wou'd be tedious to produce all those places which are to this purpose, I will only consider one Expression which is very common in Scripture, where we are call'd *the Servants of God*. And so we are upon all accounts: We were born Servants to God, and under his dominion, as the Children of all Bondmen were born Servants amongst the *Romans*. So *David* acknowledges himself; *O Lord, I am thy Servant, I am thy Servant, and the Son of thy Handmaid*. Others amongst the *Romans* submitted to perpetual Servitude, because their Lives were given them in the Wars: And does not God give us our Life every moment, and as the Psalmist expresses it, *save it from destruction*? Now the very Essence and Definition of a Servant, is, to be at the will of another; he is not his own man, but is at another's command. He does not follow his own Inclinations, but is govern'd by the pleasure of another. In short, he makes no more use of his own Will, than if he had none at all. Thus ought we to resolve our Wills into the Will of God, and to be wholly acted by him; to have no Choice nor Inclinations of our own, but to look upon all our Desires and Affections as pre-ingag'd to God: not to think our own Thoughts, nor speak our own Words, nor do as we list; but willingly to be over-rul'd by the sovereign Will of Heaven. And while we do thus, instead of being carry'd away by brutish Passions, we are led by infinite Wisdom, and obtain the most perfect Freedom, by putting our selves under the conduct and guidance of the Divine Will. And this is proper to our Condition, and very becoming all reasonable Creatures. For if we do not obey God, what do we but set up our own Wills against his, as if the Divine Will ought to truckle to ours? What is it but to invade Heaven, and usurp the Throne to our selves? This is the horrid nature of Sin and Disobedience to God, it endeavours to make the Sovereign Will of Heaven and Earth stoop to us. Can any thing be more monstrous than that a Creature shou'd be content to have his Creator to serve him? A man wou'd be loth to use such Expressions, if the Scripture did not use them. But God himself complains thus of wicked men by the Prophet; *With your Iniquitys ye have made me to serve, and with your Sins ye have weary'd me*. This it seems is the Giant-like nature of Sin, it perverts the everlasting Order of things, it turns the World upside down, it sets up the Will of a frail Creature above the Will of the great God, and wou'd have the Lord of all to serve and be under his Creatures and the Work of his Hands. Disobedience to God is all this in effect. And therefore let us stand and admire at the Goodness and Forbearance of God, that suffers Sinners to live, that he does not cut them off from the face of the Earth, and ease himself of his Adversarys; that he does not command the Earth to open its mouth and swallow them up, who thus attempt against Heaven.

But to proceed: Obedience consisting in the renouncing of our own Wills, and in being wholly govern'd by the Will of God; that is not Obedience, which is not universal. When men are partial in their Duty, and pick and chuse what they have a mind to, and leave the rest undone, they obey God in nothing at all. When mens Constitutions, or Interest, or Reputation will not suffer them to commit some Sins, which are not agreeable to their Temper, nor will stand with their Credit or worldly Advantages, and thereupon they forbear them; this is not Obedience, if in the mean time they commit Sins which they like better, and which will better comply with their Profit and Reputation in the world. They keep Religion company as far as it goes their way, and no further. They serve God no longer than his Will and theirs happen to agree. But Obedience offers up our whole Will to God without any reserve, and will serve God in hard Dutys as well as easy, and follow Religion thro good report or bad report, and will not forsake it for any temporal Loss. And the reason is plain, because one Duty is as much the Will of God as another; and when men have wholly laid aside their own, and make the Divine Will the Rule of their Actions, all Dutys must needs be alike to them. The second Table of God's Law will be as sacred to them as the first, and they will keep the first as inviolable as the second, because they serve God, and not themselves, nor their own Inclinations and Interests. Whereas if a man

man keep the whole Law besides, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all, as St. James tells us, Chap. 2. 10. And he gives this reason for it in the next verse; *For he that said, Do not commit Adultery, said also, Do not kill: now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a Transgressor of the Law.* The same God hath forbidden both; and he that forbears one, and yet commits the other, does not obey God, but follows his own choice and liking. But when a man has dedicated himself to God, and resign'd his own Will to him, no Duty can come amiss to him, but he is prepar'd beforehand with a Disposition of Mind to perform it. He can sacrifice the most beloved Lust, and lay aside the Sin that most easily besets him, and run with patience the race that is set before him; as the Apostle advises and exhorts us, *Heb. 12. 1.* where you see he calls the Course of our Christian Obedience, a Race set before us. It is not a Way of our own chusing, but a Path which God hath chalk'd out for us, wherein we must run strait forward, and not follow our own Inventions either to the right hand or to the left. And we have a noble example that has gone before us in this Course, as it is in the next Verse; *Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him, endur'd the Cross and despis'd the Shame, and is set down at the Right Hand of God.* His Obedience stuck at nothing, but he underwent the greatest Difficultys, and waded thro a Sea of Blood, as the same Apostle elsewhere expresses it: *He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.* And God has crown'd his Obedience with unspeakable Glory: *Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every name.* He indeed was a perfect Pattern of Obedience, and he made it his open profession when he was in the world, that he came not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him. And at his entrance into the world (as the Psalmist in his Person) he says: *Lo I come! In the Volume of the Book it is written of me, that I should fulfil thy Will, O my God: I am content to do it; yea, thy Law is within my heart.* The Law of God took possession of his Soul, and govern'd all his Affections, and the Performance of his Will was dearer to him than the Satisfaction of his own most natural Desires: *John 4. 31. His Disciples pray'd him, saying, Master, eat; but he said unto them, I have meat to eat that ye know not of. Therefore said the Disciples one to another, Hath any man brought him ought to eat? Jesus saith unto them, my Meat is to do the Will of him that sent me, and to finish his Work.* And you see to what height his Humility and Obedience has rais'd him; *He is set down on the Right Hand of the Majesty on high:* which may serve as a very great Encouragement for us to run the same Race which is set before us.

2dly. Our walking humbly with our God, our humble Behaviour towards him, appears when we willingly resign our selves to his Will, and are content to be at his disposal. And this is but just and reasonable: for may he not do what he will with his own? Shall he not deal with his own Creatures as he thinks fit? Besides, we may safely entrust our selves in his hands, whose Wisdom can make a better Choice for us than we can for our selves, and can create good for us out of that which we think evil. This is enough to satisfy our Minds in any Condition. We are apt to be wishing for this thing and the other: but the way to quiet our Thoughts, as *Seneca* tells us, is to consider, *Diis aliter visum est*, it pleases God to have it otherwise, and therefore it shou'd please us too. And as this is our Duty, so the same Author looks upon it as a great Perfection, and a very large step towards our Happiness. And the Holy Scripture does thorowly teach us the same lesson. To begin with the Saying of good old *Eli*, when those heavy Tidings were brought him of what his Children and Posterity shou'd suffer, such as wou'd make the ears of them that heard 'em to tingle, he replies, *It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.* *David* likewise was of the same submissive Spirit; when he had otherwise great reason to complain, yet says he, *I became dumb, and open'd not my mouth; for it was thy doing.* This Consideration made him silently submit. And when he was revil'd by *Shimei*, he pass'd it over without any Revenge or Indignation; for says he, *It may be the Lord hath bid Shimei curse:* and he was willing to be made still more vile, if God were pleas'd to have him so. We have many both Precepts and Examples of this in the New

Testament: *Humble your selves under the mighty Hand of God, and in due time he shall raise you up, saith St. James.* And indeed the Christian Doctrine especially does breed men up to this Duty, and very often requires of us to deny our selves, and to commit our Souls to God. Our Saviour's own Practice was the same, to refer all things to his Father's good pleasure; *Even so, Father, for so it seem'd good in thy sight:* and in this he was satisfy'd, and sought for no other reason of things. When he saw his last bitter Cup approaching him, his natural aversion to it, as he was a man, taught him to pray that it might pass from him; but still he did it with the most humble Submission: *Nevertheless, Father, not my Will, but thine be done.* And in these two things consists our Humility towards God, when we are ready to do or be what he wou'd have us; when we set up his Will above our own, and are willing it shou'd govern and dispose of us. This is the great Principle of Religion, and will frame and mould us to all Vertues at once. This is the Divine Life which some men speak of, when we live according to the Will of God, and not our own; when our Actions are all guided by the Divine Wisdom, and we refer our selves to it for the Choice and Appointment of our Condition. In this we cannot chuse but receive wonderful Contentment.

And so I have gone thro and explain'd the several Dutys of the Text, *To do justly, to love Mercy, and to walk humbly with our God.* All that remains, is, to draw some useful Inferences from this Text, and so conclude. And the

1. Is, that moral Dutys are a great part of Religion. The Prophet here gives us the Sum and Substance of what God requires at our hands, and he reckons up the Dutys of Honesty and Mercy towards our Neighbours, as well as Piety towards God. And indeed we serve God as much and as faithfully when we are honest and just in our Dealings, when we are kind and compassionate to others in misery, as by our immediate Worship of him. In all those places where we have a short and summary account of the whole Body of Religion, these Dutys are never left out. In this short Catalogue of the most important Points of Religion, you see these Dutys of the second Table make the greatest part of it: and our Saviour calls *Judgment, and Mercy, and Faith*, or Fidelity, as it certainly signifies in that place, *the more substantial and weighty things of God's Law*; and pronounces a *Wo* against the Scribes and Pharisees for their neglect of them, *Mat. 23. 23. Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, for ye pay Tithes of Mint and Cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy and Faith.* And before our Blessed Saviour, these are the Sum of *John Baptist's* Instructions to those who came to him: *Luke 3. 9, &c. And now also the Ax is laid unto the Root of the Tree; every Tree therefore that bringeth not forth good Fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. And the People ask'd him, saying, What shall we do then? He answer'd and said unto them, He that hath two Coats, let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath meat let him do likewise. Then came also Publicans to be baptiz'd, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do? And he said, Exact no more than is appointed you. And the Soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, but be content with your Wages.* St. James, in his short System of Religion, says thus: *Pure and undefil'd Religion before God and the Father is this, to visit the Fatherless and Widow in their Affliction, those that are altogether helpless of themselves, and to keep himself unspotted from the World.* These are the principal Ingredients of Religion; and tho they have been slighted by some men as very low Attainments, and beggarly things, in respect of I know not what Spiritualities, yet you see the Scripture makes no small reckoning of them: and let me tell you, it is in vain for any man to think of being godly, without being just and honest. And as St. John says, *If a man love not his Brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love God whom he hath not seen?*

2. God requires no Impossibilitys at our hands. He does not burden us with chargeable Services, to offer him thousands of Rams and ten thousands of Rivers of Oil; he does not require any thing of us, but what all Mankind may compass: not things out of our reach, or above our Understandings; not such things as require extraordinary Parts, or depth of Learning; for then the generality of men must have perish'd: But he has laid our Duty level to

the meanest Capacity. To speak the Truth, is a plain and downright thing, and does not require a great Head-piece or a piercing Wit. No man need be puzzl'd to know, what it is to do as one wou'd be done by. To love Mercy, does not require a great Estate or a Bank of Mony; but a man may be very charitable in God's account with a Cup of cold Water only, or two Mites which make a Farthing. To walk humbly with our God, is only to suffer our selves to be govern'd and dispos'd of by infinite Wisdom. And besides, what difficulty is there in these things? Is it not easier to speak the Truth without any more ado, than to forge and invent Falshoods? Is not Fraud and Deceit much more laborious, and does it not need more Artifice and Cunning, than Plain-dealing? Is it not more for our ease, to yield up our selves to the holy Will of God, than to be distracted and pull'd asunder by violent and contrary Passions? For the Will of God is uniform and always the same, but our own Desires are very often contradictory, and draw us several ways at the same time. One vicious Affection prompts a man to one thing, and another to a quite contrary at the same moment; and so a Sinner leads a restless and distracted kind of Life: while there is no such Inconsistency in Religion, but it is throughout agreeable to it self, and one Duty does not cross another, as Vices do; which is a thing of such common and ordinary observation, that I need not give you instances. And then for our Submission to God's disposal of us, it is the only thing wherein we can find rest to our Souls. It is our greatest Comfort and Security, the Ease and Joy of our Hearts, to think we are in the hands of a faithful Creator, who is able to make a wiser choice for us, and to provide better for us, than we can for our selves: As the Psalmist expresses it, our Souls may dwell at ease in this delightful Consideration. And now, as *Naaman's* Servants ask'd him, *If the Prophet had bid thee do some hard thing, wouldst thou not have done it?* so may I say, If God had enjoin'd us a harder task, how cou'd we have refus'd it, since Heaven at last wou'd have abundantly recompens'd all our labour, and been worth all our pains? But now if we do not perform our Duty, when it is so light a burden and so easy a yoke, we are utterly inexcusable. And so we are,

3. Upon another account, which is the last thing I shall mention; and that is, the clear knowledg we have of our Duty. God has shew'd us what is good, and what he requires of us, so many times over, that we cannot plead ignorance; and therefore we have no excuse left. He has ingraven it on our hearts, and these Dutys are as plain as if he had written them there with a Sun-beam. He has reveal'd them from Heaven by the Messages of his Prophets rising up early, and sending them, who have given us Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept. And as for us, the Blessed Gospel of Christ has founded in our ears ever since we were born. We have a Conscience within us, that is our continual Remembrancer, to put us in mind of our Duty, and turns Accuser and Judg too when we transgress it. When we are unjust, or unmerciful, or impious against God; such known Sins as these will stare us in the face, and such plain and open Iniquitys will testify against us. Therefore, as our Saviour says, *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them; if not, our Knowledg will one day prove a burden to us, and be as heavy as a Mill-stone about our neck, and sink us the deeper into Misery.*

S E R M O N VII.

HEBREWS XII. 1, 2.

Wherefore seeing we also are compass'd about with so great a Cloud of Witnesses, let us lay aside every Weight, and the Sin that does so easily beset us: and let us run with patience the Race that is set before us;

Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him, endur'd the Cross, and despis'd the Shame, and is set down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God.

THE Apostle in the tenth Chapter is very earnest to persuade the Christians to whom he writes, to continue and persevere in their Religion, and to hold fast their Christian Profession without wavering. He propounds to them the great Rewards of their Constancy, and the great Danger of drawing back; and wou'd not have them by any means be of the number of *them that draw back to perdition, but of them that believe to the saving of the Soul.* And for their further Encouragement, he sets before them in Chap. 11. the Examples of faithful men in former times; and shews what great things those antient Worthys by the Power of their Faith were enabled to do: and having reckon'd up many famous Instances of their cheerful Obedience to God, of their preferring his Service before all the Enjoyments of this World, and of their Constancy to the very Death, he makes this Conclusion, which I have chosen for the Subject of my present Discourse; *Wherefore seeing we also are compass'd about with so great a Cloud of Witnesses, &c.* The multitude of these great Examples of Faith and Constancy, and that Cloud of Witnesses wherewith we are encompass'd in our Christian Course, are so many encouragements to us to go on in it. But above all, the Example of our Blessed Saviour is the most prevailing argument to make us persevere to the end; who running the same Race before us, is now crown'd with Glory and Immortality. This is the sense and drift of the Apostle's discourse in this place.

From the words I shall draw several Conclusions, which may be plainly infer'd from them.

1. That our Christian Course is a Race, an Exercise which requires much pains, and a constant perseverance.

2. That our Christian Course is prescrib'd to us; it is a Race set before us, a Way chalk'd out for us, and not of our own choice; from which we must not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.

3. That worldly Hopes and Fears are Weights and Encumbrances, which beset and hinder us in our Christian Race. And,

4. That the Examples of good men who have gone before us, are Motives and Encouragements to us of Perseverance in a Religious Course.

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These particulars are clearly contain'd in the first Verse.

1st. That our Christian Course is a Race, and an Exercise which requires much pains and a constant perseverance. It is no slight and easy business, but a great work. There is a great deal to be done in a religious Life, many Sins to be repented of, many Corruptions to be subdu'd, evil Habits to be broken, and vertuous Habits to be acquir'd; a great deal of Good is to be done, and much Evil to be undone and amended. A religious Life is an active State, and we cannot come to Heaven by sitting still; but it is a Race wherein we must run, and use the utmost force of our Bodys, and put forth all our strength, *still pressing forward towards the Mark, for the Prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* If a good Life were not matter of pains and industry, the Apostle wou'd not so often resemble it to this laborious Exercise, as he every where does. For this was a famous Exercise among the *Grecians*, which is the reason why he alludes so often to it, as a thing well known unto them; and it was not better known in any thing than in the hardships of it. For they who strove in running, us'd a great deal of preparation before-hand to fit themselves for it, before they came to strain themselves in the Race: they kept under their Bodys with much Self-denial before their Exercise, and took many a weary step in it. And thus must we do; we must deny our selves in many things, we must mortify our sensual Appetites which weigh down and fetter our Souls, that so we may make the greater progress in Goodness; and whatever our hand finds to do, and is part of our Duty, we must do it with all our might. The Service of God is not a matter of ordinary Care and Industry, but of the utmost Intention of the Soul; and there is a Curse denounc'd against those who do the work of the Lord negligently. We must *glorify God with our Bodys and with our Souls, which are his*; and yield all the Powers of them both, *as Instruments of Righteousness unto Holiness.* And as we must use our utmost Endeavours, so we must persevere with the greatest Constancy, if we will so run as to obtain: *He that endures to the end*, says our Saviour, *shall be sav'd*; and that end is our lives end. For our whole stay here below is a State of Trial and Exercise; and if we do not hold out to the last, we shall lose our Reward. This Race is a constant and continu'd Course of well-doing; it is not now and then a good Action, or some Fits of Religion, but a settled and steddly Obedience. We must not think to obtain the Prize, unless we *press forward, leaving those things which are behind, and reaching to those things which are before*: that is, still improving in Vertue and Goodness, as the Apostle speaks *Phil. 3.* in relation to this matter. And therefore they who begin late, shou'd imitate that great Apostle, *who labour'd more abundantly than all the rest*, because he had lost time. They that come into the Vineyard at the tenth or eleventh Hour, shou'd double their diligence, and redeem the time they have mispent, and make the more dispatch, because the night hastens upon them. It is strange to consider how long men often defer entring on a religious Course, as if it were a matter presently to be dispatch'd, as if this Race might be finish'd with some few steps. Yet in so doing they do not at all shorten the length of the way, but only their own time. For whether men have more or less time to perform it in, the length of our Race is still the same. A thorow Change of Soul and Mind, an entire Love of God and Hatred of Sin, a stedfast Resolution not to be tempted or frighted from our Duty, and a universal Holiness, are so indispensably necessary, that neither want of time, nor any other pretence whatever, can excuse us from them. And therefore when we see how much pains it costs men to break off their customary Sins, and to wean their hearts from the love of the World; how long it is before they can ordinarily raise themselves above worldly Hopes and Fears, and purify themselves from the Pollutions of the World: what madness is it for 'em to drive off all this work to the last, and to straiten themselves in time, as if all this cou'd be done on the sudden, and the whole bent of a man's Soul be alter'd in a moment? No; Piety and Holiness are a Race which cannot be run in an instant, a Work which cannot be begun and finish'd at once; which shou'd move men to set out early, and not to lose time in their entrance on a religious Course of Life. For Delays are no where so dangerous as here; and they render mens Conditions very uncomfortable,

fortable, like that of a belated Traveller, who knows not whether he shall reach to his Journey's end.

And when men have begun and run well, they must take heed of being hinder'd from proceeding, lest they lose the Reward of all their former pains, and fall short of the Prize. For it is not the first, but the last step, which wins the Crown: *If any man draw back, says God, my Soul shall have no pleasure in him.* Those are very remarkable words in *Ezek. 18. 24.* *When the Righteous man turns away from his Righteousness, and commits Iniquity, and doth according to all the Abomination which the Wicked man doth, shall he live? All his Righteousness that he hath done, shall not be mention'd: In his Trespas that he hath trespassed, and in his Sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die.* If after men have escap'd the Pollutions of the World, they are again intangled and overcome by them, their last estate is worse than the first; they blot out their former good deeds, so that their past Righteousness shall not be remember'd, unless as an aggravation of their return to Folly. And this shou'd make men who have begun well, careful to keep on in their Christian Course, to hold fast their Integrity, and to continue to the end, till their departure out of this World. For according to Solomon, *as the Tree falls, so it lies; as Death leaves men, so Judgment will find them.* Which is a Consideration that may awaken the Care and Diligence of all good men, to take heed of slackning their progress in Vertue and Piety, and of failing at the last; lest it shou'd then prove that they have run in vain and labour'd in vain. Thus much for the first thing.

2dly. That our Christian Course is prescrib'd to us; 'tis a Race, as the Apostle calls it, *set before us*, a way chalk'd out for us, not of our own chusing, from which we must not turn either to the right hand or to the left. It was one of the Rules of this Exercise, that they shou'd run within such bounds, and not step beyond the lines set on each side the Race. And so have we a Rule to go by in our Christian Course: God has set us bounds and limits which we must not pass. We are not left at liberty to follow our own wandering Inclinations, but God has said, *This is the way, walk ye in it;* and made it so plain before us, that *a way-faring man cannot err therein.* He has given us general Rules for the government of our Lives: *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of man.* And he has given us more particular Directions and exact Measures of our Duty; *to love him with all our Heart, and Soul, and Strength, and our Neighbour as our selves.* He has further descended to the several instances contain'd in these two great and comprehensive Commandments, that we shou'd reverence and obey him, that we shou'd trust in him, and refer our selves entirely to his Will and Pleasure; and has with no less exactness taught us all the ways of expressing our Love towards others. We are fully instructed by him in *whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report:* and he has drawn all the lines of our Duty. Now these are the bounds within which we must contain our selves, and order our Lives. *No man receives the Prize,* as the Apostle tells us in another place, *unless he strive lawfully;* that is, according to the Laws and Rules of that Exercise: neither can we receive a Crown, unless we obtain it in that way wherein God has appointed to bestow it. We may as well presume to have Heaven and Happiness whether God will or no, as think to have it on any other terms than he has declar'd. There are no by-ways to Heaven, but the open plain path of Faith and Obedience; in this all the Saints of God of old time walk'd, who are now enter'd into rest. And we must tread in their steps, and be Followers of them who thro Faith and Patience have obtain'd the Promises; for the same Promise is left us, *if we do not fall short thro Unbelief.* This shou'd make us diligent to inform our selves in our Duty, and to understand *what is that good, and perfect, and acceptable Will of God;* that we may not run, as St. Paul says, *uncertainly,* but know when we are in our right course, and in the ready way to Happiness; and when we do know it, to keep to it. For it is not our knowledge, but our practice of those things we know, which shall be rewarded: *If ye know these things, says our Saviour, happy are ye if ye do them.* For otherwise, as St. Peter says, *2 Epist. 2. 21.* *It had been better for them not to have known*

known the way of Righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment deliver'd unto them.

So much for the second thing, That our Christian Course is prescrib'd to us, it is a Race set before us, a Way which God has mark'd out for us, and we must not chuse for our selves; that is, we must not follow our own Inclinations, but keep within those lines of Duty God has set us.

3dly. That worldly Hopes and Fears are Weights and Encumbrances which beset and hinder us in our Christian Course, and in running that Race which is set before us. It is plain to every one who will observe it, that the Apostle spends the latter part of this Epistle in warning those Christians to whom he writes, against Apostacy and falling away from the Faith of Christ; and in encouraging them to hold fast their Christian Profession, and not to cast away their confidence, but to arm themselves against the Fears of Persecution. So that it appears, that Apostacy was the Sin which they were in most danger of, and which did so easily beset them, and to which their carnal Fears were apt to betray 'em; and that therefore to make themselves light, and fit to run their Christian Course, they must lay aside every such Weight. Now as Danger was apt to terrify those Persons at that time, so it is certain that worldly Hopes and Expectations have had as bad an influence on the minds of others, and made them prefer Gain before Godliness. This was the heavy Weight which hinder'd and stop'd Demas, when he had gone a great way in Christianity. St. Paul gives this reason of his drawing back: *Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present World.* The Love of this present World is like *Aralanta's* Golden Apples in the Story, by which men are seduc'd and diverted from their course; and the Fear of Men is like a Lion in the way. Now as those that strove in this Exercise of running, strip'd themselves of their very Garments, that they might not be encumber'd with them; so the Apostle wou'd have us do with these heavier Encumbrances: he wou'd have us lay aside all worldly Care and Concernment, and free our minds from all carnal Hopes and Fears. In that Temptation which our Saviour underwent, he was try'd with both, and not in the least mov'd with either of them; he was tempted with Hunger, which is destructive to Human Nature, and with the large Offer of all the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them: but he was above them both. And he endeavours to raise his Disciples to that noble pitch, by taking off their Care from the things of this Life, and teaching them to seek the Kingdom of God and his Righteousness in the first place. He likewise endeavours to set them above all low and slavish Fears, by instilling the Fear of God into them: *Fear not them, says he, who can kill the Body, and after that have no more which they can do; but I will forewarn you whom you shall fear, Fear him who can destroy both Body and Soul in Hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him:* And this will expel all worldly Fears. Thus it is said of Moses in the foregoing Chapter, *That he forsook Egypt, not fearing the Wrath of the King, as seeing him who is invisible;* as also that *he despis'd all the Treasures of Egypt, and the Pleasures of Sin, which are but for a season.* And such were the Faith and Patience of others, that they endur'd the greatest Miserys, and were not afrighted from their Duty by Death in the most terrible shape he cou'd put on; *not accepting Deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection.* These are some of that Cloud of Witnesses wherewith we are encompass'd, which encourages us to do the like: and this brings me to the last thing.

4thly. That the Example of Good men who have gone before us, are Motives to us of Perseverance in a Religious Course. The greatest Coward will wax valiant, when he is surrounded with men of Courage; it is enough to put Resolution into him. There is a secret influence in Example, which makes men apt to do the like, and provokes them to Imitation. We see the spreading Infection of bad Examples, and how contagious Vice is, when men that are dispos'd to it see it practis'd by others. There is no doubt but virtuous Examples have the same power where they find men inclin'd to Vertue, and are of greater force than the best Precepts: for they not only teach them to do well, but shew them that it may be done; they not only shew them the right way, but as it were lead them by the hand in it. This advantage

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we have by the Lives of Good men; *Noah*, and *Enoch*, and *Abraham*, and the Patriarchs and Prophets, and all the Good men whom the Scripture has recorded for Saints, and given testimony to their Vertue; that we have in them the living Patterns of Vertue and Goodness. We see what great things Faith hath enabled them to do, and this may make us strive to do the like; especially considering we have reason to run our course with more Courage and Constancy than those antient Worthys did, because we have greater and fuller Discoverys of the Recompence of Reward than they had. What wou'd they have done had they liv'd in our days, and under the Light of the Gospel? If in those darker times, and under lower Dispensations, they cou'd overlook all the transitory things of this present Life, and trample the World under their feet, and fix their eye on the Recompence of Reward, when it was so obscurely reveal'd to them; at what rate wou'd they have liv'd, if they had had the mighty Assistances of the Gospel? If much be given to us, much will be requir'd of us; and our Lives ought to bear proportion to those blessed means we enjoy. As we are sure there is laid up for us a Crown of Righteousness, let us fight the good Fight, let us keep the Faith, let us finish our Course; and laying aside every Weight, and the Sin that does easily beset us, run with patience the Race that is set before us; that we may at last enter into rest, and sit down with *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, in the Kingdom of God.

But the greatest Motive is the Example of our Blessed Lord and Master, which we have in the second Verse: *Looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that was set before him, endur'd the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.* In which words we may observe, that it is of singular use and advantage in running our Christian Race, to set before us the Consideration of our Blessed Saviour, and to have him much in our thoughts:

1. As he is the Author or Leader of our Faith; that is, as he has gone before us in this holy Course.

2. As he finishes it, and will crown us at the end of it.

And as he is the Author or Leader of us in our Christian Course, we have,

1st. The Example of his Behaviour, particularly in his Sufferings: *He endur'd the Cross, despising the Shame.*

2^{dly}. The Motive of this exemplary Behaviour, which was *the Joy that was set before him.*

3^{dly}. The Reward of it, in the actual possession of that Joy and Happiness which he expected; *And is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.*

1st. That it is of singular use and advantage to us in running our Christian Race, to set before us the Consideration of our Blessed Saviour, and to have him much in our thoughts, as he is the Author of our Faith, our Leader who has gone before us in this holy Course. We that are Christians have this advantage beyond the Heathen World, that we have a perfect Rule of Life given to us, and all the Measures of our Duty laid before us; that we have a Voice from Heaven which says, *This is the way, walk ye in it.* What a miserable and uncertain Condition shou'd we be in, if we were to reason out our Duty, and left to our own Conjectures? Shou'd we not be apt to call Good Evil, and Evil Good; to put Light for Darkness, and Darkness for Light; and to make very dangerous mistakes? It is therefore an exceeding great benefit, that we have a *surer Word of Prophecy*, as *St. Peter* calls it, and the certain Directions of God's Word, which cannot misguide us; which has punctually told us our Duty, what we are to do, and what we are to avoid; by which we shall be judg'd at the last day. For want of such a Rule, men might be led by their Prejudices to think they did God good service, when they did him the greatest disservice; to leave the weighty things of the Law undone, while they busy themselves about lesser matters; and think those very choice Performances, of which God shall say, *Who hath requir'd these things at your hands?* It is a happy thing to be sure of our Duty, and to know our Master's Will, that we may not be lost and bewilder'd in our own Fancys and Conjectures about it. The Royal Prophet values that Revelation which

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God made to the Jews as a very great Privilege, wherein he had favour'd them above the rest of the World; and makes it the last and the greatest Subject of his Praises to God, in Psal. 147. 19, 20. *He sheweth his Word unto Jacob, his Statutes and Judgments unto Israel: He hath not dealt so with any Nation, and as for his Judgments they have not known them; praise ye the Lord.* After he had reckon'd up many Instances of God's Power and Goodness, he concludes with this as the upshot of his Goodness, and his greatest Blessing to that People. And have not we as great reason to bless God? Is not Praise as comely in our Mouths, as the Psalmist calls it, *Ver. 1.* for the Light of the Gospel, and the clear Discovery of his Will by Jesus Christ? And yet even this plain Rule of the Gospel wou'd not have been so compleat a Guide to us, if we had wanted the Example of our blessed Saviour; for Precepts are but a dead thing in respect of Practice: and therefore he has not only shew'd us, but led us the way; he is the Author of our Faith, and has gone before us. He not only gives us Rules of Lowliness and Meekness, but bids us learn of him to be so, and refers us to his own Practice for a lively Instance of it. When he condescends to wash his Disciples Feet, he tells them the meaning of that Action; John 13. 12, &c. *Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have wash'd your Feet, ye also ought to wash one another's Feet. For I have given you an Example, that ye shou'd do as I have done to you.* And so St. Peter has expressly told us, that his Patience and meek Sufferance of Injurys was left us for an Example that we shou'd follow his Steps, 1 Pet. 2. 21. So that 'tis undeniably plain, that our Saviour's Life is propounded for our imitation, that we ought to write after that Copy; that we ought to be Followers of him, and to do as he has done. And it is well for us we have such an Example set before us, which we may safely follow, and which is a sure Direction to us in the ways of Piety and Goodness, and also of great force to move us forward in those ways.

Our Saviour's Example is a safe Example, which no other Person's ever was in all things. The Lives of the greatest Saints have not been free from Blemishes and many sinful Imperfections; but *he knew no Sin, neither was any Guile found in his Mouth.* We may follow Abraham and the Patriarchs, and David and the Prophets in their Obedience, and as far as they walk'd with God; but in many things we must leave them. Their Lives were not exemplary throughout; but we must carefully pick and chuse in our imitation of them. Their Actions were good for the main, but there were none of them who liv'd and sin'd not, and therefore we cannot follow them in all things: But our Saviour's whole Carriage and Behaviour in the World was free from all Sin, and therefore we cannot possibly be misled by it. He liv'd to the height of what he taught, and practis'd the most difficult Parts of that Duty which he requires of us. He bids us be meek and merciful, patient and contented, devout and charitable; and as he was all these himself in the highest degree, while we follow him, we cannot be out of our way. But,

2. As it is a safe, so it is a powerful Example. It is the Example of Humility in one that was infinitely above us: and if he our Lord and Master stoop'd to the meanest Offices of Charity, much more ought we. It is the Example of Contentedness in the lowest Condition; he murmur'd not, when he was so ill provided, that he had not where to lay his Head: therefore it shou'd much more prevail with them to be contented, who have better Accommodations, and enjoy a far greater portion of the things of this Life. It is the Example of one who patiently endur'd the hardest Usage, when he deserv'd the best, and quietly underwent the greatest Sufferings when he was perfectly innocent; which wonderfully upbraids our Impatience under Afflictions, whenas we justly deserve them. Lastly, it is the Example of one who died for his Enemys; and therefore it falls heavy upon them, that have not so small a part of his great Charity, as to forgive them, and to forbear Revenge. Thus our Saviour's Behaviour is a forcible Example, it concludes strongly upon us, and is a powerful Persuasive to do as he did, and to suffer the heaviest things with the like Patience.

2dly. We have the Motive of our Saviour's exemplary Behaviour; *The Joy that was set before him.* The foresight of that Happiness made him obedient to Death, even the Death of the Cross. He saw the time when the Travel of his Soul wou'd be rewarded, and all his Pains recompens'd. He knew that while he was doing and suffering the Will of God, he was in the high way to Heaven; and this encourag'd him to go on cheerfully. Upon this consideration he went about doing good while he liv'd, and this sweetned his bitter Cup when he came to die. He had the Glory of Heaven in his Eye, and that made him overlook the inconsiderable things of this Life, and rais'd him above his Sufferings. From whence we may observe these two things:

1. The great Influence of this Motive. And,
2. The great Necessity of using it.

1. The great Influence of this Motive, which carry'd our Saviour thro the greatest Difficultys. He chose to pitch his Thoughts upon that Happiness which God had promis'd him, as his great Encouragement and Support. He knew that whatever Pains he took wou'd be largely rewarded, and whatever he suffer'd wou'd be made up to him in Glory. For there is no trouble in this Life worthy to be compar'd with that unspeakable and endless Joy. Who wou'd not endure a little while, as the Apostle expresses it, our present Afflictions, that he may enter into everlasting Happiness? Why shou'd that be difficult to us, which will be succeeded with a State of unchangeable Bliss? Shall a dark or narrow Passage discourage us from entring into Life, and hinder us from coming into the comfortable and reviving Presence of God, and from being happy to all Eternity? No considering man can act at that foolish rate, as to let go eternal Happiness for a little present Ease or Pleasure; but whatever becomes of him in this Life, will endeavour to be happy in the next. The Joy and Happiness of Heaven is so great and comprehensive, that all our Desires are sum'd up in it; and it contains all the good things which the heart of man can wish for. It is Rest, and Peace, and Pleasure; it is Honour and Glory, a Crown and Kingdom: in a word, it is all things, according to what our Saviour says, *To him that overcometh will I give to inherit all things.* So that it is enough to draw the hearts of all men after it, because it has that in it which meets with the desires of every particular man; and what the Jews say of Manna which came down from Heaven, it agrees with every man's Taste. And as the Joy which is set before us is a universal Motive, and suited to the Desires of all men, so it cannot but work upon them; because it is so great, that it will satisfy and fill the largest Capacitys of the Soul of man. It is *Peace which passeth all Understanding,* and *Pleasure for evermore;* it is an *exceeding weight of Glory,* a *Crown that fadeth not,* and a *Kingdom which cannot be shaken.* We know the Difficultys of our Christian Course, and the worst we can suffer in it; but we cannot so easily understand our Reward, and the unknown Joys of Heaven: all our Imaginations and Conceptions fall short of that Happiness, and we know but the least part of it. And therefore what wou'd not wise men do for such inconceivable Bliss, and be willing to undergo for a time, that they may be happy for ever? For there's no comparison to be made betwixt so little Work, and that abundant recompence of Reward.

2. The second thing I observ'd, was the great necessity of using this Motive. If our blessed Saviour himself made use of it to encourage and keep himself from sinking under those Troubles he underwent, then we have more occasion for the assistance of it, who have sinful Habits to struggle with, which he had not; who have unruly Passions, which often disturb and dethrone our Reason; and who in every thing fall short of his Perfections. The greater our Weakness and Inability is to perform our Duty, the more need we have to set before us such Considerations as will conquer all the Difficultys of Obedience; such as will infinitely outweigh *all the Pleasures of Sin,* which are but for a Season; and set us above all worldly Hopes and Fears, and make us *stedfast and immovable,* always abounding in the Work of the Lord, *forasmuch as we know that our Labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.* This, if duly consider'd, wou'd make us rich in good Works, and abound in holy and vertuous Actions, because they are the Seeds of Glory, which we shall certainly reap if

if we faint not. If our Duty be hard to Flesh and Blood, and our Work seem heavy, let us cast our Eye upon the recompence of Reward, and that will make it much lighter to us. The Glory of Heaven, like that of the Sun, will break thro and dispel all the dark Clouds of our worldly Cares and Fears, and fill our Hearts with Joy and Gladness, and strike Rays of Comfort into our Minds; it will put Life into all our Graces and Vertues, and mightily quicken and incourage us in the ways of well-doing. And this is not a mercenary Spirit, when men incourage themselves in the Service of God, with the hopes of that Reward which he himself has propos'd for our Incouragement, and which our blessed Saviour made use of. It is low and mercenary, when men serve God no longer than he prospers them in the World, and makes a Hedg about them, and all that they have; because this is a Motive which may fail; and Sin can sometimes offer as much as all this comes to: and then by that Principle Men will leave God and follow Sin when they can gain by it. But they who understand what is meant by Heaven, know, that *the Kingdom of God is not Meat, and Drink, and Sensuality; but Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost*, and the enjoyment of God, which is highly consistent with the Love of God: for no man can wisely desire Heaven without loving God, who is the Glory of that happy Place, and whose Presence is the Light of the *New Jerusalem*.

3dly. We have the Consideration of our Saviour's Reward, in the actual possession of that Joy and Happiness which he expected: *And is set down on the right Hand of the Throne of God*. When he had run his Race, and finish'd his Course, he was crown'd with Glory, and advanc'd to the highest Honour, to sit down on the right Hand of the Majesty on high. And this is a very great Incouragement for all his Followers. They see to what Happiness their Christian Course leads them. This is St. James's way of arguing in another Case; Jam. 5. 11. *Ye have heard of the Patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender Mercy*. The Apostle makes God's Dealings with Job an Argument of Comfort to those that shou'd suffer patiently as he did. God at last abundantly made up all his Losses, and doubled his former Prosperity upon him. Such an Argument we have before us; Heb. 2. 9. *We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the Angels, for the suffering of Death crown'd with Glory and Honour*. And his Happiness is an earnest of that Inheritance which his faithful Followers shall hereafter receive. God shews in him how highly he will reward those that take the same course which he did. He is the Forerunner of all good Christians, and has taken possession already of that Happiness which they shall one day enter into. There he seasonably shew'd himself to St. Stephen, and gave him a view of that glorious Condition he was in; Acts 7. 55. *He being full of the Holy Ghost, look'd stedfastly into Heaven, and saw the Glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right Hand of God*. And this made that good man leave this World so cheerfully, when he had so plain a Prospect given him of a better, where our Saviour was ready to receive him.

This brings me to the other respect, wherein we are to consider our Saviour as the Finisher of our Faith, and who will crown us at the end of our Christian Course. *He is made the Author of eternal Salvation to those that obey him*, as the Apostle tells us. He who knows what belongs to the Infirmitys of our Nature, and the Weaknesses wherewith we are encompass'd; who perfectly understands our Condition, and has had Experience of it himself; he it is who is appointed to be our Judg, and when he comes will bring his Reward along with him. *He is gone to prepare a Place for us, that where he is, we may be also*. While he liv'd here, he gave us the Pattern of a holy Life, and instructed us in the way wherein we shou'd walk: and now he is ascended up far above all Heavens, that he may there receive his Followers. To him St. Stephen recommended his Spirit, and expected his Reward from his hands. And St. Paul was willing to be dissolv'd, that he might be the sooner with him. And it is not the least of our Comfort, that he is to dispense Happiness to us, who is himself acquainted with the Difficultys we are to struggle with, who himself was tempted, and knows the Hardships to which we are expos'd, and will not fail to make gracious Allowances for those Weak-

nesses and Imperfections which are truly human: He will not expect from men a perfect and angelical Obedience, but accept of the hearty and sincere performance of our Duty. He will consider the frailty of our Nature, and deal with us according to the general course and tenor of our Lives; not by strict and severe measures, but by the Sincerity and Uprightness of our Lives. He will not deal rigorously with us, nor take little advantages against us: for he knows whereof we are made, he remembers that we are but Dust, that we have earthy Bodys, which sink us down towards the things of this World, and are a Burden to us. He has had a Fellow-feeling of our Infirmitys, and therefore will deal graciously with us at his appearing; and if we have done well, bid us enter into the Joy of our Lord. He will indeed proportion mens Rewards according to the improvement they have made of their Talents, and of the Opportunities put into their hands: They that have gain'd ten Talents, shall be made Rulers over ten Citys; they that have gain'd five, but over five Citys: but still all that have been faithful shall be admitted, and have their Portion in the Joy of their Lord. And thus I have pass'd thro the several Parts of this Text, and open'd the force of those Motives wherewith the Apostle encourages us to run that Christian Race which is set before us. I shall draw some few Inferences from the whole, and so conclude.

1. We may take occasion hence to consider the various Methods and Means which God uses to bring us to Heaven. He has propounded all the Motives which can be thought of to win us to a Holy Life. He has set before us all those Considerations, which are apt to work upon the minds of men: He allures us by Promises, and awes us with Threatnings, by setting Life and Death before us: He offers us Happiness if we will obey him, and has reveal'd his Wrath from Heaven against all Unrighteousness and Ungodliness of men: He shews us the present advantages of Religion, that it will give us Peace and inward Satisfaction, and is the only way to find Rest to our Souls, and that Sin pierces men thro with many Sorrows; that if it have any Pleasures, they are but for a season: He woos and beseeches men, as they love him or their own Souls, to be reconcil'd to him. In a word, he has us'd all the Arguments which are fit to move reasonable Creatures. But because the generality of men are not so apt to follow Reason, as to be led by Example, and to do as they see others do before them; he has likewise set Examples before us, and encompass'd us with a Cloud of Witnesses. Men are often vicious for Company, and carry'd down with the Stream of Custom: they are loth to be singular, tho it be in Goodness it self. They consider more what is usually done, than what ought to be done. God has therefore been pleas'd not to forbid us to follow Example, but has chosen good Examples for us, to follow the glorious Company of the Apostles, the goodly Fellowship of the Prophets, the noble Army of Martyrs and holy Saints, who throughout all Ages of the World have gone before us in the ways of Piety and Vertue. These invite us to follow them, and to join our selves to their Company and Society, and to be of their number. We are not to be counted singular, nor as if we walk'd in untrodden ways, when we tread in the steps of so many great Souls, of whom the World was not worthy. And because the more eminent mens Persons are, the more powerful are their Examples, and they draw a larger train after them; God has sent his Son to go before us in the way which leads to Happiness, that he might draw all men after him, and by the Dignity of his Condition be an eminent Pattern of Goodness. Whom can we more desire to be like than the Son of God? What greater Person can we follow? If we are apt to take our Customs and Fashions from great Persons, let us look unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Faith; and, as it is said in the Book of the Revelations, who hath upon his Thigh his name written, *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*: by being like him, we shall far surpass and exceed our selves, and resemble God himself while we are men.

2. That this present Life is a State of Trial and Probation. While we are here, we are Candidates of Heaven, and this World is but in order to another. To take up our Rest here, is as improper as for a man to sit down in the middle of a Race. When we have finish'd our Course, we shall enter into Rest; and therefore if we are here continually exercis'd, if we have continual

Conflicts

Conflicts with our corrupt Affections and sinful Inclinations, and find much work upon our hands, it is no more than may be expected. Our Christian Race cannot be run at one step, nor the good Fight finish'd with a single blow; but we must still strive, and run, and press forward till we come to the Mark. This is not a State of Perfection; we shall still have need of growing better, and of making a further Progress, of adding to our Faith, Vertue, and Patience, and Godliness, and brotherly Kindness and Charity. A Perfection of Parts, as 'tis call'd, is necessary in Piety; that is, our Obedience must be impartial and universal. We must not content our selves to keep the rest of the Law, and yet wilfully offend in one point, and live in the breach of any known Duty; for this is such a maim'd and imperfect Obedience, as is nothing worth. But as for a Perfection of Degrees, that cannot be absolute and compleat in this Life: this we must wish, and endeavour, and press after; that our Love to God may abound still more and more; that our Piety may increase and keep pace with our knowledg; and as we grow every day wiser, that we may grow better. We must be continually improving our selves; but no man can arrive to such a height while in this World, as to be at the top of all Goodness, so perfect as that he may not go farther, nor so confirm'd in Piety that he may not fall back. It is possible for men, when they have gone ever so far, to fall short thro' Unbelief; and he that stands surest, let him take heed lest he fall: And therefore while we are in our Race, we must still keep forward till we come to the end of it. Then indeed we shall arrive at perfection, and be out of all danger. We shall then be in that happy State, where we shall rest from our Labours, and be out of a possibility of sinning. All Temptations to Sin will be remov'd, and we shall put off these Bodys of Sin and Death, and be wholly deliver'd from them, which now create us so much Trouble. We shall see God clearly, and love him fully; and there will be nothing left to intangle our Affections, and to pervert our Wills. This is that State of Perfection which we now long for and breathe after, and which we begin here by vertuous Habits, and the sincere Practice of Piety, and accustoming our selves to do well, and still better and better; till at last we come to that glorious liberty of the Sons of God, where we shall be free from all Sin, and be unchangeably holy, and never find the least reluctance to Goodness any more. This is a Consideration which will endear Heaven to all good men, and shou'd withal make them more diligent to prepare for so blessed a Condition, by the frequent and vigorous Exercises of Vertue, and by a settled Practice of Well-doing. For as we are dispos'd when we come to die, as the whole bent of our Soul is then, so it will be to all Eternity, and it is too late then to alter it.

3. Among those many Arguments which God has given us to move us forward in our Christian Course, it is a part of spiritual Wisdom to chuse the most proper for our present Condition. When our Saviour was struggling with the greatest Difficultys, and his Condition was most miserable in this World, he thought how happy he shou'd be in the next. St. Paul requires of a Preacher, that *he shou'd rightly divide the Word of Truth*; that is, give every one their Portion, and apply the Promises and Threatnings of the Gospel suitably to mens Conditions: That they shou'd awaken drowsy Sinners with the Terrors of the Lord; and on the other side, shou'd bind up the broken-hearted, and not break the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoking Flax. After the same manner ought men to deal with themselves, and to apply the several parts of Scripture to their own Souls. When they find themselves under Pressures and Afflictions, then it is seasonable to think how much their Condition will be mended in a better World; when they meet with Difficultys in a religious Course, then to have an eye to the recompence of Reward. On the other side, when men find themselves presumptuous, and apt to venture upon the Commission of Sin, then it is fit for them to consider that the Wrath of God is reveal'd against it, and that our God is a consuming Fire. When men are set upon by a violent Temptation, then that Saying of good Joseph shou'd come into their mind, *How can I do this great Wickedness, and sin against God?* For tho' Promises and Threatnings lie promiscuously in the Book of God, yet we shou'd not use them promiscuously.

We

We ought not to cry Peace and Safety to our selves, while we continue wicked; nor to cheer our Minds with the Happiness of Heaven, while we are travelling in the broad way to Hell: for wicked men have neither part nor portion in this matter. Nor on the other hand, shou'd we make sad the Heart which God wou'd not have made sad; but apply those Scriptures to our selves which are best fitted for our Circumstances. We shou'd not apply the Promises of God to our selves, unless we have a right to them; nor terrify our selves with the Threatnings of the Gospel, when there is no occasion for it, but deal impartially and uprightly with our selves. Hereby we may receive that Benefit which God intended for us by his Word, that by it we may be thorowly furnish'd to every good Word and Work.

S E R M O N VIII.

DANIEL IV. 27.

Wherefore, O King, let my Counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing Mercy to the Poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy Tranquillity.

THIS good Counsel, which was given to a particular Person, and upon a particular Occasion, is very proper for all Persons in the like Case. *Nebuchadnezzar* was warn'd in a Dream of a great Judgment which was approaching towards him; and in these words, which I have read to you, the Prophet directs him to the likeliest way how to prevent it, by Counsels of Repentance and Reformation. And seeing whatever was written aforetime was written for our Instruction, it is *Daniel's* Advice to us, who have reason to fear God's Anger and Displeasure against us for our Sins; I say, he directs us to the same remedy, as the best means to meet and obviate God's Judgments, and to procure to our selves a lasting Prosperity. He addresses himself to every one of us, when he says, *Let my Counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing Mercy to the Poor, if it may be a lengthning of thy Tranquillity.* In which words we have,

- I. The Description of a true Repentance, *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing Mercy to the Poor.*
- II. The Efficacy of Repentance, that it is the means of procuring to our selves a lasting Prosperity; it is the likeliest course we can take to lengthen our Tranquillity.

I. The Description of a true Repentance; *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing Mercy to the Poor.* Repentance being the only Remedy which God has provided for sinful men, and the only means we have left to recover his Favour, and to make our Peace with him; all Mistakes in a matter of so great concern must needs be very dangerous. And men have not

not abus'd themselves in any thing more, than in that slight and easy Opinion they generally entertain of Repentance. If they be sorry for what is past, and ask God's Pardon and Mercy, and intend well for the time to come, they think all the trouble of Repentance is over; tho they afterwards return to their former evil Courses, and there be no thorow Change wrought in their Lives. But all this falls short of Repentance: These are indeed good beginnings and steps towards it, but they are not the thing it self. When men are heartily sorry for their Sins, it is a good sign they will leave them; but Experience shews that it often fails, and that this Sorrow is but like the Morning Dew, which soon vanishes away. When the Apostle says, *Godly Sorrow works Repentance*, it is plain he does not make them both the same thing, for nothing can work it self; it is a good step towards Repentance, but you know some that begin well, do not always finish. It is truly very unreasonable for men, when they have been troubled for their Sins, and have felt the bitterness and anguish of doing amiss, to do those things again for which they have formerly smarted: and yet how often are they guilty of this Folly! And so again, good Purposes and Resolutions are not Repentance, no more than Promises are Performance; Desires of being better are not Amendment, no more than wishing for Health will make a man well. And lastly, men may confess themselves to be Sinners, and yet continue to be such; they may humbly acknowledge their Sins to God, and yet not part with them: but as Solomon says, we must forsake them as well as confess them, if we expect to find mercy at God's hands. Men therefore do but deceive themselves, when they rest in any of these; for such Repentance will need to be repented of. No, the Text tells us there is more in it than so; it is *breaking off our Sins by Righteousness, and our Iniquitys by shewing mercy to the Poor*. It is the breaking off our Sins, which denotes a Separation from them. And this is the Scripture-Notion of Repentance, which we have deliver'd to us in great variety of Expressions. The Prophet *Isaiah* expresses it thus; *Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings; cease to do evil, learn to do well*: which Expressions imply mens leaving their Sins, and for ever parting with them. The *Ninivites*, who are a pattern to us of Fasting and Humiliation, and of crying mightily to God, and a Monument of his sparing Mercy to all succeeding Generations; are likewise an example of Repentance, and of the happy Success of it. Our Saviour says, *They repented at the Preaching of Jonah*. It will therefore be worth our while to consider what they did, which we find in the third of *Jonah*, the last Verse: *And God saw their works, that they turn'd from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he said he wou'd do unto them, and he did it not*. They turn'd every one from the evil of his way, and from the Violence that was in their hands, as it is express'd in the eighth Verse: and that was their Repentance. We may learn the same thing from several Expressions of *St. Paul*, especially that remarkable one in *Heb. 6. 1*. *Therefore leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, let us go on to Perfection, not laying again the foundation of Repentance from dead works, &c.* Now the surest way to try any Interpretation of Scripture, is to put it in the place of that word which is to be interpreted. As here, if we wou'd know whether Repentance be Sorrow, or Humiliation, or Confession of Sin, or good Purposes and Resolutions; let us put any of these instead of Repentance, and see whether it will explain this Phrase, and make it clearer, as every good Interpretation ought to do. But if we say Sorrow from dead works, or Confession, or good Purposes and Resolutions from dead works; you may plainly perceive that it is not sense, and that the words will not bear any such explication. Whereas if instead of Repentance we say a Conversion or turning from dead works, or a departure from them; the Sense is very clear, and the Expression easy: and therefore we may conclude, that this latter is the true and genuine Interpretation, and that *St. Paul* meant by Repentance a leaving and forsaking of Sin, a separation and departure from it. And this is the first part of a true Repentance, to break off our Sins and Iniquitys, to escape out of the Snare of the Devil, that we be not led captive by him at his Will; to rescue our selves from the Tyranny of sinful Habits and Customs, that Sin may not reign in our mortal Bodys, that we shou'd obey it in the Lusts thereof. This is the first

first work of those that turn to God, to put off the old man, to strip themselves of all their vicious Habits, to lay aside every Weight, and the Sin that has so easily beset them, that so they may run the Race which is set before them. Thus Job tells us, *It is meet to be said unto God, I have done wickedly, I will do so no more*; and we must say and hold, *and not return again unto folly*. We must so break off our Sins, as never to be reconcil'd to them any more. For as St. Peter tells us, 2 Epist. 2. 20. *If after men have escap'd the Pollutions of the World, they are again entangled in them and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning*.

1. To reflect a little upon what has been said. 1. Is it so, that a Sight and Sense of Sin, that Sorrow for it, that good Purposes and Resolutions, that none of these nor all of them together, will amount to Repentance? Then what will become of all such as fall short of those things which come short of Repentance; of them who do not so much as humble themselves for their Sins, who do not feel the burden of them which even Cain did, nor perform any of those Acts of Humiliation which Ahab himself did, who notwithstanding was a Slave to his Vices, and had sold himself to work wickedness? But where then will those Wretches appear, who are so far from being sorry for their Sins, that they glory in them? as if *they had made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell they were at an Agreement*. But the more secure, the more desperate their State is; and the farther from Repentance, the more dreadful.

2. Does Repentance at the least imply an actual forsaking of all our Sins, and breaking off our Iniquitys? then what a folly is it to defer this great work from day to day? For is it nothing to pluck up inveterate Habits by the roots? Is it nothing to part with customary and beloved Sins, to cut off a right Hand, and to pluck out a right Eye, and cast them from us? Is it nothing for men to put off a whole Body of Sin and Death, which sticks so close to them? This is a great work, and cannot be presently dispatch'd: and therefore those who have been so unhappy as to defer it so long, ought immediately to set about it; especially considering that it is made much worse by delay, and their work will grow upon their hands: *Exhort one another daily*, says the Apostle, *while it is call'd to day, lest you be harden'd thro the Deceitfulness of Sin*. By deferring their Repentance, men are far worse to themselves than the Egyptian Task-masters were to the Israelites: They indeed deny'd them Straw, and yet requir'd the full Tale of Bricks; but these men do very much increase their own Task, as well as rob themselves of time and other helps of doing it. When men are engag'd in a sinful Course, the further they go, the more difficult is their return; and they still make more work for Repentance, and lessen their Abilities to perform it: for he that has no heart to repent to day, will be more averse and further from it to morrow. I know men take encouragement from the penitent Thief, and from the Success of his late Repentance, to drive off theirs: he confess'd Christ when he was upon the Cross, and pray'd him to remember him when he came into his Kingdom; and for this our Saviour promises him, that that day he shou'd be with him in Paradise. But let them beware they do not take this Example by the wrong end. Let them indeed do as the penitent Thief did, who in all probability confess'd our Saviour as soon as he knew him; who did not let slip that happy opportunity, the first in all likelihood he ever had in that kind, but clos'd with it before it was too late; which Repentance, defer'd but till to morrow, may be: for what man knows but this night his Soul may be requir'd of him?

Thus much for those words, *Break off thy Sins and Iniquitys*: which plainly shew us that men must depart from Iniquity and leave their Sins, as well as confess them and be sorry for them; they must first cease to do evil, and then learn to do well: that is the other part of this Description of Repentance; *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing mercy to the Poor*. By Righteousness, that is, by doing better, by a Course of Virtue and Goodness. For Righteousness, not only in Scripture, but in the Greek Moralists, is a comprehensive word, and contains in it all manner of Virtue and Well-doing. Thus it must be in this great work of Repentance; men must not only be negatively good, but abound in all virtuous and holy Actions:

Let him that stole, steal no more, says the Apostle: but that is not all; he must likewise find some honest and useful Employment: *But rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth,* that he may free both himself and others from the Temptation of committing that Sin. And so the Apostles describe this Change and Reformation; it is not only a putting off the old man with his Affections and Lusts, but a superinducing of good and vertuous Habits; a putting on the new man, which after the Image of God is created in Righteousness and true Holiness. We are to undo what we have done amiss, to repair the mischief we have done, and to redeem our past Faults by all the good Services we are able to do. St. Paul after his Conversion did not content himself with forbearing to make havock of the Church, as he had formerly done; but he labour'd more abundantly than all others to edify and build it up, *Acts 9. 20.* You may see what a present Change there was wrought in him; *And straitway he preach'd Christ in the Synagogues, that he is the Son of God.* But all that heard him, were amaz'd, and said, *Is not this he who destroy'd them that call'd upon this Name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound to the Chief Priests?* His Counsels and Designs were quite alter'd to admiration, and he acted just contrary to what he had done before, and was as zealous to promote Christianity, as he was before to destroy it. This is a true and compleat Repentance, when the stream of a man's Actions is quite turn'd the other way, when he loves Righteousness and hates Iniquity; and as before he follow'd Sin with greediness, so now he as eagerly pursues Vertue, always abounds in the work of the Lord, and is never weary of well-doing. It is, in short, a Change and Reformation of Life and Actions, as well as of Mind and Inclinations.

This is another Consideration to dissuade men from deferring their Repentance. For that Repentance which does not bring forth the Fruits of a good Life, is not such as the Scripture every where calls for; *a Repentance from dead Works to serve the living God.* When men who have put off their Repentance till it be late, have no time to lead a new Life, but are taken out of the World before they can exercise the Graces of Repentance, and perform actual Obedience to the Commands of God; they must needs want the Comfort, which others have who lead a good Life. For tho they forsake all their Sins, yet they have not learnt to do well: and tho if God had spar'd them, they wou'd certainly have led a new Life, yet they have not done it; and therefore their Repentance is but a virtual Repentance: and how far God will please to accept of it, we cannot positively tell. For he does not accept of the Will for the Deed, but in those cases wherein men have not an opportunity to accomplish their Desires; and whether he will accept of it when men have depriv'd themselves of this opportunity, we must leave it uncertain as it is. This is plain, that the Scripture every where requires an actual Obedience, and a holy Life; that our Light shou'd shine before men; and bids us take heed of being deceiv'd in this point, assuring us that *he that doth Righteousness is righteous.* And so much for this other part of Repentance, which consists in a holy Life, and an actual Obedience to the Commands of God: *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness.*

In the next place, we have a particular instance of this universal Righteousness; *And thine Iniquitys, by shewing mercy to the Poor.* The Scripture often makes our Charity the trial and touchstone of our Love, even to God himself: *He that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?* This is so eminent a part of Righteousness, that there is no true Goodness where this is not to be found. But there are other reasons why this Vertue shou'd be singled out from the rest, and particularly mention'd on this occasion. For God has often declar'd that he will deal by us as we deal by others; that by the same measure we mete, it shall be measur'd to us again: *And he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that hath shew'd no Mercy.* And therefore this was seasonable Advice in this place, to put *Nebuchadnezzar* in mind of this Duty, which intitles men to a share in God's Mercy more than any other, and upon the performance of which he has been pleas'd to suspend his Blessings. He will not forgive us, unless we forgive other men their Trespasses: and if we be hard-hearted and uncharitable, we shew him

how to deal with us. Such is his Good-will towards all the World, that upon condition we will be kind and compassionate to one another, he will be so to us; and he has order'd it so, that in being kind and charitable to others, we do good to our selves. Great things are spoken of this Vertue in reference to its prevalency with God, to obtain his Favour, and to avert his Displeasure: *Alms delivers from Death, says the Wileman, and makes expiation for Sins.* And *David* sets it down as God's constant method, wherein he will proceed with men; *Wish the merciful thou wilt shew thy self merciful.* It is said both of *Cornelius's* Prayers and Alms, that they came up for a Memorial before God; and they brought down upon him the greatest Blessing of all others, the Benefit of that Gospel which has brought Life and Immortality to light. And so I have done with the first thing, the Matter and Substance of *Daniel's* Advice, which is Repentance, with his manner of describing it: *Break off thy Sins by Righteousness, and thine Iniquitys by shewing mercy to the Poor.*

I come now to speak something briefly to the second thing, namely, the Efficacy of Repentance; to shew that it is the likeliest means to procure to our selves a lasting Prosperity; it is the best course we can take to lengthen our Tranquillity: And that upon these two accounts.

1. It is the only way to procure the Love and Favour of God.
2. It will qualify us for the Enjoyment of God's Blessings.

1. It is the only way to procure the Love and Favour of God. It is Sin alone that has been the unhappy instrument of making variance, and of putting enmity betwixt God and Man. So the Prophet tells the *Jews*, tho they were his chosen and peculiar People; *Your Iniquitys have separated betwixt you and your God.* And tho our Blessed Saviour has, in the Apostle's words, *slain the enmity*, and made up the breach; yet the Reconciliation is not perfect, till our Repentance has made it compleat. He has by his Sufferings made God exorable, and willing to come to terms of Mercy, to accept of Repentance, but not to be reconcil'd without it. For till then we have no benefit of that great Propitiation, but our Sin remains, and we are still Children of Wrath. It is upon condition we repent, that our Sins shall be blotted out, and we our selves receiv'd into Grace and Favour. What have we to do with Peace, or how can we expect that or any other Blessing from God, while our Sins and Provocations are so many, and we continue in a state of Enmity and Hostility against him? Now when we repent, all our Sins are done away in the Blood of Jesus; when we return home to our Father's House, he meets us in the way, and receives us with all the Expressions of Love and Affection, and is perfectly reconcil'd to us. And what may we not expect from a reconcil'd Father? *If men that are evil know how to give good Gifts to their Children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to them that ask him?* is our Saviour's way of arguing. *He will give Grace and Glory, and no good thing will he withhold from them that lead a godly Life,* says the Psalmist, *Psal. 84.* When by Repentance we have our part in the inestimable Gift of his Son whom he bestow'd upon the World, we may argue strongly for an interest in other Benefits and Blessings from him, as *St. Paul* does: *He that has given us his Son, how shall he not with him freely give us all things?* But much more may a righteous Nation and a Community of Good men expect temporal Blessings. The Vertue of Religious Nations, as Nations, can be recompens'd no where else; because tho this present Life be not the time and season of Rewards and Punishments to particular Persons, yet it is for Societys and Communitys of men: for in the next World all Societys will be dissolv'd, and men will be judg'd in their private Capacitys.

2. Repentance will qualify us for the enjoyment of God's Blessings. For otherwise Prosperity will prove like Nourishment to a distemper'd Body; it will feed the Disease, and furnish our Sensuality. It will but give us the greater opportunity of serving our Sins, and prove a Curse to us rather than a Blessing. The most flourishing Condition will minister the more plentifully to our Luxury and Excess, and make us the more apt to forget God, and to say, *Who is the Lord?* as *Agur* has long since wisely observ'd. And therefore when God foresees that men wou'd abuse his Blessings, he often withholds them, and will not be mov'd by any Prayers or Importunity to bestow them:

them: James 4. 2. *Ye lust, and have not; ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not: Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss; that ye may consume it upon your Lusts.* How can we expect that God shou'd bestow Blessings upon those who will mispend them, who will employ them against himself, who will dishonour him with his own Gifts? If he gave them in these Circumstances, he wou'd certainly give them in his wrath. And therefore we are not in a condition either to ask for Blessings, or to receive them, or to be ever the better for them, till we have repented of our Sins and reform'd our Lives, till we know how to be thankful and moderate in the enjoyment of them; in a word, till we know how to use them, and not prejudice our selves with them.

Thus I have gone thro the several parts of this excellent Advice, and have nothing more to add, but in a word or two to recommend it to you, and so leave it.

Nothing in the world can be plainer than this in the Word of God, that Sin brought Misery into the World, and *that heavy Yoke*, as the Wiseman calls it, *that lies upon the Sons of Adam, from the day they come out of their Mother's Womb to the day they return to the Mother of all things*; that it brought a Curse upon the Earth, and introduc'd Mischief and Disorder into the World; and that it treasures up Wrath against a day of greater Wrath; that it alienates God from us, and makes him our Enemy, in whose favour is Life; and that if we continue in it, Iniquity will certainly be our Ruin. And therefore there is no other way to remove these Mischiefs, than by taking away the Cause of them; we have no other way left us than to break off our Sins by Righteousness, to recover our lost Innocency, to remember from whence we are fallen, and to repent. This is the only way both to flee from the Wrath to come, and to avoid present Judgments. And now we are put into a way to be happy, let us not court Misery and chuse Destruction, and treasure up Wrath, and wilfully pluck down Judgments upon our heads. If a false and hypocritical Repentance cou'd respite *Ahab*, and defer the Judgments which God had threaten'd against him, and hinder them from falling in his time; what will not a true and unfeign'd Repentance do? Ye have heard of the Repentance of *Niniveh*, and *have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful and of tender mercy.* Let us take the same course, cry mightily unto God, and turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in our hands, and we need not doubt of the same Success; because this has been God's usual method, to stop his Judgments, and to recal his Blow; and when the Decree has been gone forth, not to execute it, when men have turn'd to him. God exercis'd the *Jews* with Troubles and Afflictions, whenever they revolted from him; and did as often encompass them with Deliverances, when they return'd to his Worship and Service. We cannot be sure indeed that it shall be always so with us, because God is not ty'd up to Precedents in the Administration of Prosperity and Adversity; he may be just, tho he do not punish or reward men in this World just as they deserve, and all men in the same manner. The Land of *Judea* was the Scene of a particular Providence, and God was pleas'd to bind himself by promise to make their outward Condition prosperous and flourishing, so long as they continu'd in their Duty and Obedience to him; as on the other hand, he threaten'd to visit their Iniquitys, whenever they did forsake him. So that we cannot argue certainly from his dealings with them, that they shall be exactly the same in all points with us. But however, we have great reason to dread his Displeasure when we have deserv'd it, and to hope for his Mercys, when we seek for them by humbling and amending our selves. For this is certain, that Sin always provokes God, and that Repentance is well-pleasing to him. Nay, Repentance has a further efficacy; it is not only the likeliest means of averting Judgments, but if Judgments do overtake us, can turn them into Benefits and Blessings, and make them work for our Good. As Sin will change the nature of the choicest Blessings, and make them destructive to us, and turn the Savour of Life into Death; so Repentance will sanctify the severest Dispensations, and make that bitter Cup medicinal and beneficial to us. It will cause those Afflictions, which in themselves are not joyous but grievous, to yield

the peaceable Fruit of Righteousness to them that are exercis'd thereby. If mens Patience were never try'd, how cou'd it be approv'd in the day of Jesus Christ? If it were not for Afflictions, how cou'd Patience have its perfect Work, or its Reward, which is more worth than all the Plenty of a prosperous and flourishing Condition? So that when men have repented of their Sins, they have disarm'd all their Afflictions and Calamitys, and taken away from them all their Stings and Venom, and are able to extract Profit and Advantage out of them. For tho they suffer these things, yet they enjoy a greater Portion of the Love and Favour of God, which far outweighs the Trouble and Pressure of their Sufferings; according to those excellent and triumphant words of St. Paul, wherein he insults over the greatest Calamitys which can befall men in this Life: Rom. 8. 35. *Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? Shall Tribulation, or Distress, or Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword? (As it is written, For thy sake we are kill'd all the day long, we are accounted as Sheep for the Slaughter) Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerors thro him that lov'd us.* More than Conquerors! how can that be? It is as if the Apostle had said, we not only disarm and overcome them, but we bring them over to be of our Party, so that they fight for us, and war on our side. This is that which renders a Christian so highly victorious over the Troubles of this Life; he conquers their Enmity, and makes them his Friends, which other Conquerors with all their Power are not able to do in their imperfect Victorys: They subdue the Bodys, but they cannot win the Hearts and Affections of their Captives. So that good Christians are more than Conquerors over all Calamitys; for they not only subdue them, and take from them the power of hurting, but they likewise make Friends of them, and reap considerable Advantages by them, and are much the better for them. *It is good for me that I have been afflicted,* says David; he congratulates the Troubles he had past thro, as the means of his spiritual benefit and improvement; *for before I was afflicted, I went astray, but now have I kept thy Commandments.*

And this is a Consideration which shou'd prevail with us more than any temporal respects whatsoever. For what are outward Peace and Prosperity, what are all the Enjoyments of this present World, in the midst of which a man may be miserable, in comparison of Vertue and Goodness, and the Favour of God, which will never suffer us to be miserable in the loss of all things, and in the absence of all worldly Comfort? *A good Man,* says Solomon, *is satisfy'd from himself.* His Happiness does not depend upon the Uncertaintys of this Life: it consists not in the abundance of those things which he possesses, nor is it lessen'd by the Decays of his Fortune; but is wholly confin'd within his own Breast, in the Conscience of having done his Duty, in the joyful Expectations of an immortal Reward, and in that Peace which the World can neither give nor take away. If we therefore repent of our Sins, in order to avert the Judgments of God, and to lengthen our Tranquillity; if we shou'd possibly fail of these low ends, yet we shall compass greater; if we shou'd miss of that temporal Felicity, yet we shall fare better. Which puts me in mind of one of the Fables of the wise Esop: A Father dying told his Sons, that there was a Quantity of Gold hid in his Vineyard, but did not tell them where. They dig'd the Vineyard all over in searching for the Gold, but cou'd not find it; but by stirring the Earth at the Roots of the Vines, they made the Vineyard so fruitful for several years after, that they found more than they first searcht for. Thus while we are advis'd to repent, to procure temporal Blessings (and, as I have shew'd you, it is a very proper means for that purpose too) tho we shou'd fail of them, yet we shall procure greater Blessings; it will abundantly answer our Expectations another way; *we shall have our Fruit unto Holiness, and the end of that will be everlasting Life,* which is certainly much more desirable than the longest Tranquillity upon Earth.

S E R M O N IX.

The First SERMON on this Text.

JAMES I. 13, 14, 15.

Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God : for God cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man. But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own Lust and entic'd. Then when Lust hath conceiv'd, it bringeth forth Sin ; and Sin, when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.

IN these words there are several things worthy our Observation.

1. The Deformity of Sin, which tho men are willing to commit, yet they are loth to own, and wou'd fain throw the Guilt and Reproach of it off their own Shoulders, tho at the same time they cast it upon God himself: And therefore the Apostle begins with this Caution, *Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God,* as supposing men otherwise apt to say so unreasonable a thing.

2. That whatever Sins are committed in the World, God is altogether clear of them, and no way accessary to the Wickedness of men. All Sin ought to be remov'd at an infinite distance from God ; for it is utterly contrary to his pure Nature : *He cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man.*

3. The Apostle discovers the true Cause and Original of all the Wickedness in the World, and lays the Load where it ought to lie, upon our selves, and those corrupt Affections which are in us. We carry a Tempter in our own Bosoms, and there Sin begins ; *But every man is tempted when he is drawn aside of his own Lust and entic'd.* And yet,

4. Our own Lust, the bad Inclination of our Minds, this homebred Tempter, can but entice and seduce us, till we have yielded the Consent of our Will, and are resolv'd to fulfil our unlawful Desires, for this brings Sin into the World ; *Then when Lust hath conceiv'd, it brings forth Sin.* And,

Lastly, We have here the dreadful Issue and Consequence of Sin ; those enticing Lusts with which men do now so readily close and comply, will hereafter destroy them : *Sin when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.* Of these in their order.

1. The Deformity of Sin, which makes men asham'd to own it after they have committed it, and loth to lay the blame of it upon themselves, but to excuse them from their faults do often charge God foolishly with them. And this has been the Practice of sinful men from the beginning of the World. *Adam* in confessing his first Transgression, reflected upon God, as if he had been accessary to it, and acknowledg'd his Sin but with a kind of Excuse for it : *The Woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the Tree, and I did eat,* Gen. 3. 12. which is as if he had said, I receiv'd the forbidden Fruit from her hand whom thou gavest me to be my Helper ; cou'd I suspect any Ill from her

her who was thine own Gift to me? I have sin'd, but it was by her means whom thou so lately bestowedst upon me. So the *Wisdom of Solomon*, observing how prone all the Sons of *Adam* are to follow his Example, in shifting off their Guilt, and to accuse God falsely, that they may excuse themselves, has given us warning to this effect; *Say not thou of the Almighty, he hath caus'd me to err, for he hath no need of thy Sin. What Benefit can he receive from our Sins?* If our Righteousness does not extend to him, so as to make him ever the better for it, much less does our Unrighteousness. But tho' it be so causeless and senseless an Imputation to interest God in the Sins of men, yet there is so much Folly and Madness, so much Baseness and Unworthiness in Sin, and so much Pride in Sinners, that they are extremely unwilling to take the shame of it, and to condemn themselves for it. When men are in the actual Commission of a Sin, they are delighted with it; but when it haunts the Sinner's Conscience, it appears in another Shape; and what he before courted as a Mistress, he finds to be a Fury. When men look upon Sin at a distance, it appears so odious to them, that they will not believe they can be guilty of it. The Prophet *Elisha* foretold *Hazael* what great Evil he wou'd do, and what bloody Actions he wou'd be guilty of towards the Children of *Israel*, that he wou'd set their strong holds on fire, and slay their young men with the Sword, and dash their Children, and rip up their Women with Child, 2 Kings 8. 12, 13. And as the Prophet wept at the sight of these barbarous and inhuman Deeds, so *Hazael* himself recoil'd at the mention of them, and said, *But what? Is thy Servant a Dog that he shou'd do this great thing?* And yet he did it afterwards. Thus when men look back upon their past Sins, they are so dreadful a Spectacle, that men can hardly believe they ever shou'd be such Wretches as to commit them. These are so many Aggravations attending every wilful Sin, there is wrap'd up in it so much Unkindness and Ingratitude against God, the best Friend we have in the World, such unaccountable Folly in hazarding our own Souls; it is such a weak and unworthy part to commit a Sin, that no considering man can chuse but reproach himself with it as oft as he thinks of it.

Now this Sight and Sense of Sin works differently with men, accordingly as they are either proud or humble. If they are humble, they will be apt to condemn themselves, and confess that to them belongs nothing but Shame and Confusion; and with the humble Publican, who wou'd not so much as lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, smite upon their Breast, and say, *Lord, be merciful to me a Sinner*: And then such a Conviction is an Instrument of Repentance, and a great step towards a better Life. But if men are proud, they are very backward to acknowledg their faults to God, they hide their Iniquity like *Adam*, and cover their Shame with the Fig-Leaves of Excuses; rather than take the shame of it upon themselves, they will not stick to accuse God as the Author of their Impiety. Sometimes they will charge their faults upon his over-ruling Decrees, that old Cavil which *St. Paul* takes notice of; *Rom. 9. 19. Why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his Will?* If he predetermines that we shall fall, how can we possibly avoid it? for who can oppose almighty and irresistible Decrees? Sometimes they lay the blame upon that Nature which God has given 'em, pleading, that men are so naturally inclin'd to commit Sin, as if they were made on purpose for it. This is like that proud Reply to God which *St. Paul* takes notice of in the following Verse, *Why hast thou made me thus?* *Rom. 9. 20.* Sometimes they quarrel at the Commands of God, and cavil at the hard Terms of their Obedience, as if God requir'd impossibilitys; that men cannot live up to that strict Rule of Life he has given us; and that Sin is therefore unavoidable, because our Duty is impossible.

Thus do wicked men in vain endeavour to relieve themselves from that load of Guilt which lies upon their Consciences, by laying it on the Decrees, the Commands, the Workmanship of God: For this is not the way to satisfy themselves long, nor to bring any lasting Peace to their Minds. It is just like the Labour of *Sisyphus*, whose Employment it was to roll a great Stone to the top of a Hill, but as soon as it was there, it tumbled down again with the greater violence to its own place. The Consciences of men will be forc'd to acquit God first or last, either in this World, or in the next, and to tear in pieces these thin Pretences. For,

1. If men do but impartially examine their Actions, they will find they were not over-rul'd by any Decrees, but by their own Wilfulness: And that in all their deliberate Sins they had a power to refuse and forbear them, if they wou'd have made use of it. They must needs be conscious that Sin was not forc'd upon them, but they made it their freest choice. Their own Hearts will tell them they felt no violence of any over-ruling Power to force them to what they did; but they willingly refus'd the Good, and with open Eyes imbrac'd the Evil. Let men carefully review their past Sins, and they will find them to have been their own Act and Deed, that there was no compulsion upon their Wills, but that they made an unhappy use of their Freedom and Liberty. And if we cannot be sure of what passes in our Minds, and is done in our own Breasts, we can be sure of nothing. We have therefore the greatest Evidence possible, that we are not drawn to Sin by the invisible Chains of secret Purposes, nor our Wills over-rul'd by a greater Will than our own; for if it were so, we must needs upon Inquiry be sensible of it.

And as this Excuse is utterly false, so it is highly injurious to the Honour of God, and derogates from his most glorious Attributes, Holiness, and Justice, and Truth; who cannot be the necessary cause of Evil, nor punish men for what he has absolutely decreed; nor secretly promote Sin in the World, when he has openly declar'd against it.

2. The second and most common Excuse which men make for themselves, to lessen their own Guilt, is the proneness of their Natures to Sin. And this indeed must be confest, that Mankind is strangely addicted to Sin, and have contracted a general impotency to all Goodness; but then it is not to be imputed to God, because 'tis for the most part the effect of our own evil Habits and Customs. If it be reply'd, that we are prone to Sin from our Infancy, and go astray from the Womb, as if we had learnt Vice in some other World before we came hither, that we acquire sinful Habits before we have reason enough to correct them; and that as we grow in years, our sinful Inclinations grow up with us: I say, If we grant all this, yet it is no extenuation of our Guilt when we come to have the use of our Reason, and the Helps and Assistances of Religion. For is it a reasonable consequence, that because we were born Children, therefore we must live so all our days? because we had sensual Inclinations in our Childhood, therefore we must continue and confirm them in our Manhood? Is it any excuse for a grown man to think that the Stars are so many lighted Candles, or that Houses grow up out of the Ground, because it may be he thought so in his Infancy? No; but as we have Reason to correct our childish Prejudices and Mistakes, so we have Grace given us to break off our sinful Habits, and to correct our vicious Inclinations. It is true, that Vice is more agreeable to Flesh and Blood, and to our natural and sensual Inclinations than Vertue; the way to Goodness is an ascent, but the way to Sin is downhill and easy: but that it shou'd be so, is very sutable to the State we are in; for our Condition here is a State of Trial and Probation, of Service and Obedience. Now what proof cou'd we give of our Service and Obedience to God, if it were easier to serve him than not to do it? How cou'd our Obedience be capable of a Reward in another World, if there were no Labour nor Difficulty at all in it? or how cou'd God try whether we wou'd serve him or no? And therefore to excuse the Guilt of our Sin, by saying, we are so made, that Sin is more natural to us than our Duty, is to excuse the neglect of our Work, by saying we are addicted to Idleness, and that sitting still is more natural and easy to us.

3. To as little purpose is it to excuse our selves by the difficulty of God's Commands, because his Grace is sufficient to enable us to observe them. If he bound us to Impossibilitys, our Obligation and Duty to them wou'd be void; but he has given us such Reasons and Motives to do what he requires, that he calls our whole Duty *an easy Yoke, and a light Burden*. He is not rigorous in exacting an absolute Obedience from us: he knows whereof we are made, he considers we are but Dust, and accordingly makes gracious Allowances for our Weakness and Frailty. He will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able; no Temptation shall befall us but *what is common to man, and so on*, but what is human, proportionable to the strength of a man, and

and not so great as if we were Angels. And this being the Tenor of the Gospel, how can we say it is impossible to be obey'd, when it even condescends to our Weakness, and is a Covenant of Grace to dispense with us, when our honest and sincere Endeavours are imperfect, and fall short? So that after all, we must justify God, and condemn our selves; for all our Excuses do at last but lead us to our own Conviction.

And therefore when we reflect upon the vileness of Sin, when we consider how much it is beneath the Dignity of our reasonable Nature, and what a Reproach it is to us; let us not go about to cover it with vain and wicked Pretences, but humbly confess our Sinfulness to God, and cast our selves at his Feet, and acknowledg that *to him belongs Mercy and Forgiveness, but unto us Shame and Confusion of Face, because we have rebel'd against him.* And to this course Solomon directs us, when he tells us, *That he that hideth his Sin, shall not prosper; but who so confesseth and forsaketh it, shall find Mercy.* This is the way to Pardon; whereas the other is a great addition and heavy aggravation of our Sins, to impute them falsely to the best Being in the World, and to make the *most holy God Partaker of our Crimes.* Our Sins are most our own of any thing else, we cannot challenge so much Propriety in any other; for we have the Assistance of God's Grace to do well, but can sin without help, we do that by our selves. And therefore we must impute it wholly to our selves; and the more vile Sin has made us, the more humble we ought to be in our own Thoughts, and the more careful that we do not hereafter pollute our selves with it, and debase those reasonable Souls which God made after his own Image, and bestow'd upon us: For if men, after they have had a sight of the loathsomeness of their Sins, return to them again, as St. Peter's Expression is, *like the Dog to his Vomit, and the Sow that was wash'd to her wallowing in the Mire, their latter end is worse than the beginning.* Thus much for the first thing, the vileness of Sin; which makes men so asham'd of having committed it, that they are apt to impute it even to God himself, as if he had drawn them into it; for which cause the Apostle gives this Caution, *Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God.*

2dly. That whatsoever Sins are committed in this World, God is altogether clear of them, and no way accessary to the Wickedness of men. For this reason all Sin ought to be remov'd at an infinite distance from God, because it is utterly contrary to his pure and holy Nature; *He cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man.* He that can do all things, cannot deny himself, he cannot be unjust: *he is not a man that he shou'd lye, or the Son of man that he shou'd repent;* that is, alter his Mind, and go back from his Word; to which men are subject, but God is not. For these things argue Weakness and Imperfection, which is inconsistent with a Being of all possible Perfection, the most natural notion we have of God. And as he is a God of unspotted Holiness in himself, so he hates Sin wherever he sees it; *he is of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity,* and therefore cannot be any way accessary to that which is so much against his Nature, and so hateful to him. There is nothing which God hates but Sin; all other things he himself created, and they are all very good: but Sin is of the Devil, and it is Rebellion against God and Enmity to him, and therefore it is no wonder he can never be reconcil'd to it. He spar'd not the Angels who sin'd, his Domestick Servants that ministred about his Throne; nay he spar'd not his own Son, when he took upon himself the Sins of the World. He does not will Sin, nor consent to it; he declares against it, and does with the most dreadful Threatnings warn men from it.

It is against the Will of God that ever Sin enter'd into the World; for he created Angels, and a Race of men to serve and obey him, and to be as happy in him as their several Natures wou'd bear: but that they shou'd sin, and make themselves miserable, was no part of his Intention. He made them indeed free Agents, for this was absolutely necessary to Obedience: if he had made them necessarily good, they had only serv'd Necessity, and not him. If Men and Angels had not been created with this Liberty, how cou'd they have paid God a voluntary Service? What Proof cou'd they have given of their Allegiance, of their constant Faith and Love to him? What Pleasure cou'd

cou'd he have taken, or what Praise and Reward cou'd they have receiv'd for a forc'd Homage and Obedience? in which wou'd have appear'd only what they must do, not what they wou'd do. And if his Creatures abuse this Power and Freedom to ill Purposes, it lies wholly at their own door: For God made them sufficient to have stood, tho free to fall, and revolt from him; but in making them free, he intended altogether their voluntary Obedience, not their voluntary Transgression. And therefore tho he made Creatures which cou'd sin, yet he made them for better purposes; he made them, that they might render him the freewill Offering of a sincere Obedience, and pay him a reasonable Service, inwardly adore him, and chuse to love him above all things with their best Affections. For this reason he endu'd them with an Understanding and a Will, that they might both know his Pleasure, and consent to do it, and might wisely and willingly serve him. For what signifies the Sacrifice of Fools? or who can be pleas'd with forc'd respects? If Statues cou'd be mov'd by Clockwork, to bow or pluck off their Hats to a Prince, he wou'd not at all value their Obedience; because it proceeds not from a sensible or willing Principle, from any Love to him, or inward Opinion of his Majesty: But he accepts the good Will of the meanest of his Subjects. And so it is our inward and willing Obedience, which alone can be acceptable to God; and this we cou'd not offer without the use of our Reason, and the free exercise of our Wills, without which our Obedience wou'd be but a dead Service. Now the Intention of God being to create these Ranks and Orders of Creatures, to serve him not with a constrain'd and passive Obedience, but in a free and acceptable manner (which they cou'd not do without a free choice) and to be themselves for ever happy in that blessed Employment; if these Creatures will make a perverse use of this Will, which God design'd as an Instrument of his Honour and their Happiness, it is altogether their own fault, and contrary to his gracious Purpose and Intention.

And as it is an Injury to God to sin against him with those Facultys he has made, and to dishonour him with his own Gifts; so it wou'd be a still greater Injury to impute this to him, and wou'd add Blasphemy to Rebellion and Ingratitude. The greatest Favours of God may be abus'd by perverse men; and where he meant us the greatest Good, the wilfulness of Sinners may turn it to the greatest mischief to themselves. When had God kinder Thoughts towards us, and more Love in his Heart for Mankind, than when he sent his Son out of his Bosom to save them from perishing? *God so lov'd the World,* says the Evangelist, *that he sent his only begotten Son,* in an inexpressible manner, and even to admiration; and yet perverse men were able to mischief themselves with so great a benefit. As *Simeon* foresaw and foretold how it wou'd be, when prophesying of our Saviour, he said, *Luke 2. 34. Behold, this Child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a Sign which shall be spoken against;* a Mark of Envy and Detraction, of Hatred and Malice: which was verify'd in the wicked *Jews*, who grew the worse for his coming, as our Saviour tells them, *If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had Sin:* that is, their Sinfulness had not been so great and malicious. And the Gospel, which is the glad Tidings of Salvation, and the Saviour of Life, by the abuse of sinful men becomes the Saviour of Death: it aggravates the Sin, and increases the Damnation of those who will not be govern'd by it. Such are the accidental Abuses of God's gracious Purposes towards men, wherein the Benefit is intended us, but the Sin and Mischief is beside the Intention of God, and is wholly owing to the Perverseness of men; which likewise is an accidental Abuse of those Facultys God has given us, and to which he is no way accessary. Thus ought we to clear and justify the Holiness of God in his Dispensations and Dealings with men; as the Scripture says, *Let God be true, and every man a Liar.* Let us give him the Honour of his Purity and Holiness, tho we take all the shame of Sin to our selves. We ought not to entertain any hard Thoughts of God, as if he were wanting to us. What can he do more to hinder us from Sin, unless he shou'd unmake and destroy us? This is the only Remedy of Obstinacy, which I suppose is an Expedient no man will urge. It is God's infinite Mercy that he has not before this made use of it; for which we have great reason to bless and admire, but none to find fault with him.

SERMON X.

The Second SERMON on this Text.

JAMES I. 13, 14, 15.

Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man. But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own Lust and entic'd. Then when Lust hath conceiv'd, it bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.

BEFORE I come to the next Head, it will not be amiss to clear a Passage or two in Scripture, which seem to make against our former Discourse. And the first is that known Passage in *Gen. 22.* where it is expressly said, That God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Take now thy Son, thine only Son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the Land of Moriah, and offer him there for a Burnt-Offering upon one of the Mountains which I will tell thee of. Here it may be objected, God put Abraham upon an Act which is cruel and unnatural, and commanded him to be the bloody Executioner of his own Child.

To this I answer, first, That God did not intend the Death of Isaac by this Command, but meant it only for a proof of Abraham's Obedience, to try how far he wou'd go in the performance of a very difficult Duty at his Command; how much he wou'd do for God; and whether he wou'd still trust him for the Promises he had made to him, when in all human probability they cou'd not be made good to him. For to go about to offer the Son of the Covenant, was to cut off all the Hopes and Expectations God had rais'd in him by the large Promises he had made him. And therefore when he was ready to slay his Son, God stopt him from proceeding any further, because he had shewn by his readiness to do it, his Obedience and Faith in God as much as if he had actually done it. God attain'd his end when he found how much he lov'd and fear'd him, that he spar'd not his only Son whom he lov'd, but was willing to offer him up with his own hands. This appears plainly by the Message Abraham receiv'd from Heaven, when just stretching forth his Hand to slay his Son, Ver. 12. *An Angel call'd to him, and said, Lay not thine hand upon the Lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thine only Son from me.* This you see was what God aim'd at in this whole Affair, to have a proof of Abraham's Obedience, and to make trial whether he wou'd sacrifice what was dearest to him, and trust God beyond all human Hopes and Probabilities. And by exercising this Faith and ready Obedience, he did all that God commanded him to do, Ver. 2. He offer'd up his Son Isaac, as far as God intended he shou'd; tho indeed Abraham thought that more was meant, even the Death of his Son, by that

that Command he had receiv'd from God. And it was necessary he shou'd take the Command in that sense, for the trial of his Obedience; he thought by virtue of it he must kill his Son, till it was better explain'd by an Angel from Heaven, by whom he then understood it to be only a trial of his Obedience. God commanded him to offer his Son for a Burnt-Sacrifice, and in pursuance of that Command, he went as far as God intended he shou'd; he did offer up his Son. So the Apostle to the *Hebrews* witnesses, Chap. 11. 17. *By Faith Abraham when he was try'd offer'd up Isaac; and he that had receiv'd the Promises, offer'd up his only begotten Son, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy Seed be call'd: accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he receiv'd him in a figure.* Isaac was dead in his Father's purpose, and therefore his Rescue and Escape was as welcome and joyful to his Father *Abraham*, as if he had been given him back from the dead.

I thought it necessary to be so long upon this place, to prove that God had no other design than to make trial of *Abraham's* Faith and Obedience; and therefore in rescuing *Isaac* from his Father's Knife, he did but explain, and not countermand his former Command; which if *Abraham* had fully understood before, he cou'd not have given such an illustrious Proof of his Obedience to God. For from this mistaken Passage, that dangerous Doctrine of two contrary Wills in God, took its rise, or at least receiv'd all its confirmation: That God has an open and declar'd Will which he now shews to us, but that he has likewise a secret and reserv'd Will, which will appear and shew it self only in the event of things; and all things shall come to pass by that private and secret Will. This is so dishonourable to God, that no considering man can believe it: That God shou'd reveal one thing, and intend the quite contrary: That he shou'd offer the terms of Mercy to all men, and make an outward shew of great Good-will towards them, and yet secretly and unavoidably decree their Ruin and Destruction. He openly invites all men to be sav'd, and declares he is not willing that any shou'd perish. The Apostle tells us expressly from him, *That this is the Will of God, even our Sanctification.* Now if at the same time he secretly purposes, that the far greater part of these men shall neither be sanctify'd nor sav'd, these two Wills are in effect but one, nothing but one Will to deceive and delude the World. And therefore we may be sure he has not a secret, which is contrary to his open and reveal'd Will; for this is really Falshood and Hypocrisy amongst men, and therefore ought to be remov'd at an infinite distance from God. A just and upright man ought not to do thus; and therefore much more shall not the Judge of the whole Earth do right? Justice and Sincerity is the same in Heaven as upon earth: or else how cou'd we be commanded to be just after the example of God, and *merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful, and holy as he is holy*; if that were just in God, which is Hypocrisy and Dissembling amongst men, and is not fit to be us'd in our Intercourses with one another?

And as this Doctrine is dishonourable to God, so it is very uncomfortable to Men. For how can men trust to the Professions which God makes of his Willingness to save them, if he secretly designs their Ruin and Reprobation? If his open and reveal'd Will be loving and plausible, calling and inviting men to Repentance, that Iniquity may not be their Ruin; and yet his secret Will silently decrees their Destruction, and hardens them in Impenitency? At this rate no man cou'd have any comfortable Assurance of his Condition, but after he had done his best, might perish: whereas the Scripture assures us, that God does seriously desire our Happiness, and that if men perish, it is because they will die, and not because they must; because they chuse Death when Life is set before them. It assures us, that God gives us Time, and Power, and Assistances to work out our Salvation, and is not wanting on his part; and if we miscarry, it is merely thro our own fault. Now as we have all the reason in the world to believe this true, so it is the Interest and shou'd be the general Wish of all Mankind that it shou'd be so. This is some encouragement to men to use their best endeavours, because they cannot miss of Heaven and Happiness unless it be their own fault. Whereas the other Doctrine I am speaking against, plunges men, after they have done all they can, into the bottomless Pit of Despair. For after they have done their true endeavour

your to serve God and to obtain his Favour, still they cannot tell what his secret Will has decreed concerning them; notwithstanding all this they may be appointed unto wrath. And therefore as the Honour of God is concern'd in it, so we are likewise concern'd not to believe there are any secret Decrees contrary to the reveal'd Will of God, which he has discover'd in the Gospel; but to be heartily persuaded, that when he says, *he wou'd have all men to be sav'd and come to the knowledge of the Truth*, he means as he speaks, and is serious in all the offers of Life and Salvation which he makes to us. Let us walk by the Rule of the Gospel, and we are as certain as God is true, that all the Promises of it shall be made good to us. Whereas they who leave the written and reveal'd Will of God, and betake themselves to Schemes and Doctrines of Decrees and the secret Will of God (which what they are I know not, but I am sure they cannot be contrary to his reveal'd Will) do act as absurdly as a Pilot, who shou'd lay aside his Compass, and resolve to steer his Ship by the Stars in a dark night, when there is not one of them to be seen. So much for the first Answer to this Passage, that God did not intend by that Command he gave to *Abraham* that he shou'd kill his Son, but meant to try his Obedience; that is all which is to be understood by God's tempting him, and so it is render'd by the Apostle when he says, *By Faith Abraham when he was try'd offer'd up Isaac*.

But, 2. If *Abraham* had slain his Son in obedience to God, and having his Warrant to do it, it had been no Sin. For God is Lord of Life and Death, and all his Creatures are at his disposal; and he is not at all unjust, if he takes from them no more than he gave them. He may take away the Lives of men, because he gave them; and he may do it by what instrument he pleases. And this *Abraham* knew very well, or else he had not been innocent in going about to sacrifice his Son. He ought rather to have suspected that for a Delusion which he took for a Divine Revelation, than to think that God cou'd command him to do a Sin. If *Abraham* had actually sacrific'd his Son, it had not been the Sin of Murder, because he had no Malice nor Anger in his breast, which makes the taking away a man's Life to be a Sin. For when he was stretching forth his Hand to kill him, still he was his only Son *Isaac* whom he lov'd. So that there had been no mixture of Sin in it, he had not gratify'd any Hatred or Revenge of his own; and for the rest, the express Warrant of God wou'd have born him out: for he has always a Right to dispose of the Lives of men as he thinks fit; and if so, much more of their Goods and Possessions, as he did in the case of the *Egyptians*, when he order'd the *Israelites* to borrow Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold, and to spoil the *Egyptians*, *Exod. 3. 22. & 11. 2.* Now if they had done this of their own head, it had been apparent Theft; but this Command of God alter'd the property, and gave them a title to what before was the *Egyptians*: God had transfer'd the *Egyptians* Right to them, and made it theirs. And therefore they did the *Egyptians* no wrong. And they went upon sure grounds in this Action: For they had reason to believe *Moses*, and that what he commanded them was the Word of God in his mouth, when they clearly saw God's Power in his hand, when they beheld the Miracles, and Signs, and Wonders which he wrought, and the Plagues he brought upon the *Egyptians*, and took off again. Thus you see the Command of God plainly alter'd the case in both these passages, and made the Actions appear, even in the judgment of Reason and common Sense, to be lawful and justifiable; otherwise he cou'd not have authoriz'd them. For he cannot prompt men to Sin, *he cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man*.

And such Discourse as this is of great use, to settle in our Minds a right Notion and due Apprehensions of God. For that is the foundation of all Religion, which consists in futable Affections to the Nature and unchangeable Attributes of God. Upon the Truth of God we build all our Faith, as upon the surest Rock which can never fail us. His Word is all the Security we have for a Reward of our Obedience, and all the Happiness we expect in another World. And it is sufficient; for we know whom we have trusted, we are sure he cannot deceive us. His Power and Goodness are our Comfort and Confidence; by these we are assur'd he is able and willing to help us. We know that

that as is his Majesty, so is his Mercy; and that if we study to please him, we need not look upon him with terror and affrightment, as if his Omnipotence were arm'd against us to destroy us; but may be glad that there is such a powerful Being in the World, to protect and support us. By his Uprightness and Integrity, we may be sure when it is we do those things that are pleasing in his sight, because he is serious and sincere in all the Declarations of his Will which he makes to us.

Lastly, The Holiness and Purity of his Nature teaches us that he must needs hate Sin mortally, and can never be reconcil'd to it; that it is as impossible for him to love Sin, as to hate himself: And therefore that we ought likewise by all means to hate and abhor it. For how can we flatter our selves after we are thorowly persuaded of this, that God may have Mercy in store for us notwithstanding our Sins, and tho we continue in them? Tho the Wrath of God is reveal'd from Heaven against all Unrighteousness and Ungodliness of men, yet we see how apt Sinners are to entertain secret Hopes that they shall be spar'd and find favour, notwithstanding all these fierce Threatnings; because God is merciful in his Nature, and his Goodness is infinite. But let such Persons consider that Holiness and Purity, and a Hatred of Sin are as natural to him as Mercy and Goodness; and therefore it is a miserable refuge, for men to fly from the Severity of God's Threatnings against Sin in his Word, and to think to find more favour from himself; for he inwardly hates Sin as much as he can possibly declare against it. He cannot bear any Favour or Affection towards obstinate and impenitent Sinners; he cannot go against his own Nature, he cannot deny himself. This is the greatest argument in the world to reclaim men from Sin. For while there is a God, it cannot be safe for men to go on in a sinful Course, and to harden themselves in their Wickedness; and while he continues to be what he is, he will continue to hate it: and what heavier thing can befall sinful men, than the eternal Hatred and Wrath of God?

I come now to the third thing, wherein the Apostle discovers to us the true Cause and Original of all the Wickedness in the world, and lays the load where it ought to lie, upon our selves, and those corrupt Affections which are in us. We carry a Tempter in our own bosoms, and there Sin begins: *But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own Lusts, and entic'd.* When God at first created the World, and stor'd it with living Creatures, and made Man after his own Image, and Lord of all, it is said, he took a review of all that he had made, and found it was very good. And so it was with Man, that lesser World, when he came out of the hands of God. There was no bad Inclination in our Nature, no Excess nor Extravagancy in our Affections, no Crookedness or Perverseness in our Wills: and as all things were put in subjection under Adam, so all our inferior Facultys were under the government of Reason. But this happy and innocent State of Mankind did not last long; for our first Parents, upon the first motion of Satan, suffer'd their Affections to usurp over their Reason. Eve saw that the forbidden Fruit was pleasant to the Eye and desirable, and gave way to her lawless Desires after it. And Adam likewise suffer'd his unreasonable Affections to prevail against his better Knowledg, and partook with his Wife in that original Sin. The Tempter without cou'd have made no impression upon them, if they had not suffer'd themselves to be betray'd by a treacherous Party within. Their Reason told them, it was better to hearken to God, but they took part with their sensual Inclinations and their ungovern'd Desires. And when we sin after the similitude of Adam's Transgression, we are false to our Reason, and we comply with our unreasonable and brutish Affections. We suffer our Appetites, which were made to obey and be under the conduct of our Understanding, to grow disorderly and rebellious, and to carry us headlong away with them. They are our own Lusts which tempt us, and draw us away, and entice us, if we do not resist them, but are willing to be led by them: *The Lust of the Flesh*, the Desire of those things that please our Senses, and this tempts us to all sorts of Intemperance; *The Lust of the Eye*, the Desire of great Wealth and Riches, of which Solomon has wisely observ'd that a man enjoys

enjoys no more of them than the beholding 'em with his eyes; and this tempts us to Covetousness and Oppression, and all the evil Arts of growing rich: and lastly, as St. *John* has reckon'd them up, *The Pride of Life*, that is, the Desire of Honour and Applause; and this is a great Temptation to Ambition and Vain-glory, and seeking the Praise of men, and indeed to a number of other Sins; in a word, to all Vices that are fashionable. These are the *worldly Lusts*, as St. *Paul* calls them from their commonness and prevailing in the world, which we must deny, and watch over and resist, as so many Tempters; for they entice and move us to Sin, tho they cannot force us; they are the Occasions, tho not the necessary Causes of it. And they have more or less strength in every man's breast, according as he has either check'd them or given way to them. These Desires, so far as they are natural, and as they were planted in us by God, are innocent; and while they are under the government of Reason and Religion, can do us no harm: but when we indulge them, and suffer them to be violent and unruly, then they prevail, by enticing men into Sin.

But still, as I observ'd in the fourth place, our own Lust, this home-bred Tempter, can but tempt and entice us, till we have yielded the Consent of our Will, and are resolv'd to fulfil our unreasonable Desires; for this brings Sin into the World: *Then when Lust hath conceiv'd, it bringeth forth Sin.* The Will of man is the great instrument of Morality; and accordingly as that is dispos'd, we shall stand or fall; by it we shall be justify'd, or by it we shall be condemn'd. The Measures of all our Actions, either good or bad, are taken from it, and it is that alone which makes us innocent or guilty before God, because it is the Spring and inward Principle of all our Actions. All manner of Sins are usually reckon'd up under these three heads; Sins of Ignorance, of Infirmary, and of Presumption: but of all these, presumptuous Sins are the most dangerous, and have the greatest malignity in them, because the Will has the greatest share in them. Presumptuous Sinners are not misled by the Error of their Understanding, nor hurry'd into them by the Violence of their Affections; but they knowingly and deliberately chuse the Evil and refuse the Good, and advance their own Wills against the Will of God: which makes every Sin an Act of Rebellion against him. As for Sins of Ignorance and Infirmary, they are no farther Sins, than as they proceed from the Will, no farther than that Ignorance is wilful and affected, nor than those Infirmitys are chosen and allow'd by our Wills. So that all Sin must be resolv'd into the Obstinacy and Perverseness of our Wills, for it is the Choice which makes an Action our own; and if a sinful Action be deliberately chosen by us, it is to be imputed to us, and the whole Guilt of it lies upon us. And Sins are greater or less, according as the Consent of the Will is either more full and free, or less perfect and compleat.

Now because the Apostle warns us to *abstain from every appearance of Evil*, it will be useful to consider the several Acts of the Will towards the production of Sin, that so we may avoid the first beginning of a Sin; and the first approaches towards it. And the first step of the Will towards a Sin, is when, for example, our natural Desire of Pleasure or Profit prompts us to some unlawful Gain or Pleasure, when the Will does not immediately reject this Motion, but stops and makes a demur, and will have it consider'd and debated which is best to follow, Reason or Sense, wise Counsels or natural Desires, the Precepts of Religion or present Pleasure and Advantages. Then the Will is come too far towards a Choice and Consent to Sin, when it is no more a friend to Vertue than to Vice, and knows not which to chuse.

2. The next step the Will makes towards Sin, is, when it is pleas'd with the thought of the Pleasure or Profit of it before-hand, and fancies some Delight in the Meditation and Foresight of it. This is a Foretaste of the Action, and like the Twilight before the Night, it is too near an approach towards Sin. And then,

3. When the Will is gone thus far, there follows a strong inclination to do the unlawful Action, but conditionally, provided it were lawful, and were it not for fear of Hell and Danger, or somewhat else that lies cross our way, Shame or Disgrace, or such-like Restraints. Here our Love to

Vertue

Vertue and Goodness is lost, only Fear and God's restraining Grace remains still to reclaim us from our Sin. But,

4. When we have broke thro these Restraints, and the Heart consents to the Sin, then the Lord departs from us, and (as it was said of *Sampson* when his Hair was shorn off, and he had lost his Strength) we have lost our Innocency, and nothing but Guilt and Shame is left us: there only remains behind, that this Sin be contriv'd and committed; but the Sin is finish'd as to the Guilt of it, when it is chosen and consented to, tho it never be acted: it is the evil purpose that makes men guilty before God, tho that evil purpose be never brought to pass. This is the unhappy method wherein men undo themselves, and bring forth Sin; which, *when it is finish'd, brings forth Death.* The surest way therefore to prevent these sad effects, is to deny these worldly Lusts, which tempt and entice us at the very first; to hold no parly with them, but to suppress their first Motions and Inclinations to Sin. The best Advice is that which *Solomon* gives in a like case; *My Son, if Sinners entice thee, consent thou not,* Prov. 1. 10. If our Lusts, those inward Tempters, entice us, let us give no manner of Consent to them, but mortify and keep them under, that they may not tempt us, and be continually gaining new conquests, and at last settle an absolute dominion over them. To what purpose did God give us a power to refrain and with-hold our Consent, if we do not make use of it? And let us consider withal, that if we do consent to these methods of Sin, we consent to our own Ruin, and that every step we take leads us down to the Chambers of Death: Which brings me to

The last thing, which is the dreadful Issue and Consequence of Sin: *And Sin when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.* Sin, as I said before, is finish'd as to the Guilt of it, when it is resolv'd and purpos'd, tho it be not outwardly acted. For God does not judg men according to the Event of things, but according to their Will and Intention. There may be as much Wickedness in impotent Malice and inward Unchastity, and unjust Purposes, as in the outward Commission of them. And therefore the Judg of the whole Earth, who understands the Hearts and Thoughts of men, will bring all secret things into Judgment, tho human Authority can take no cognizance of them. Indeed in these two respects there is a great difference betwixt evil Purposes and evil Actions.

1. That evil Actions do all that mischief which bad Purposes do only design. Prepenst Malice does not destroy men, nor unjust Purposes wrong the Estates of other men; nor does he defile another, who has only committed Adultery in his heart: in this regard, they are not so bad as Murder, Adultery, and Theft, because they do not so much mischief in the world. Yet because if a man had the Heart and Resolution to do these things, and only wanted an opportunity, it is no thanks to him that he did not do them, he is therefore guilty of them in his heart and in the sight of God, to whom all Hearts are open.

2. The outward Commission of a Sin is in this regard worse than a wicked purpose of committing it; because the actual Commission of a Sin, supposes many and repeated Purposes of committing it. Men that resolve upon the Commission of a Sin, when they do commit it, do again renew that wicked Resolution; they repeat and reiterate their sinful Purposes, and consequently the Sin increases and multiplies upon them, because there are still more and more sinful Acts of the Will in it, and they heap up one sinful Resolution upon another. And therefore if men have been so unhappy as to resolve on the Commission of a Sin, let them make haste to change their minds by a speedy Repentance; there is no safety but in going back, for every time they repeat their bad Intentions, they renew their Guilt, they fall from one Wickedness to another, they vastly increase the number, and swell up the account of their Sins. But as in these respects chiefly, the outward Commission of a Sin is worse than a sinful Purpose, so it is most certain that a wicked Purpose, tho never put in execution, is a perfect Sin. For when the Will has done its utmost, when it has fully consented to the doing of a sinful Action, when it has put its last hand to the work, tho the Body never acts it, yet the Sin is finish'd;

finish'd; because the Will does all in Morality, and when it has done its utmost towards the Commission of a Sin, it has contracted all the Guilt it can: Which is a Consideration much to be laid to heart, and of great use in the Work of our Repentance. For when men come to repent and acknowledge their Sins before God, and to reform themselves, they must examine their Hearts as well as their outward Practices; they must bewail their sinful Purposes, and pray as St. Peter directed *Simon Magus* to do, *That the Thoughts of their Hearts may be forgiven them.* Their great business is within, to break off the sinful Habits of their Minds, and to set strait their vicious and crooked Will. They have great cause to beg of God to have mercy upon them for what is past, and to incline their Hearts to keep his Law for the time to come. They have no reason to wash their hands as if they were clear and innocent, because they have not committed the outward Act of Sin: for *their Mind and Conscience is defil'd*, they have contracted Guilt upon their Souls, Sin is finish'd in them; and therefore they are highly concern'd to make haste out of that condition: for the Apostle here tells us the danger of it; *Sin when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.* By Death is often meant in Scripture a miserable and calamitous Condition, as when the Apostle said he was *in Deaths often*; and because the State of Sinners after this Life will be the most wretched of all others, therefore the Scripture chuses to express it by this word: *Rom. 6. 21. What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now asham'd? for the end of those things is Death.* And in *Ver. 23. The Wages of Sin is Death, but the Gift of God is eternal Life, thro Jesus Christ our Lord.* Where it is plain, that the Apostle means that endless State of Misery, that living Death which Sinners must abide to all Eternity, because he opposes it to eternal Life. And from these two Expressions of St. Paul, that *the end of Sin is Death, and the wages of Sin is Death*, we may take occasion to consider, that as God punishes impenitent Sinners with this state of Misery, so Sin of it self naturally leads them into it; their own Guilt wou'd be their Tormenter, tho God shou'd inflict no other Punishment upon them: Sin in its own nature will be Bitterness at the last, the end and consequence of it is Misery, Death is the proper issue of it; *Sin when it is finish'd, bringeth forth Death.* Good men love God above all things, and he will confirm their happy Choice, he will satisfy the largest Desires of their Souls with the full Enjoyment of himself: *Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy Judgments!* Wicked men chuse Death, and God will suffer them to enjoy their own portion, and *they shall eat the fruit of their doings.* Those evil Spirits whom they delight to resemble now, shall be their company for ever. They put God far from them, and they shall be banish'd far enough from his comfortable and reviving Presence. If mens Sins do at the last bite like a Serpent, and sting like an Adder, yet still they are the same Serpents and Adders which they now keep warm and cherish in their bosoms. And as wicked men by contracting Guilt do treasure up Torment to themselves, so God will bring their Sins to their remembrance, and set them in order before them; he will let loose their own guilty Consciences upon them, and their Iniquitys shall testify against them to their face. They shall not be able to forget what they have done, but the Sins of their whole Life shall be fresh in their minds, and perpetually haunt their restless Thoughts. They shall have all the Horrors of Guilt awaken'd in their breast, Shame and Confusion, Hatred and Indignation against themselves; and shall lie down in everlasting Despair. Thus will God make Sin the instrument of its Punishment, and cause the Sinner's Wickedness to fall on his own head, and make Death and Misery, which is the end of Sin, to be its own wages. In a word, he will punish Sinners with their own Choice, with a never-dying Worm which they have bred within themselves, and with an unquenchable Fire of their own kindling.

This may serve, 1. to inform us what Sin is, and to teach us how to judge of it. It is but a superficial and deceitful knowledg men have of things, when they know no more than the outside and appearance of them. But if they will thorowly understand any thing, they must consider the inward Nature and Propertys of it, its Qualitys and Effects; all that belongs to it, and what will come of it: and then they know what it is. Such a Discovery

has

has the Scripture made to us of Sin. The drowsy inconsiderate World judges of Sin as *Eve* did of the forbidden Fruit, *it was pleasant to the Eyes*, it look'd well as if it wou'd make one wise; but the taste of it brought Death into the World. So because there are some present Pleasures in Sin, which are but for a season, men think it is all pleasure; little considering the Hell and Misery which is in it. But the Apostle here gives a further insight into the nature of it, and lays before us its pernicious effects; he shews us its Sting, and assures us that the end of it is Death. And,

2. This may warn us to avoid it. For who but *Fools wou'd make a mock at Sin*, and *sport themselves with Arrows, and Firebrands, and Death*? What can more awaken our Care and Watchfulness against Sin, than to know that it is for our Life? Men that seriously consider and lay to heart the danger of Sin, must needs be restless, and have no Peace in their Minds till they have repented of it, and made an Escape out of so dangerous a Condition; for they have the Sentence of Death within them, and they walk upon the brink of eternal Destruction. And can men be secure and satisfy'd in their minds when they are in such a State, as if *they had made a League with Death, and with Hell they were at an Agreement*? If notwithstanding men will go on in the broad way to Destruction, and treasure up Wrath against the day of Wrath, their Destruction is of themselves, and their Blood will be upon their own heads. For what cou'd God do more than he has done to warn men of their Danger, and to keep them back from Ruin? But if they are resolv'd to perish, and resolutely bent upon Misery, they must enjoy their own choice, for God has provided no Remedy for Obstinacy.

S E R M O N X I.

ROMANS I. 4.

And declar'd to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection from the Dead.

IN this Preface St. Paul tells the Romans his Office, that *he was call'd to be an Apostle, separated to the Gospel of God*. He acquaints them with the great Subject of this Gospel, it is concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who was indeed *the Son of David, according to the Flesh*; but according to that higher Nature which was in him, according to the Spirit of Holiness, or as it is call'd, *Heb. 9. 14. The eternal Spirit*; that is, by his Divine Nature he was related to God, he was the Son of God. Now that he was the Son of David, as he was man, did easily appear by his Pedegree; he was born of the Seed of David, he was of the House and Lineage of David, he cou'd easily derive himself from him. But how shall it appear that there was any thing more in him, that he was the Son of God? How can that be made out? The Apostle tells us how that's prov'd: *He was declar'd to be the Son of God with Power, by the Resurrection from the Dead*. This is the great Evidence that he was an extraordinary and divine Person, hereby he was demonstrated to be the Son of God. From these words I shall take occasion to lay down these two Propositions.

I. That we ought to look into the grounds and reasons of our Faith, why we believe Jesus to be the Son of God. God never expected our Belief of this without sufficient Proof and Evidence. He has declar'd and demonstrated him to be the Son of God.

II. That our Saviour's Resurrection is a sufficient Proof and Evidence that he is the Son of God.

I. That we ought to look into the grounds and reasons of our Faith; that is imply'd in God's declaring or demonstrating Jesus to be the Son of God. For what need he give us Proofs and Evidences, if we are not to weigh and consider them, but might be satisfy'd without them? That we might not take our Religion upon trust, God has wrought Wonders and Miracles to confirm us in the Belief of it. He has given us solid and substantial Reasons and Arguments for our Religion: he does not love a rash Belief, he delights not in the Sacrifice of Fools: he wou'd not have men believe, till they are convinc'd and see cause for it, nor have us captivate our Understandings to any thing but the reason of the thing. If our Saviour's bare Assertion had been sufficient when he affirm'd himself to be the Son of God, what needed that vast number of Miracles, which St. John tells us, if they had all been recorded, wou'd have swell'd into very large Volumes? What needed this solemn and powerful Declaration of it to the World, by raising him again from the Dead? Our Saviour's express words are, *If a Man bear witness of himself, his Witness is nothing*: And therefore he appeals to the mighty Works which he did amongst them, which were Proofs of what he said, and enough to convince the World that he came forth from God. Thus fairly and reasonably was the Christian Doctrine propos'd to the World: it came backt with such Proof and Evidence as was sufficient to convince any reasonable man. And if it be propounded upon these Terms by our Saviour, as it is; *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not*, John 10. 37. if he wou'd not be believ'd but upon sufficient Evidence, it is certainly a great fault not to inquire into the Grounds of our Faith, and the Reasons of our Belief. If we are Christians, we ought to know why we are so, or else we are Christians merely by chance. We have imbrac'd our Religion only, because we were bred in it, and because it had the good luck to come first. Now this is a reason which serves for Paganism or Mahometanism, as well as for the best Religion in the World. So that at this rate other men have as much reason to believe in an Impostor, and to worship an Idol, as we have to believe and worship our Saviour: For if the Custom of the Country, if Education, if Interest be good grounds of Religion in *Christendom*, so they are in *Turky*, so they are in the *Indies*, and so they are in all Heathenish and Pagan Countrys whatsoever. A blind implicit Faith, an ignorant unenquiring Belief is the Spawn of all false Worship, the Mother of all the spurious Religions in the World. What a shame is it to a great number of Christians, that merely by their Sloth and Neglect to inquire into the Reasons of their Belief, they are able to say no more for our Saviour, than may be said for *Mahomet*, or any Deceiver that has ever set up in the World? They believe in him, because they have been so taught. God has given us Proofs of our Religion, infallible Proofs, as St. Luke calls them, convincing Proofs; but to what purpose? If we do not examine them, they are to us as if they were not at all: If we do not imbrace our Religion upon mature Deliberation, and weigh those great Arguments which come along with it; if we do not make our Religion our own, by a wise and considerate choice of it, it seems any other wou'd have serv'd our turn as well. And that is a great aggravation of the fault of this Ignorance in the grounds of our Religion; such a Person is prepar'd to be of any Religion that his Humour or Interest shall prompt him to. Our Saviour has no hold, nor any security of such a Christian; for with the same levity he has submitted his Faith to him, he may surrender it to another: whereas he who has thorowly consider'd what the Christian Religion has to say for it self, is rooted, and grounded, and built up in his most holy Faith, upon such a bottom as will not easily be mov'd; he will not be carry'd about with every wind of Doctrine, as all ignorant and unstable

unstable Souls are like to be. *Prove all things, says the Apostle, and hold fast that which is good.* We cannot have any fast hold, even of that which is good, till we have try'd, and examin'd, and find it worthy to be retain'd, and such as we cannot part with; for what we lightly take up, we are apt as lightly to lay down. And therefore our Saviour, who wou'd have us Christians not only for a Day, or a Week, or a Month, but for our whole Lives, wou'd have us to be his Disciples, upon so good grounds, that we shall have no Temptation to alter our Belief: he wou'd have us enter into his Service upon good Advice, lest that be apply'd to us which was said of the rash Builder, *This Man began to build, but was not able to finish.* If Religion do not enter in at our Reason, or at least be not afterwards confirm'd by it, it lies loose in our Minds; whereas that which is implanted in our Understandings, is really united to us, and becomes as it were a part of us. St. Peter exhorts us to *be ready to give a Reason of the Hope that is in us*, to him that demands it of us; and that supposes our Ability of giving a satisfactory account of our Religion: he supposes both that there is a Reason for our Religion, and that every one shou'd have study'd the Point, and consider'd the Reason that is in it. And this tells us what we are to think of those men that stifle all Inquiry into Religion, who wou'd have us believe upon their bare Word, who assume a greater Authority than ever our Saviour did; who will not suffer men to live unless they will captivate their Understandings to their Dictates, and believe as the Church believes. Thus has the Roman Church domineer'd over the Faith of men for several Ages. This was not the way wherein Christianity was first propagated in the World. Men were then argu'd, reason'd, persuaded, and convinc'd into it; this was our Saviour's and the Apostles Method, they treated men like men, they us'd the proper Arms of Truth, solid Proofs and substantial Arguments; they overpower'd men with Conviction, and overcame the World with Demonstration. As their Doctrine was true and good, and such as wou'd recommend it self to every man's Conscience; so their way of delivering it was fair and ingenuous, and such as became heavenly Truth to be convey'd into the Minds and Hearts of men. And this very thing wou'd tempt a man to believe, that the Romanists have made some considerable alteration in the Doctrine of our Saviour, because they take such a quite different course to propagate it. *I speak to men, says St. Paul, judg ye what I say*; this was the Language of an Apostle: *Either turn or burn*, is the Language of the Church of Rome. They kill one half of the World, to convert the other: for much about that proportion they have kept, in destroying the poor Americans, to make the rest of them Christians. And as a man wou'd guess by their Discipline, so he shall find, when he comes to examine their Doctrine, that they have as far departed from the Primitive Purity and Simplicity in that, as from the Primitive Candour and Ingenuity in the other; they have transform'd the holy, wise and harmless Religion of our Saviour, into the most absurd and vile mischievous Religion in the World. So that now indeed they must put out mens Eyes, and deny them the use of their Reason, before they can ever bring them over to it. And thus much shall serve for the first thing, that we ought to look into the grounds of our Faith: God himself does not expect our Belief of Jesus being the Son of God without proof; *he demonstrated him to be the Son of God.*

II. That our Saviour's Resurrection is a sufficient Proof and Evidence that he is the Son of God. The many Miracles he did were so many Divine Testimonys to the Truth of what he deliver'd. Every true Miracle is a Testimonial from Heaven; it is God's Seal to warrant our Belief in that Person, who is furnish'd with such an extraordinary Power. It is an Assurance to the Minds of men, that a Person is sent by God, when *he does those things which never man did*, as the People said of our Saviour; and God does plainly own and approve that Doctrine which such a one delivers, because he does plainly imploy his own Almighty Power to gain Belief and Credit to that Person. By a Miracle, I mean whatsoever is above or contrary to the course of Nature, and exceeds the Power of it: for that must needs be done by a superior Power, and cannot be attributed to any other than the God of Nature. Now to say

that we cannot know a Miracle when we see it, because we cannot tell how far the Power of Nature reaches, how far natural Causes can act, and no further, is very impertinent. For tho we cannot assign the just bounds and limits of natural Causes, how far they can act, and no further; tho we cannot just describe the Sphere of their Activity, yet we can tell what is out of their Sphere, and clearly see when an Effect does far surpass the Virtue and Efficacy of the natural Cause. As for instance, I know not how far the Power of natural Causes may go, to fetch a man, who in all appearance is dead, to Life again: there may be rare Spirits and Elixirs of greater Virtue than I know of in this kind; as we see there are things which will recover men out of a swooning Fit. But I know that *Talisma kumi*, the words which our Saviour us'd to the dead Maid, are no such Preparations nor Restoratives, as we speak of. I see there is no proportion betwixt the Means and the End, betwixt the Cause and the Effect. To say, *Lazarus come forth*, will not raise a man who has been dead four days, and is turning to Corruption; that is such a Sleep, out of which men cannot be awaken'd with a Call. There may be natural Causes for ought any man knows, sufficient to stop the course of the Sun; but it is demonstrable, that the Voice of a man can be none of those Causes. *Sun, stand thou still in Gibeah*, is a very weak and incompetent means to produce such an effect. This is a way of working peculiar to God alone, to say, *Let there be Light, and there was Light*. So that these are true Miracles, they cannot be put upon the score of natural Causes; and such Works as clearly exceed the power of Nature. Now our Saviour wrought a great multitude of these in his Life-time, but the greatest and most unexceptionable is that of his own Resurrection; for when a man dies, whatever strange Skill or Power he may have while he lives, they then leave him, and it is impossible he shou'd contribute any thing towards his rising and coming to Life again. This therefore was the Finger of God, and consequently shew'd our Saviour to be a man approv'd of God, as St. Peter calls him: This justify'd his highest Pretensions, and made it appear to be no Robbery nor Usurpation when he call'd himself the Son of God. This our Saviour had often declar'd in his Life-time, and wou'd not deny it at his Death: This was the good Confession which he witness'd before *Pilate*; and therefore God, who rais'd him again from the Dead, own'd him in it, backt it with his Authority, and declar'd him to be the Son of God with Power. And this is a powerful Miracle for this purpose, if we consider these three things.

1. That before he dy'd he promis'd his Apostles he wou'd rise again, and gave this also as a Sign to all the People, whereby they shou'd know him to be the Christ.

2. That he declar'd this to be the greatest Sign he had to give. And,

3. That his very Enemys confest it to be a sufficient Sign, and satisfactory Evidence of any Truth.

For the first of these, that it was a Sign promis'd to his Apostles, and predicted to the People; there is nothing more easy to be observ'd in the Gospel-History. For he often told his Apostles, that they shou'd see him betray'd and kill'd, but on the third day he wou'd rise again. No sooner had St. Peter confest he was the Christ, but from that time forth Jesus began to shew them how that he must go to Jerusalem, and there suffer many things, and be kill'd, and be rais'd again the third day, Mat. 16. 21. He also foretold the same to the People. It was very usual in all Ages, and there was great reason for it, if any man pretended to be sent by God, to demand how he made it appear, and to ask a Sign of it: And therefore that Jesus came with such Authority as to redress many Abuses among them, and to reform that Nation and Temple, they ask him, *What Sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?* John 2. 18. He had given them Signs enough already, and therefore makes no other Answer than this, to let them know what shou'd be the last Sign; *Destroy this Temple* (pointing to his own Body) *and in three days I will raise it up*, Ver. 19. From whence we may safely argue, that our Saviour having given this as a Sign and Token, whereby it shou'd evidently appear, more than by all his Miracles, that he was the Son of God; God wou'd never have fulfill'd this Promise and Prediction, if he had usurp'd his Authority, and taken upon

upon him to be the Messiah and the Son of God, when he was not. Nothing was more easy than to quash all his Pretences which depended upon his Resurrection; for till that was past, the Apostles had no Authority to preach that he was the Christ, or to publish several of his Miracles, as the Transfiguration upon the Mount. It had been but letting him lie in the Grave, and all the World wou'd have been of the Pharisees mind, that he was a Deceiver. And God sure has not so little care of the World, as to deny them such ready and obvious means of Satisfaction about the most important Truth. We ought to think rather that he wou'd have concern'd himself, to see that this Temple, which he spake of, shou'd lie for ever in its Ruins, and be turn'd to Dust and Ashes; at least he who alone cou'd do it, wou'd have been far from rearing it up again. But now there being infallible Proofs, that he was indeed rais'd after three days, as he had told the People, it was a Testimony from God that they ought to believe he was the Christ, and that he was no Deceiver. Our Saviour gave this as a Token of the Truth of what he said; and God having made good his Word, and fulfil'd his Promise so punctually in this, we ought to believe him what he profess'd himself to be. But,

2. As it was a Sign which he gave them beforehand of this Truth, so he told them it was the greatest Sign he had to give. When after many Miracles and Tokens of a Divine Power accompanying him, the Jews still requir'd a Sign, he told them, *There shou'd no Sign be given them but the Sign of the Prophet Jonas, Luke 16. 39.* which was as much as to say, It is in vain to attempt the Conviction of such corrupt and deprav'd Minds as yours, by such means as these: And therefore I must tell you, all that remains for the opening your Eyes, and conquering your Perverseness, is my Resurrection; and if this will not satisfy you, there is no other Sign to follow for your Conviction. This was a Proof of such Strength, that our Saviour rely'd upon it above all other, and appeal'd to it as the grand Testimony of his being the Messiah: and therefore if there be a God, as we are sure there is, who loves Sincerity and Truth, he wou'd have taken care to prevent such a dangerous Imposture to all the World, as this had been, if Jesus had been a Deceiver: He wou'd certainly have taken care to blast his Credit in this, and made it as evident that he did not rise from the Dead, as now it is that he did. But since this last and greatest Token did come to pass, it shew'd him to be a man approv'd of God; and that what he said was to be believ'd as most certain Truth.

3. His very Enemys confess that this is a sufficient Sign, and satisfactory Evidence of any Truth: as may be clearly discern'd from hence, that they never to this day went about to shew, that tho he was rais'd again, yet it was not a proof that he was the Christ; they never went about to shew the false consequence of the Argument, but all their Endeavour has been to persuade the People that he was not rais'd again: And therefore they contriv'd the ridiculous Story, that his Disciples stole him away. They cou'd not but say, that if he was rais'd again, he was the Christ; and therefore were resolv'd to say any thing, tho ever so absurd, rather than grant that he was rais'd to Life again; because that wou'd spoil all their Reputation with the People, and shew them to be the Murderers of their Messiah. This was a greater thing than if he had satisfy'd their unreasonable Demand: *If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the Cross, and we will believe on him.* For it is a greater thing to be made alive after Death, than to save a man's self from dying. So that our Saviour's Resurrection, you see, is an unanswerable Proof of what he was; it declares him to be the Son of God with Power.

You may say indeed, that this was a mighty proof to the Apostles, who afterwards saw him alive, and wou'd have been so to us if we had had the like Evidence. I shall therefore consider the Strength of that Evidence we have for the Truth of it, upon the Testimony of the Apostles; wherein, not to insist upon the great numbers that saw him, as five hundred at once, I shall consider only the quality of those Witnesses which have deliver'd these things to us.

1. They were Persons who were competent Judges of the Truth of what they relate to us. It was a very plain matter of fact, that such a Person, whom they knew very well for several years before, was afterwards several times

times with them. And then they were so far from being credulous, and believing too hastily themselves, that when several of their own Company had seen him, and convers'd with him, the rest wou'd not believe them: Insomuch that Jesus upbraided them with their Unbelief and Hardness of Heart; and one of them particularly wou'd not be satisfy'd, till he had seen and felt those Marks which he knew he had receiv'd at his Death.

2. And as they were not likely to be deceiv'd themselves, so neither to deceive others: They both profess'd and practis'd the greatest Sincerity, whose Consciences wou'd not allow them to do the least Evil for the greatest Good that might come of it; who suffer'd all their Lives long for the Profession of this Truth, and at the last seal'd it with their Blood. There never was a matter of Fact so prov'd from the beginning of the World. Perhaps there has been no Religion in the World, for which some men have not died: yet that was no Testimony of the Truth of their Religion, but of the Strength of their Persuasion, and of their Loyalty to that Religion which they thought to be true. It shews the Honesty of the Man, tho not the Truth of his Persuasion. But these men died as Witnesses of their Religion: What they had seen, and felt, and handled of the Word of Life, that they declar'd to the World, and that they maintain'd at the expence of their Blood. They wou'd not deny or conceal those important Truths, which they thus knew on their own knowledg, tho they were sure it wou'd cost them their Lives. And now all these things are convey'd down to us by unquestionable Records, written and publish'd in the same Age and Place where the things were done; than which we cannot have better Evidence. For as to things done at a distance, we can have no better Evidence than Report and Testimony: and for things done in times past, we can have no better Assurance than credible and uncontroul'd History; which is and ought to be accepted by all Mankind as proper Evidence for such things; insomuch that to demand other Evidence wou'd be absurd and foolish. As for a man to ask a Reason for what I see with my Eyes, and is matter of Sense; or to ask to see the Facultys of a Soul, which is matter of Reason, and can only be known by Discourse, is the very same Folly with demanding Evidence of Sense, or Arguments of Reason in matters of History and Authority. Now who wou'd be the fittest Person to put them out of all doubt, and to clear up mens Apprehensions and Belief in these things? Certainly one that came down from Heaven, wou'd give men the greatest Satisfaction that there was such a Place; and he who had been there, was undoubtedly able to make the best Discoverys of it. When our blessed Saviour instructs us concerning Heaven, and the Happiness there reserv'd for good men, we may be assur'd he knew what he affirms, and therefore that the State of things in the other World is just as he delivers it to us. Upon this account St. John Baptist prefers our Saviour's Preaching before the Doctrine which himself, or any of those Prophets whom God had formerly sent into the World, had ever deliver'd: John 3. 31. *He that cometh from above, is above all. He that is of the Earth is earthly, and speaketh of the Earth; he that cometh from Heaven, is above all.* He gives this Reason why others cou'd not teach such divine things as this heavenly Teacher, because they were of an earthly Extraction; but our Saviour had been with God, and came from him. And as it follows in the next Verse; *What he hath seen and heard, that he testifies.* He had as certain an Understanding of those heavenly things he declar'd, as we have of those things we see and hear, and of which we have the most sensible and experimental knowledg: And therefore, after a great deal more to the same purpose, he concludes in the last Verse of that Chapter, *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting Life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him.* If we do not believe him, what Revelation can we believe, or what such Assurance can we elsewhere receive of eternal Life? The whole World again cannot give us such satisfaction of the Pardon of our Sins, and of Reconciliation and Favour with God, as this Doctrine, That God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself, not imputing their Trespases. We may well believe him that wrought out this Redemption for us, whom by knowing

knowing to be the Son of God, we know to be able to save to the uttermost all those that come unto God by him. It is a wonderful case to the Minds of men, to have so clear a Revelation in this matter, and to have the Knowledge of this inestimable Benefit convey'd to them by him, who himself purchas'd it for them.

The natural Notions of God's Mercy and Compassion towards penitent Sinners, such as did heartily revoke their past Offences, and as much as in them lay undo what they had done amiss, did lead men to hope for God's pardon, and to conclude *there was Forgiveness with him that he might be fear'd.* But they had not that full Assurance in this particular which Christians have; they did but touch the hem of Christ's Garment, and cou'd not have so great encouragement as we, who read our Pardon in Scripture, and have it seal'd to us in the Blood of Christ. This removes all the Doubts and Scruples which otherwise might possess our Minds; what reparation cou'd be made to God for our past Faults, and who shou'd satisfy for our former Disobedience: for now we know that the Son of God died for us, and that the Dignity of his Person is such, that his Blood was a valuable Consideration to satisfy for the Sins of the whole World. And then for a further Confirmation to us, he who procur'd it, preaches this Deliverance to the Captives, and invites us to enjoy the benefit of his Death; and beseeches us not to neglect so great Salvation, nor to suffer his Blood to be spilt like so much Water upon the ground.

I shall now make some short Application of this great and important Truth, which God has thus clearly and powerfully declar'd and demonstrated; That Jesus is the Son of God; and likewise of that proof which God has given, the means whereby he has thus declar'd and demonstrated him, to wit, his Resurrection from the dead.

1. If Jesus be the Son of God, then we may be sure of what he delivers to us.

2. It adds great Weight and Authority to all his Doctrine.

1. We may be sure of what he delivers to us: *No man hath seen God at any time,* says our Blessed Saviour, *John 1. 13. He that was in the bosom of the Father hath declar'd him.* We cannot doubt but what he has told us is the very Mind and Will of God: for he cou'd not be ignorant of his Father's Good-pleasure, but was thorowly acquainted with his most secret Counsels and Intentions towards the Sons of men. He must needs know what God requir'd of men, and what Thoughts of Grace and Mercy he bore towards them. I say again, that by his being the Son of God, and in the bosom of the Father, he was perfectly qualify'd to make these large Discoverys to the World. The World wanted and wish'd for such a Revelation; and by what better Hand cou'd they receive it? The World had some arguments of Reason, and several intimations from their own Minds, that there wou'd be a future State. They were able to satisfy themselves from the several Operations of their Souls, that they were not Matter, nor corruptible in their own nature; but what shou'd become of them after Death, as to that they were very much in the dark. As they had secret misgivings and apprehensions upon an ill-spent Life, so they had comfortable hopes and expectations upon having liv'd well; but they were not free from all doubt and distrust about these matters. And thus much for the Evidence we have of the Truth of our Saviour's Resurrection, which is the great proof of his Divinity.

And now, 2. What is the meaning of this solemn, and publick, and powerful Declaration, That Jesus is the Son of God, but only to give the greater authority to what he delivers, and to add weight to his Words? All his Doctrines come down with a mighty force upon us, when we consider the Dignity and Condition of his Person: *See that ye refuse not him that speaketh from Heaven.* God has not only sent his Messengers the Prophets, but *last of all he sent his Son, saying, they will reverence my Son.* This God does justly expect from us. And when we seriously consider who he is, we cannot but be ready to yield obedience to him, who is Lord of all, who is able

